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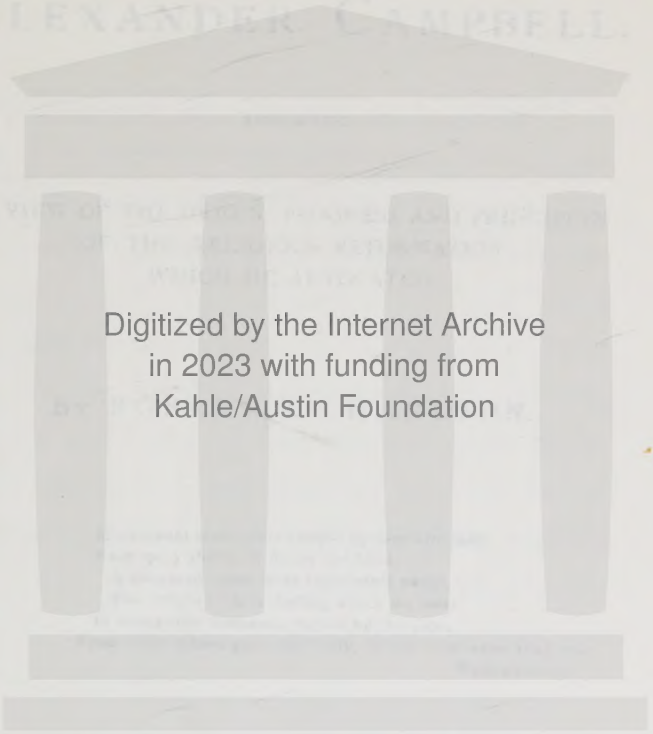

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MEMOIRS

OF

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,

EMBRACING

A VIEW OF THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE RELIGIOUS REFORMATION WHICH HE ADVOCATED.

BY ROBERT RICHARDSON.

More sweet than odors caught by him who sails
Near spicy shores of Araby the blest,
A thousand times more exquisitely sweet,
The freight of holy feeling which we meet,
In thoughtful moments, wafted by the gales
From fields where good men walk, or bow'rs wherein they rest.
WORDSWORTH.

VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

This edition of the Memoirs of A. Campbell is designed to meet the wishes of many who desire to have the work in a more condensed form and at a less price than the fine edition, in two volumes, on toned paper. The Memoirs are here given entire, *without abridgment*, in one volume; from which, for the sake of compactness, the Preface, Appendix and Table of Contents are omitted, the place of the latter being supplied by a full Index, as well as by the headings of the chapters and the pages. The opportunity has been taken, also, to correct some inaccuracies which escaped notice in the former edition.

MEMOIRS

OF

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

CHAPTER I.

Birth and parentage—Lineage of his mother—His father's ancestry—Character and early life of Thomas Campbell.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, the subject of the following memoir, was born in the county of Antrim, Ireland. His father, Thomas Campbell, having been united in marriage with Jane Corneigle, in June, 1787, their first child, Alexander, was born September 12, 1788, where they then resided, near Ballymena, in the parish of Broughshane, and about one mile from the site of the ancient and once beautiful Shane's Castle, whose mouldering towers, upon the northern shore of Lough Neagh, still attract the notice of the passing traveler.

His mother's ancestors were French Huguenots, who, having fled from their native country upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., sought refuge, it appears, first in Scotland, from whence they subsequently migrated to Ireland. The entire connexion, the Corneigles and Bonners, seem to have moved in a body, and, being pleased with the fertile and gently undulating lands in county Antrim, are said to have purchased conjointly an entire townland upon the bor-

ders of Lough Neagh, where they devoted themselves to agriculture, and established schools in which the Bible was carefully taught, and where they strictly maintained the forms and services of the Presbyterian Church. It was here that Thomas Campbell, while engaged in teaching school, and in preparing himself for the ministry in the Secession Church, became acquainted with the descendants of these exiles, and was subsequently married, in his twenty-fifth year, to Jane, an only daughter of the family of the Corneigles. In personal appearance she was tall, but well proportioned, exceedingly erect and dignified in her carriage, but, at the same time, modest and remarkably retiring in her manners and disposition. Her features were strongly marked, and, in this respect, her son Alexander bore a striking likeness to her. The Roman nose, the expression and color of the eyes, surmounted by prominent frontal developments, the outline of the mouth, and the general form and character of the face, so characteristic of the son, were equally so of the mother, though softened by the greater delicacy of the feminine features. Her complexion was extremely clear and fine, contrasting agreeably with her abundant dark brown hair. She had been left an orphan in her seventh year by the death of her father, and, as the only daughter of a pious mother, had been brought up with tender affection and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord from her early infancy, so that she had become noted for her sincere devotion to religious duties. At the time of her marriage she was in her twenty-fourth year, having been born September, 1763.

Her husband, Thomas Campbell, was of medium stature, compactly built, in form and feature eminently handsome. His forehead was somewhat square and

massive, his complexion fair and ruddy, his soft gray eyes full of intelligence—the whole expression of his countenance indicative of deep reflection and of kindly feeling. His ancestors were originally from the West of Scotland; on this account claiming clanship, if not kindred, with the race of Diarmid, the Campbells of Argyleshire, from whence the family are supposed to have em grated at some former period. His grandfather, Thomas Campbell, it is known, was born in Ireland, near Dyerlake Wood in county Down, and lived to the great age of one hundred and five years. His own immediate father, Archibald, was in early life a Romanist, and served as a soldier in the British army under Gen. Wolfe. After the capture of Quebec he returned to his native country, and, abjuring Romanism, became a strict member of the Church of England, to which he adhered until his death in his eighty-eighth year. He is said to have been somewhat eccentric, but peculiarly social and genial in his habits and warm in his feelings. He had a fair complexion, with remarkably clear blue eyes, was energetic and brisk in his movements, and, though of a quick and passionate temper, was readily appeased. He lived in county Down, near Newry, and gave to his four sons, Thomas, James, Archibald and Enos, an excellent English education at a military regimental school not far distant. He had also four daughters, who all died in their infancy, and, what is rather unusual, each one of them was, in succession, called Mary.

Of the sons, Thomas, who was the oldest, having been born in county Down, February 1, 1763, seems to have been, from his mild and thoughtful disposition, particularly dear to his father, and to have had considerable influence over him, yet not to have him-

self always escaped the effects of his father's hasty temper.*

Of the remaining brothers, James and Archibald engaged in teaching, along with Thomas, when quite young, near Sheepbridge, two miles from Newry, and both of them became members finally of the Secession Church. James seems afterward to have led rather an unsettled life, emigrating finally to Canada. Archibald and Enos, however, devoted themselves to the business of teaching in the town of Newry—a profession in which they were eminently successful.

As the life and labors of the oldest brother, Thomas, blend themselves so intimately with those of his son Alexander that it is impossible to separate them, it will be necessary to detail, with some minuteness, the earlier history of this remarkable man, and to give a succinct but definite account of those religious struggles which occupied the greater part of his long and laborious career.

It appears that, in his early youth, he became the subject of deep religious impressions, and acquired a most sincere and earnest love for the Scriptures. The cold formality of the Episcopal ritual, and the apparent want of vital piety in the Church to which his father belonged, led him to prefer the society of the more rigid and devotional Covenanters and Seceders, and to attend their religious meetings. As he advanced in years, his religious impressions deepened. He began

* It is related that Thomas, when preparing himself for the ministry, had been permitted to conduct worship in his father's family, and that, on one occasion, when he had prayed unusually long, the old man, whose kneeling posture had become painful to him on account of his rheumatism, was no sooner upon his feet than, in a sudden gust of passion, he began, greatly to the surprise and scandal of all present, to belabor poor Thomas with his cane because he had kept them so long upon their knees.

to experience great concern for his salvation, and the various doubts and misgivings usually presenting themselves when the sense of sin is deep and the conscience tender, pressed very heavily upon his mind. For a long time his distress seemed continually to increase. By earnest and diligent prayer, and the constant use of all the means prescribed by sympathizing and pious friends, he sought, apparently in vain, for those assurances of acceptance and those tokens of forgiveness which were regarded as necessary accompaniments of a true faith and evidence of "effectual calling." While in this state, and when his mental distress had reached its highest point, he was one day walking alone in the fields, when, in the midst of his prayerful anxieties and longings, he felt a divine peace suddenly diffuse itself throughout his soul, and the love of God seemed to be shed abroad in his heart as he had never before realized it. His doubts, anxieties and fears were at once dissipated, as if by enchantment. He was enabled to see and to trust in the merits of a crucified Christ, and to enjoy a divine sense of reconciliation, that filled him with rapture and seemed to determine his destiny for ever. From this moment he recognized himself as consecrated to God, and thought only how he might best appropriate his time and his abilities to his service.

It is unnecessary to pause here in order to consider the nature or the value of such a religious "experience" as is here related, as this subject will hereafter come under review in its appropriate place. The facts, at least, were as above stated; and it is certain that Thomas Campbell believed himself to have been specially "called" at this time, and that he regarded the feelings and the sudden change which he then ex-

perienced as proceeding from a direct divine influence, which imparted to him a saving or justifying faith.

Having a strong desire to devote himself to the ministry in the Secession Church, the matter was broached to his father, who proved by no means favorable to it. He, indeed, had but little sympathy in his son's religious change, being attached to the Church of England, and determined, as he used to say, "to serve God according to act of Parliament." Having also rather extreme views of paternal authority in religious as well as in other matters, it may well be supposed that his son's position was rather embarrassing. So excellent was the young man's character, however, and so exemplary his conduct, that opposition to his fixed purpose could not long continue. Meanwhile, pending any positive decision, filled with ardent desire to benefit his fellow-beings, and hearing sad accounts of the unenlightened condition of the people in certain portions of the south of Ireland, Thomas Campbell resolved to make an effort in their behalf; and having procured the necessary means of introduction, he went down into one of the most benighted parts of the province of Connaught, and established there an English academy. He obtained a large number of pupils, and applied himself to their improvement and elevation, intellectually, morally and religiously, with the greatest assiduity. In the midst of his labors, however, he was suddenly and peremptorily summoned by his father to return; and as soon as he could free himself from his existing engagements, he bade adieu to his friends and pupils, who gave him the parting hand with many tears, so much had he endeared himself to them by his incessant efforts for their education and happiness.

Upon his return to the North, a good school was

obtained for him at Sheepbridge, near Newry, through the influence of Mr. John Kinley,* who resided there, and who conceived so high an opinion of Mr. Campbell's abilities, that, after some time, he urged him to carry out his design of entering the ministry, and kindly proffered the necessary means to defray the expense. His father having finally acquiesced in his purpose, he soon afterwards proceeded to Glasgow, where he became a student in the University. Here with that exact punctuality and strict attention to method which characterized him through life, he devoted himself to the prescribed studies, which, for students of divinity, then occupied three years. He also, during his stay at the University, attended the medical lectures, it being regarded proper for ministers to have, in addition to a knowledge of their own particular profession, such an acquaintance with medicine as would enable them to render necessary aid to their poorer parishioners who might not have the services of a regular medical attendant.

After having completed his literary course at the University, it became necessary for him to enter the theological school established by that branch of the Secession, the Anti-Burghers, to which he belonged. As the number of those preparing for the ministry was not great, the class usually consisting of from twenty to thirty members at this period, this school was under the

* Mr. Kinley was a Seceder, and married a sister of Thomas Carr, of Newry. Thomas Campbell's brother Archibald afterwards married a daughter of Thomas Carr, and one of James Campbell's sons, also named Archibald, married another daughter, so that the families were thus connected. While Thomas Campbell taught at Sheepbridge, one of Mr. Kinley's daughters was a pupil, and became in the year 1800 the wife of Robert Tener, whose useful labors in promoting the cause of religious reformation may be hereafter noticed.

charge of a single professor, who was appointed by the Synod. In order to admission into Divinity Hall, it was required by the Synod that the candidates should be first examined, as to their proficiency in Latin and Greek, by the Presbytery within whose bounds they resided. They were examined, likewise, on the various branches of philosophy they had studied at the University; and also on personal religion. The appointed course of attendance at the Hall was five annual sessions of eight weeks each, with some exceptions in the case of missions and of a scarcity of preachers.* Mr. Archibald Bruce was at this time the Doctor of Divinity, and the school was at Whitburn, where Mr. Bruce officiated as minister to a congregation, it being then the custom to transfer the Divinity Hall to the place where the professor appointed was living at the time.†

* The course of business in Divinity Hall was, with occasional variations, as follows: One meeting a day at twelve o'clock. On Monday, a miscellaneous lecture by the Professor. On Tuesday, discourses by the students. On Wednesday, a lecture by the Professor, in Latin, on the system of Theology, using Markii Medulla (a treatise on Systematic Theology by the celebrated Mark of Leyden) as a text-book. On Thursday, examination of the students on the Theology taught. On Friday, discourses by the students. On Saturday a lecture on the Confession of Faith, with conference on some practical subject stated by the Professor. In addition, the students had debating and other societies among themselves, in which theological questions were discussed.

† Mr. Bruce was a professor highly qualified, very pious and amiable, and greatly venerated by the students. He was the second Professor of Divinity since the division of the Seceders into Burghers and Anti-Burghers, having been preceded by Mr. William Moncrief, who was appointed 10th February, 1762, and died 4th August, 1786. Mr. Bruce was appointed September, 1786, and held the office for twenty years, up to 1806, at which time he separated from the General Associate Synod, and superintended the theological class connected with the "Constitutional Presbytery," until February 28, 1816, when he suddenly expired, after the exercises of the pulpit, in his seventieth year. For the number and variety of his publications, he holds a high place among Secession authors. Dr. McCrie says of him: "For solidity and perspicacity of judgment, joined to a lively imagination; for

After having completed the course required, and submitted to the usual examination and trials for license before the Presbytery in Ireland, Thomas Campbell became what is called a probationer, whose office was to preach the Gospel, under the supervision of the Synod,* in such congregations as were destitute of a fixed ministry. So far as can now be ascertained, it was prior to his engaging in these labors, and while passing to and fro to attend his studies in Scotland, or while, during vacations, he occupied himself in teaching, that he became acquainted with the descendants of the Huguenots who had settled on the borders of Lough Neagh, and ultimately married one of them, Miss Jane Corneigle, as already stated in the early part of the present chapter.

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profound acquaintance with the system of Theology, and with all the branches which are subsidiary to it, and which are ornamental as well as useful to the Christian divine; for the power of patient investigation, of careful discrimination between truth and error, and of guarding against extremes, on the right hand as well as on the left; and for the talent of recommending truth to the youthful mind by a rich and flowing style, not to mention the qualities by which his private character was adorned,—Mr. Bruce has been equaled by few, if any, of those who have occupied the chair of Divinity, either in late or in former times."

* The Associate Synod of Ireland was first constituted at Monaghan, October 20, 1779, eight or nine years before. When organized, it consisted of three Presbyteries—those of Monaghan, Down and Derry.

CHAPTER II.

Boyhood—Schooling—Religious training—Influence of his father's character.

AFTER the birth of his son Alexander,* Thomas Campbell remained but a short time in county Antrim. He seems then to have returned to the neighborhood of Sheepbridge, where he resumed the business of teaching school, preaching also for the Seceder congregations in the vicinity. After some years

* It is proper to notice here a slight discrepancy that exists in relation to the age of Alexander Campbell. The records, it appears, were lost in a shipwreck when the family were emigrating to the United States, and long afterward some were inclined to put his birth in the year 1786. Even his father, in an account written about 1847, gives the date 1786. But at this time his father was eighty-four years old, and, with a memory always very defective as to dates and names, could not be regarded as decisive authority. On the other hand, the evidences in favor of his having been born in 1788 are numerous and conclusive: 1. All agree that his father was born February 1, 1763, and that he was in his twenty-fifth year when he married, which could not have been, therefore, until 1787, and Alexander was born the year after, 1788. 2. The birth of Jane is recorded in Thomas Campbell's diary as occurring in 1800, and she (still living) states that it was always the understanding in her father's family that she was about twelve years younger than her brother Alexander: this again gives 1788. 3. James Foster, who is yet living in the full exercise of his faculties, and who has always been remarkable for his power of memory, states that the first time he saw Alexander was at Rich-Hill, and that he was then a mere lad of fifteen or sixteen years of age, and engaged in boyish sport, having in his hand a long pole with a net attached, with which he was catching small birds along the eaves of the thatched houses in the outskirts of the town. James Foster himself was, he says, then a young man grown, and he knows he could not have been less than three and a half or four years older than Alexander. James Foster was born March 1, 1785, and adding to this three and a half years, we are brought

spent thus, finding Market Hill, in county Armagh, a more convenient place of residence while engaged in the labors of a probationer, he removed to that town, where he occupied himself, it would appear, for a portion of the time, as a teacher of private classes in families. Meanwhile, another son, James, was born, who died in infancy; and afterward, a daughter, who was called Dorothea, a name which, like the corresponding "Theodore" given to males, and Dieudonne in French, signifies God's gift. About the year 1798 he accepted a call from a church recently established

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to September, 1788. 4. In confirmation of these evidences, there is direct and positive proof from a diary which Alexander kept while in Glasgow. It begins in these words: "I, Alexander Campbell, in the twentieth year of my age, being born on the 12th of September, 1788, do commence a regular diary from the 1st of January, 1809, and intend prosecuting it from this time forward, at least for some time, Deo volente. Glasgow." Now, admitting that the family records were lost in the shipwreck which had occurred but a few weeks previous, it is not likely that he would so soon have forgotten the year of his birth, especially so near majority—a period which young men are wont to mark with accuracy. Besides, his mother and brothers and sisters were all with him, and he had all the means necessary for exact information, had he felt any doubt on the subject. He entered it down carefully, probably because the records had been lost, and the slight error he makes in using the ordinal instead of the cardinal number, only serves to make the case stronger. He says, "in the twentieth year of my age," when he was in fact in his twenty-first. He had been twenty on the 12th of the preceding September, and did not, at the moment, notice that he had passed into his twenty-first. To say that he had been born in 1786 is to suppose that he had come of age more than a year before in Ireland, *without knowing anything at all about it, and with the family records before him;* which is an absurd supposition. From these and various other proofs which might be adduced, there can remain no doubt that he was born in September, 1788, the date which he himself entered down in his own family Bible at Bethany. In this, the following are the entries with respect to his father's family: Thomas Campbell, born in county Down, in 1763; Jane, wife of Thomas Campbell, died at Jane McKeever s, aged seventy-two; Alexander Campbell, born at Ballymena, September, 1788; Dorothea, born July 27, 1793; Nancy, September 18, 1795; Jane, June 18, 1800; Thomas, May 1, 1802; Archibald, April 4, 1804; Alicia, April, 1806.

at Ahorey, four miles from the city of Armagh, to become its pastor, and accordingly removed to a farm near Rich-Hill, which is about ten miles from the flourishing town of Newry. This region is one of the most beautiful portions of Ireland. The soil is rich, the farms are highly improved, and the roads are excellent, though the face of the country is much more broken and diversified than in county Antrim. It is said that William the Third, upon reaching the neighborhood of Belfast, was greatly pleased with the appearance of Ireland; but that when he had advanced to Newry, on his way to the Boyne, he was so delighted with the fertility of this region, with the rich green of the earth, with the beauty of the scenery, and with the bays and rivers so admirably suited to commerce, that he exclaimed to his officers: "This is indeed a country worth fighting for!" The country about Rich-Hill, where Thomas Campbell now settled, is particularly admired. From a high hill near his farm a magnificent prospect presents itself, extending over several counties, and embracing landscapes of the most varied and picturesque character, the beauty of which is enhanced by a distinct view of the waters of Lough Neagh,* which, toward the north, exhibit their silvery brightness in the distance.

It was in this charming region that Thomas Campbell now fixed his abode, and was, in due time, with the usual solemnities, ordained as the pastor of the

* This lough is the largest body of fresh water in Europe, except the Lake of Geneva and one or two of lesser note in Russia, being twenty-two miles long and seven or eight miles wide. A canal, constructed for the first nine miles in the bed of the river Bann, passes from its southern extremity to Newry, and thence to the sea, an entire distance of twenty-four miles. The waters of the lough are celebrated for their power of petrifying wood and other organic substances placed in its waters or buried near its shores.

congregation. It was here, also, that the youthful days of Alexander were chiefly spent. For some time he was continued at an elementary school in Market Hill, where he boarded in the family of a Mr. Gillis, merchant of that place. He spent also some two or three years of his boyhood at school in the town of Newry, where his uncles, Archibald and Enos, had opened an academy. Upon his return home, his father endeavored to superintend and continue his education. He found him, however, so exceedingly devoted to sport and physical exercise that it was difficult to fix his attention upon books. This uncommon activity of disposition seems at this time to have been his most striking trait. There was in his constitution no tendency to precocious mental development, nor did his peculiar intellectual powers begin to manifest themselves strikingly until he had nearly attained his growth. His extreme fondness for sport rendered him so averse to the confinement required in order to acquire learning, that study became to him a drudgery, and the tasks with which his over-anxious father constantly supplied him became dull and wearisome. About his ninth year, the French language was added to his other studies, but in this he appears not to have made a very satisfactory progress; if we may judge from the following anecdote, which he himself, in later life, used to relate amongst his friends with great glee: Having gone out on a warm day to con over his French lesson in "The Adventures of Telemachus," under the shade of a tree, he finally dropped asleep. A cow that was grazing near approached, and seeing the book lying on the grass, seized it, and, before he was sufficiently awake to prevent, actually devoured it. Upon making report of the loss, his father gave him a castigation for his carelessness,

and enforced it by telling him that "the cow had got more French in her stomach than he had in his head," a fact which, of course, he could not deny. Certain it was, at least, that this was the *last* of the Adventures of Telemachus!

On account of his great disinclination to confinement, his father at length concluded to put him to work on the farm along with the laborers, in order to subdue his love of sport, and, as he said, "to break him in to his books." He seems to have found field-labor much more congenial, and to have worked hard for several years, until he had become a stout lad, full of health and vigor. At this time his intellectual nature began to assert its claims. He manifested a love for reading and less inclination to outdoor exercise; and, with his father's approbation, betook himself to his studies again, filled with an ardent desire for literary distinction, and determined, as he said, to be "one of the best scholars in the kingdom."

There can be no doubt that the course pursued by his father in this case was extremely wise. As the plant at a certain period, after seeming repose, rapidly throws up its flower-stalk, whose unfolding buds demand its entire resources, so there is a time in youth when the rapid development of the body demands, and seems to monopolize, all the energies and resources of the brain and nervous system. Nature seems, at this time, to impel to bodily activity, in order to assist in this necessary development and expansion of the muscular system and of the framework of the body, and to deny, for a time, to the brain the capacity for much intellectual labor. It is hard for boys, in this transition state, to fix their attention upon study, or to pursue any train of connected thought, or take pleasure in sober

learning. The memory perhaps suffers less eclipse than any of the other powers of mind, but even this is sluggish; and if this or any other faculty be now artificially forced to exertion, most serious evils are likely to arise, not only in regard to the proper growth and vigor of the body, but to the constitution of the mind itself. It is hence important that parents should allow their children, at this period, to occupy themselves in such labors as tend to unfold and invigorate the bodily powers, and defer intellectual toil until the proper period shall be indicated. It was unquestionably largely due to this prudent foresight on the part of Thomas Campbell that his son Alexander owed his almost uninterrupted future mental and bodily vigor.

He now began to display a very active mind, an eager thirst for knowledge, and a remarkably ready and retentive memory. On one occasion he is said to have committed to memory sixty lines of blank verse in fifty-two minutes, so that he could repeat them without missing a word. He was, from this time forward, accustomed to memorize, frequently, select extracts from the best authors, as well in compliance with his father's wishes as from his own appreciation of their merit, so that his mind became stored with the finer passages of the British poets, which he was enabled to retain through life. He was extremely fond of reading, and became gradually quite conversant with many of the standard English authors, especially with such as were of a moral, philosophical or religious cast. As he advanced in age, he learned greatly to admire the character and the works of Locke, whose "Letters on Toleration" seem to have made a lasting impression upon him, and to have fixed his ideas of religious and of civil liberty. The "Essay on the Human Under-

standing" he appears to have thoroughly studied under the direction of his father, who was earnestly desirous that his son should make all possible advancement and preparation, trusting that he would be able, after some time, to send him to the University. Hence he labored to perfect his son's knowledge of the preliminary English branches, to instruct him in Latin and Greek, and, as time wore on, even to anticipate in part the usual college course.

Although thus diligently engaged, under his father's guidance, in literary and grave pursuits, it is not to be supposed that Alexander's natural disposition was so much altered as to render him either very serious or very sedentary. On the contrary, his naturally active and lively temperament, full of vivacity and sportiveness, still demanded a sufficient amount of physical exercise, and he still delighted to engage occasionally in the games and amusements of youth. Having an athletic frame, and a hand unusually large for his years, he soon made himself noted among his companions for the large size of his snow-balls and the force with which they were hurled. For the same reasons he was expert in sowing grain, and loved to practise the art with the neighboring farmers at the proper seasons. He was extremely fond also of frequenting the streams for the purposes of fishing and of bathing, and became, by dint of practice, an excellent swimmer. But his greatest delight was to traverse the fields in search of game, to capture birds with nets, or with dog and gun to rouse them from their secret coverts.* His indulgent parents freely sanctioned such

* He was so fascinated with the sport of gunning, and his ammunition was at times so scanty, that he once conceived the idea of manufacturing gunpowder for himself. Having found out its composition and obtained the

recreations at proper times, believing them conducive, if not absolutely necessary, to health and vigor.

While carefully superintending the literary education of his son, Thomas Campbell was by no means negligent of his religious training. It was made an essential part of his ministerial duty, as it was no less the dictate of his parental affection, to bring up his children "in the nurture and instruction of the Lord," in order that his family might be a pattern to others. To this end, it was prescribed by the Synod that the minister "should worship God in his family by singing, reading and prayer, morning and evening ; that he should catechise and instruct them at least once a week in religion ; endeavoring to cause every member to pray in secret morning and evening ; and that he should remember the Lord's day to keep it holy, and should himself maintain a conversation becoming the gospel." Of all these obligations Thomas Campbell was carefully observant, and in all his regulations and efforts for the improvement and welfare of his family he was earnestly and ably seconded by the estimable woman he had married. Like her ancestors, she had very decided religious convictions, and gladly co-operated with her husband in the moral and religious instruction of the family. It was their rule that every member should memorize, during each day, some portion of the Bible, to be recited at evening worship. Long passages were often thus recited, but if only a single verse was correctly repeated by the smaller children, it was received with encouraging approbation. Attention was

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ingredients, he set to work with his experiments; and finally, while drying the mass he had formed, succeeded in producing an explosion, from which he narrowly escaped personal injury, and which, of course, brought his manufacturing operations to an abrupt conclusion.

usually called to the important facts or truths presented in each recitation, questions were asked in regard to them, and appropriate remarks briefly offered. Finally, the Scriptures repeated during the week were again rehearsed on the evening of the Lord's day. This sacred day also was faithfully observed. Every member of the household was expected to go to meeting, and it was understood that each one was to give, upon returning home, an account not only of the text, but of the discourse itself, embracing its leading points. This was designed to secure, on the part of the young especially, a proper *attention* to the services of public worship, so that the church might not be a place for the observance of cold and lifeless forms, but in reality a house of prayer and of true religious edification. In carrying out these regulations, as in all his family discipline, and indeed the whole conduct of life, Mr. Campbell was most punctual and methodical. He was by no means exacting, but made his appeal, as far as possible, to the heart and conscience, showing the most affectionate interest in the welfare of all the members of his household. When called away, as he frequently was, to assist other ministers at a distance, his pious wife constantly labored to keep up the regular order of religious worship and instruction in the family.

It was under such influences in the domestic circle that Alexander Campbell passed his early years; and it cannot be doubted that they had a most important bearing on his future life. To this fact he himself bore testimony in his declining years, and, long after the death of his mother, paid to her memory the following tribute of affectionate remembrance: "Having a peculiarly ready and retentive memory, she treasured up the Scriptures in early life, and could quote and apply

them with great fluency and pertinency from childhood to old age. She, indeed, also possessed a mental independence which I have rarely seen equaled, and certainly never surpassed, by any woman of my acquaintance. Greatly devoted to her children, and especially to their proper training for public usefulness, and for their own individual and social enjoyment, she was indefatigable in her labors of love, and in her attention to their physical, intellectual, moral and religious training and development. * * * * * She made a nearer approximation to the acknowledged beau ideal of a Christian mother than any one of her sex with whom I have had the pleasure of forming a special acquaintance. I can but gratefully add, that to my mother, as well as to my father, I am indebted for having memorized in early life almost all the writings of King Solomon—his Proverbs, his Ecclesiastes—and many of the Psalms of his father David. They have not only been written on the tablet of my memory, but incorporated with my modes of thinking and speaking."

While the character of Alexander Campbell was thus, in early life, moulded in a large degree by the family training to which he was subjected, an important formative influence was also exerted by various other circumstances which deserve to be considered. Among these, his father's personal character and example, his religious views and his public ministerial life, may be particularly mentioned. This excellent man, though possessed of all the gravity and thoughtfulness becoming his position, was eminently social in his disposition, having much of that genial warmth of temperament so common in the Irish people, and along with it a ready flow of ideas, which rendered his conversation and his

company very agreeable. There was nothing in his deportment forbidding or austere. He preferred, indeed, serious and religious topics of discourse, and constantly contrived to lead the conversation in that direction; and though he seemed to enjoy an occasional polemical discussion with his friends, his favorite themes were the completeness of Christ's salvation and the infinite goodness of God. Nevertheless, he manifested great interest in the secular concerns of his parishioners, and sympathized with them in their cares and labors. He had withal an excellent relish for genuine humor, and was himself not unskilled in the use of jocular pleasantry, with which he sometimes sought to enliven conversation. In his manners he was extremely courteous and refined, blending a perfect self-possession with an easy and graceful affability, and having about him a peculiar attractiveness and dignity which secured the respect of all who approached him.

It is the unanimous testimony of those who were familiar with his labors that, as a pastor, no one could be more faithful or diligent. He was himself "a pattern of good works;" "hospitable, sober, just, holy, temperate," visiting and ministering to the sick and afflicted, and rendering assistance to the poor—duties to which Mrs. Campbell was also particularly devoted. He sought to introduce into all the families of the congregation the same course of regular scriptural instruction and worship which he pursued in his own household. In addition to his ordinary visits, he made a parochial tour regularly twice a year, in company with one or two of the ruling elders, inquiring into the state of religion in every family; catechising the children; examining the older members upon their Bible-read-

ings; praying with them, and giving such admonitions and exhortations as seemed appropriate.

In the character of Thomas Campbell there was no one feature more strongly marked than his exceeding reverence for the Bible. This seems to have made a profound impression upon the mind of his son Alexander, even in his boyhood; for he relates that, when entering his father's study, in which he had a large and well-assorted library, he was wont to wonder on seeing, with a very few exceptions, only *his Bible and Concordance* on the table, with a simple outfit of pen, ink and paper. "Whether," he adds, "he had read all these volumes and cared nothing more for them, or whether he regarded them as wholly useless, I presumed not to inquire and dared not to decide." Fettered as he was by his theology, he was thus accustomed to consult the Bible itself, and to bring his mind into direct communion with its teachings. The bonds of doctrinal and ecclesiastical authority were, doubtless, by this means, to some extent, insensibly relaxed; but he remained conscientiously attached to Presbyterianism, as the simplest and most orthodox form of Christianity. He had, under its banner, taken into one hand the Gospel trumpet, and into the other the lamp of Divine truth, which, however, was enclosed within the earthen pitcher of scholastic theology. The time had not yet come when this pitcher should be broken and the light be displayed abroad. Many hours of darkness were yet to pass, and many trials to be encountered, before, under the guidance of Providence, he was to give the signal for an important religious reformation, based on the Bible alone. It is worthy of record, however, that he had at this time learned to prize the sacred volume so far above all human compositions, and recognized so

fully its supreme authority, as to be extremely jealous of any departure from its exact expressions. Hence it was, that when he found, after some time, the children of the congregation confounding, in their answers, the language of the catechism with that of Scripture, he began to dispense with the catechism, fearing lest they should assign to the latter a degree of authority equal to that of the Bible.

As a preacher, Thomas Campbell was popular with the Seceder denomination. He possessed fine didactic talents, and was much given to generalizing his subjects, so as to refer many particulars to a single head or principle. He was brief and accurate in defining terms, and skilled in making a complete and exhaustive division of his theme. The protracted services of public worship among the Seceders naturally led to a habit of frequent and sometimes tedious recapitulation on the part of their ministers; but Mr. Campbell's sermons, while sufficiently doctrinal and elaborate to suit the taste of the times, were enlivened by many apt though homely illustrations, and he was able, by pointed remarks and occasional changes of manner, to keep the attention of his audience constantly engaged. At the same time, the evident and heartfelt earnestness with which he spoke, and his own personal piety, gave weight and authority to his teachings.

In his intercourse with religious society he manifested the utmost kindness and charity for those who differed with him in their views, often bewailing the unhappy divisions that existed, and striving to promote, as far as practicable, Christian union and peace. He was careful to give cause of offence to no one, to speak evil of no one, and was prompt to repress in others any approach to detraction or tale-bearing. In regard to the

theme of conversation, indeed, as well as to all other matters, the inquiry with him was ever, "What will it profit?" and nothing could receive his sanction that did not at least promise to be of practical utility.

From politics he kept entirely aloof, a position at that time extremely difficult; for his ministry in Ireland extended through all the years of those civil commotions which issued in the rebellion of 1798, and the attempt of Emmet and others in 1803. The society of Orangemen was first formed in 1795 in county Armagh, and seemed to have for its object to drive by threats and nocturnal outrages the entire Catholic peasantry from the country. Great alarm seized upon this unprotected class, who could obtain no redress from the magistrates. Many of them were compelled to abandon their cabins and their all, and seek refuge in the fields, and the utmost consternation was excited throughout the country by threats and exaggerated reports. Various other parties of contending rioters, as the "Defenders," the "Peep-o'day Boys," &c., disturbed different parts of the province of Ulster. Numbers went about in the night searching houses for arms. This becoming generally known, the houses were opened upon the first summons, and this easy mode of admittance was taken advantage of by common robbers, who plundered the people of their property.

In the midst of these troubles, and chiefly through the agency of Theobald Wolfe Tone, a Protestant and lawyer in Dublin, a remarkable secret association, called the "United Irishmen," was formed, having for its object to erect Ireland into a separate and independent republic. By an ingenious ascending scale of representation from decenaries and hundreds, to baronies, to provinces, and thence to the whole kingdom, such a

combination was formed, and such a force prepared, as had never before, in modern times, been accumulated in the face of an existing government. Each member was bound by the sanctity of a solemn oath, and the mysterious workings of the association produced an effect more marked and general than any of those secret tribunals which, for a time, kept a portion of Germany in awe. The Catholics united with it to obtain protection against the Orangemen and a redress of grievances, and the Presbyterians because they were earnestly desirous of effecting a reform in Parliament and securing equal representation and equal taxation. These political objects, however, as well as others, soon became perverted to insurrectionary purposes.

The greater portion of the Presbyterians became connected with this secret organization, and constituted, indeed, its chief moral strength, owing to their superiority in intelligence and social position. In the six northern counties they formed, in fact, a very large part of the population, and it may readily be conceived that Mr. Campbell's utter refusal to take any part in the movement, and his conscientious opposition to secret associations, were well calculated at a period of such excitement and party spirit to bring him into disfavor with his people. On one occasion, amidst the heated discussion of these subjects, he was requested to deliver a discourse upon the lawfulness of oaths and of secret societies. Having consented to do so, he presented so candidly and earnestly his views in condemnation of them that a large portion of the audience became excited and exasperated. At this crisis, however, a prominent member, fearing lest he should be insulted, courteously took him by the arm and conducted him

safely through the crowd. Such was his character for piety, and such the guardianship of Divine Providence, that, through all the existing troubles, he remained entirely unmolested, retaining the confidence of the community, and in a marked degree securing the esteem of the Governor, Lord Gosford, who had himself labored to check the persecution of the Catholics, and who became so impressed with the propriety of Mr. Campbell's course, and with the excellence of his character, that he importuned him to become the tutor of his family, with a large salary and an elegant residence on his estate. This offer, however, he declined, fearing lest his children should be ensnared and fascinated by the fashions and customs of the nobility, and preferring, on this account, his comparative poverty and his humble ministerial life.

There is no doubt that Mr. Campbell's complete isolation from all political agitation, and his entire devotion to the interests of religion, had a most beneficial influence. The Presbyterians who had become enlisted as "United Irishmen" began themselves to fear, from the great numerical preponderance of the Catholics in the island, and from certain intimations they received—among which may be mentioned the dying declarations of Dickey, a rebel leader executed at Belfast—that if the rebellion should even prove successful, they would as a minority be unable to obtain the liberty and toleration they desired. Hence it was that when the Catholics in Wicklow and Wexford, on the eastern coast, looking for immediate aid from France, were precipitated into insurrection, committing the most shocking barbarities in retaliation for their injuries, the United Irishmen of Ulster, reckoned at 150,000, and organized for rebellion, remained quiet, with the exception of some insig

nificant risings, which were quelled in a few days. It was at this period of excitement and military violence that Mr. Campbell was one day preaching to a congregation, when the house was suddenly surrounded by a troop of Welsh horse, notorious for their severities and outrages upon those they conceived to be rebels. The captain, conceiving that in this remote place he had come upon a meeting of rebels, dismounted and in a threatening manner marched into the church. It was a moment of awful suspense. The audience were panic-stricken, expecting every moment to be subjected to the fury of the soldiers. Just at this crisis, as the captain stalked up the aisle, casting fierce glances upon all sides, a venerable elder sitting near Mr. Campbell called to him solemnly, "*Pray, sir!*" Whereupon, in response to the call, and in a deep, unfaltering voice he began in the language of the forty-sixth Psalm "Thou, O God, art our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will not we fear though the earth be removed and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea." No sooner was the first verse uttered than the captain paused, and apparently impressed, bent his head, listened to the close, then bowed, and retracing his steps, mounted his horse and dashed away with the entire troop.

Another incident, which tends to show Mr. Campbell's entire trust in God and submission to his dispensations, occurred some time after his removal to Ahorey. He was just about to enter the meeting-house on the Lord's day to attend to the public services, when a messenger arrived in haste from Newry, to inform him that his youngest brother, Enos, who was greatly beloved, had during the night lost his life by a fall into an open excavation in one of the streets. Humbly

resigning himself to the Divine will, he passed into the church and proceeded with the duties of the day, giving to the sympathizing audience no evidence of his emotions, except in the deeper solemnity of his prayer and the pathetic earnestness of his sermon. For one of feelings so tender, it was no small trial thus to calm all perturbation of mind, and, in view of his ministerial office, to rise superior to earthly affections. Unlike Aaron, who under sudden affliction was unable to fulfill the duties of his station, Mr. Campbell neglected no part of the usual services; but when these were fully completed, he immediately set out for Newry, where he found universal mourning and his father grieving as David over Absalom, and hardly to be comforted He was already eighty-five, and survived the death of his son Enos only three years. Such constant manifestations of unshaken trust and of exemplary and consistent piety on the part of Thomas Campbell did not fail to fill the mind of his son Alexander with the utmost reverence for him. Nor was he, in common with the entire community, less impressed with his father's wisdom in opposing political agitation and secret societies, when the unhappy results of the rebellion vindicated the correctness of his principles. In regard to *secret* associations, Alexander fully adopted his father's views, and continued through life to oppose everything of this nature, as inconsistent with the Christian profession.

CHAPTER III.

Thomas Campbell—Opens an Academy in Rich-Hill—Alexander as Assistant—Religious awakening—Theological studies.

WHILST Thomas Campbell was thus, amidst civil commotions, devoting himself to the care of his congregation and to the education of his children, his family continued to increase. Soon after his removal to Ahorey, a daughter, Nancy, was born; and about twenty months afterward, June 25, 1800, another, named Jane. To these were added subsequently a son, who was called Thomas, and in process of time another son, named Archibald. Finding his expenses greatly augmented, and the farm he had leased unprofitable, as he had but little knowledge of farming, and his attention was almost entirely engrossed by higher matters, it became necessary for him to adopt some other method of improving his circumstances and making up the deficiencies of his ministerial salary.*

It was his earnest wish that his son Alexander should

* The salaries of Seceder preachers were usually from thirty to fifty pounds, but in some cases so scanty that the *Regium Donum* became almost the entire source of support for the ministers. This fund originated in the act of that wise and just sovereign, William the Third, who, on his visit to Ireland, in June, 1690, authorized the Collector of Customs at Belfast to pay every year twelve hundred pounds into the hands of some of the principal dissenting ministers of Down and Antrim, who were to be trustees for their brethren. This fund which was afterward increased, when distributed among the ministers of Ulster, yielded to each some fifty or sixty pounds annually.

be well educated, and his sincere hope that he would be led to devote himself to the ministry of the Gospel. Finding that, with all his sportiveness, he possessed a marked conscientiousness and a sincere reverence for Divine things, he was the more encouraged in this fond hope, especially when he observed in him, as he grew older, evidences of increasing seriousness. His own time being already considerably occupied in teaching his family, he concluded it would be most advantageous to open a public academy, in which his own children might be pupils; and as Alexander, now in his seventeenth year, had by this time become quite proficient in the ordinary branches, he thought he would be competent to act as assistant. These matters being consequently arranged, and a suitable house procured, the whole family removed to the town of Rich-Hill, two miles distant.

This town is situated upon a very high but fertile hill, and commands on all sides charming and extensive prospects. Upon the broad summit there is a neat public square, around which, upon three sides, the houses of the village are built. Upon the remaining or north-eastern side of the square, appears, surrounded by beautiful shrubbery, an ancient and capacious mansion, at that time the residence of the Hon. William Richardson, M. P., and lord of the manor. These beautiful grounds are separated from the public square by an elegant iron railing, before which at a little distance stand some magnificent trees. On the opposite side of the square, at the corner, Mr. Campbell had found a plain two-story house, which served as a residence for his family, and also afforded room for the academy. His character and his ability as a teacher being well known, he soon had a flourishing school

which brought him an income approaching two hundred pounds per annum, and was regarded as an important benefit to the town and its neighborhood. To carry on such a school, in connection with his usual pastoral labors, was, indeed, an undertaking of no small magnitude; but his son Alexander entered into the work with so much spirit and success that he proved a most valuable assistant, while with unflagging energy he contrived to pursue, as usual, his own special course of studies under his father's guidance.

While thus engaged, his growing years and the circumstances of his position as a teacher gave to him a more manly character; and, though still full of sportiveness when with his youthful friends, he was observed to be much more thoughtful upon religious subjects and to have a deeper religious feeling. These indications were extremely gratifying to his father, who did not fail to urge upon him, with affectionate solicitude, the importance of his becoming a communicant and member of the church. As he had an excellent knowledge of the Scriptures, and as the chief points in the divine plan of salvation had been long familiar to him, he, in the course of his meditations, became awakened to a livelier consciousness of their importance, and began to feel an unwonted personal and individual interest in them. As his convictions deepened, he underwent much conflict of mind, and experienced great concern in regard to his own salvation, so that he lost for a time his usual vivacity, and sought, in lonely walks in fields and by prayer in secluded spots, to obtain such evidences of Divine acceptance as his pious acquaintances were accustomed to consider requisite; it being universally held by the Seceders that "an assured persuasion of the truth of God's promise in the Gospel, with

respect to one's self in particular, is implied in the very nature of saving faith." Of this particular period in his religious history he himself gave, many years afterward, the following account: "From the time that I could read the Scriptures, I became convinced that Jesus was the Son of God. I was also fully persuaded that I was a sinner, and must obtain pardon through the merits of Christ or be lost for ever. This caused me great distress of soul, and I had much exercise of mind under the awakenings of a guilty conscience. Finally, after many strugglings, I was enabled to put my trust in the Saviour, and to *feel* my reliance on him as the only Saviour of sinners. From the moment I was able to feel this reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ, I obtained and enjoyed peace of mind. It never entered into my head to investigate the subject of baptism or the doctrines of the creed."

Shortly after this he was received as a regular communicant in the church at Ahorey, and being aware of his father's wish that he should devote himself to the ministry, though he had not as yet fully made up his own mind upon this subject, he began to bestow a considerable portion of his attention upon theological studies, and particularly ecclesiastical history. While thus engaged, he was filled with wonder at the strange fortunes of Christianity, and at the numerous divisions or parties in religious society. He found the Catholics, numerous in his own country, for the most part an ignorant, priest-ridden, superstitious people, crushed, as it were, to the earth, as well by their own voluntary submission to an unrestricted spiritual despotism, as by the pressure of the social and political burdens resting upon them, and which were esteemed by the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon part of the population as necessary

safeguards against the repetition of such abuses of power as had occurred during the rule of James the Second and his deputy, Tyrconnel. The young student, in contemplating the whole system of Romanism in its superstitions, its ceremonies, its spirit and its practical effects, conceived for it the utmost abhorrence—a feeling which remained with him through life. On the other hand, the lordly and aristocratic Episcopalians, who looked down upon the dissenters, and seemed, with some exceptions, to have but little piety, and to be fond of enjoying the pleasures, fashions and follies of the world, were, notwithstanding their Protestantism, scarcely less disliked as a religious party. It was, however, when he came to consider the history of the Presbyterian Church, with its numerous divisions, in one of which he was himself a member, that he was enabled to form a clearer conception of the power and prevalency of that party spirit which it became afterward the labor of his life to oppose and overthrow. As his relations to some of these divisions were important, it seems necessary here to take a brief glance at certain points in their history.

The martyrdom at St. Andrew's on 29th of February, 1528, of the youthful friend of Luther and Melancthon, the devoted Patrick Hamilton, who first introduced the Lutheran Reformation into Scotland, followed, in 1545, by that of Wishart, and, in the following year, the assassination of Cardinal Beatoun, were among the earliest of those scenes of violence which marked the progress of the Reformed doctrine, until it was at length, about the year 1560, firmly established through the influence and labors of the intrepid Knox. No sooner, however, had this triumph been attained, than a protracted and almost equally fierce struggle commenced

between the two forms of Protestantism itself—the Presbyterian and the Episcopal. James the First and his successors, the first and second Charles, disregarding the fact that the Scottish people were strongly attached to that form of the Reformation which had been first set up among them, and that the nation had, as was pleaded in their public memorials, "reformed from Popery by presbyters," endeavored repeatedly to impose upon them, in whole or in part, the system of English Episcopacy or Prelacy. For a brief period, during the civil wars with Charles the First, Presbyterianism was predominant; but it was not until the accession of William the Third that the Scottish Estates or Parliament, in 1690, secured the permanent abolition of Prelacy, by placing a clause to this effect in the "Claim of Right" submitted to that monarch as the terms of Scottish allegiance.

When Presbyterianism had thus attained the supremacy it so long had sought, it began, in a short time, to furnish a fresh illustration of the fact that all established *national* religions, whether Greek or Mohammedan, Papal or Protestant, have in them the essence of Popery —the principle of absolutism. Conscious of power, and confident in the possession of glebe and manse, the Parliament as well as the General Assembly managed affairs in so arbitrary a spirit that many, even of their own party, became disaffected, and the minds of a large portion of the community were alienated from the ecclesiastical establishment. Oaths of office and of abjuration were required, which were thought to abridge Christian liberty, and acts were passed which seemed to many to set aside the national covenant* which they

* This famous covenant was entered into by the greater part of the Scottish people in 1560, and engaged its subscribers, by oath, to maintain

regarded as the true constitution of the empire, and for which the forefathers of many of those now connected with the National Church had formerly bravely fought under the name of Covenanters, and for adhering to which they had undergone the most cruel persecutions. A considerable number, indeed, of those stern, uncompromising Presbyterians, who strenuously adhered to the covenant, had refused to consent to the settlement made by King William, or to admit in anywise the right of civil rulers to meddle in religious matters. These were termed Society-men, as, being without a ministry for some time, they formed themselves into societies. They were also termed Cameronians, Mountain-men, Covenanters, &c. After some years a Mr. John McMillan, a minister in the National Church, united with them, for which act he was deposed by the General Assembly. He continued afterward, however, to labor among the Covenanters, who increased in number, and formed congregations in various parts of Scotland, as well as in the north of Ireland. From the worthy pastor who had thus, first after the revolution, gathered the scattered flock into the fold of Churchdom, they were sometimes called McMillanites, but the title they themselves adopt

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their religion free from all innovations. After having been at various periods again and again subscribed, and with unusual unanimity and zeal in 1638, it was afterward, during the civil war with Charles the First, presented to the English Parliament by the then dominant Presbyterian party in Scotland, who insisted on its being signed by the English Parliament as a preliminary to the granting of assistance by Scotland. This was finally acceded to, after some modification in the terms of the covenant, in order to satisfy the Independents, who, under the leadership of Vane and Cromwell, were then rising into power; and it was accordingly, on 25th September, 1643, signed by the members of both Houses, and also by the members of the Assembly of Westminster Divines, then sitting in London. From this time the national covenant of Scotland was known as "The Solemn League and Covenant" of the three kingdoms.

is that of "Reformed Presbyterians." They have, however, become nearly extinct, having in 1819 only sixteen small congregations in Scotland, six in Ireland, and nine in the United States, according to Blackwood.

The National Church, meanwhile continuing its unpopular proceedings, attempted at length, in 1712 and subsequently, to enforce the existing law of patronage, so as to deprive congregations of the privilege of choosing their pastors. It having been settled by the early Reformers, and inserted in the first Book of Discipline, that "no minister should be intruded upon any particular kirk without their consent," this course, and the violent scenes to which it gave rise, naturally occasioned great dissatisfaction amongst pious and conscientious members. Remonstrances and arguments, on the part of several eminent ministers, having been repeatedly presented, with no other effect than to provoke new acts of oppression, four of the ministers, with Alexander Erskine at their head, formally *seceded* from the prevailing party in the Establishment in the year 1733, and, forming themselves into a Presbytery under the designation of the *Associate Presbytery*, became the nucleus of a new party called *Seceders*. They were soon joined by two other ministers, Ralph Erskine and Thomas Mair, and rapidly increased, chiefly by defections from the National Church, until in a short time they numbered more than forty congregations. As there were many Presbyterians in the north of Ireland, and the division extended to them likewise, an application from Lisburn for ministerial aid was sent over to Scotland as early as 1736. It was not, however, until 1742 that the Synod was able to comply with the request, when Mr. Gavin Beugo was sent as a

missionary, through whose labors, and those of others, a number of churches were formed in Ireland.

This secession was the *first* great schism in the Church of Scotland. Soon after its occurrence, however, and for similar reasons, Thomas Boston, author of "The Fourfold State," separated from the National Church, and, uniting with Messrs. Gillespie and Collier, constituted a distinct party and Presbytery, called the "Presbytery of Relief," professedly organized "for the relief of Christians oppressed in their Christian privileges," especially in reference to the violent induction of ministers into parishes. This party differed scarcely at all from the Seceders, except in being more liberal in their views in regard to communion. They increased rapidly, and have since constituted a very respectable body of dissenters.

The "Associate" or Secession Church, previously mentioned, continued in a prosperous condition until 1747, when it became divided into two parties, upon the question whether certain oaths required by the burgesses of towns, binding them to support "the religion presently professed within the realm," did not sanction the very abuses in the National Church against which the seceders had constantly protested. Both divisions of the Synod claimed to be the true Church, but those who considered the oath unlawful came to be called *Anti-Burghers*, the other party being termed Burghers. This division spread at once through the churches in Scotland and Ireland, and the controversy was maintained with considerable bitterness for many years.

These two parties of seceders continued for more than half a century to maintain each its separate "testimony" and its distinct organization. They were

distinguished for the tenacity and zeal with which they maintained the ground they had respectively assumed, for the strictness of their religious life, and for the rigidity of their discipline. That hatred of prelacy which prevailed amongst them in common with all Presbyterian parties was at first intense, and gave rise to some singular decisions;* but it became gradually softened down, and after the lapse of thirty or forty years gave place to the milder spirit of toleration. But the disposition to confound matters of opinion and questions of expediency with the things of faith and conscience still continued to display its power; and in 1795 a question arose among the Burghers as to the power of civil magistrates in religion, as asserted in the twenty-third chapter of the Westminster Confession,

* A case of discipline came under the consideration of the Associate (Burgher) Synod in October, 1750, which shows the sentiment entertained by the Seceders and other Presbyterians in regard to Episcopacy: A stone-mason, Andrew Hunter, who was a Seceder, had undertaken in the exercise of his calling to build an Episcopal chapel in Glasgow. This gave great offence to his brethren, who called him to account for it. As he still persisted, however, the case came at last before the Synod, which decided that the building of an Episcopal meeting-house was at least equal to the building of the "high places" mentioned in the Old Testament; and after rehearsing the judgments denounced against those who assist in setting up a false worship, the "deliverance" of the Synod proceeds as follows: "And further, considering that by the National Covenant of Scotland, and by the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, we are bound to reform from Popery, Prelacy, superstition, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, and to endeavor the preservation of the Reformed religion of the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; and that Seceders, in a particular manner, profess to own these solemn obligations; and the said Andrew Hunter, by his above practice, is so far from endeavoring reformation from Prelacy and superstition, that he is encouraging the same, contrary to his profession and solemn ties, therefore, for all the above reasons, the Synod were unanimously of the judgment that he said Andrew Hunter was highly censurable, and particularly that he ought not to be admitted to any of the seals of the Covenant till he profess his sorrow for the offence and scandal that he has given and been guilty of."

and also in regard to the perpetual obligation of the "Solemn League and Covenant." This controversy had the usual effect to subdivide them into two parties, distinguished from each other as the "Original" or "Old Light Burghers" and the "New Light Burghers." About the same period this controversy prevailed also among the Anti-Burghers, the "Old Light" party being headed by Archibald Bruce, Thomas Campbell's former teacher of theology, who, with some other ministers, organized in August, 1806, a new Presbytery, called the Constitutional Associate Presbytery. There were thus at this time no less than four different bodies of Seceders, each adhering to its own "testimony," but all professing to adopt the Westminster Confession. In addition, there were not wanting various minor defections of those who, during the heated discussions of Synods and Assemblies, flew off like sparks from the iron heated in the forge, but, as these were transient and of little moment, it is unnecessary to detail them.

Schooled amidst such schisms in his own denomination, and harassed by the triviality of the differences by which they were maintained, it is natural to suppose that one of so catholic a spirit as Thomas Campbell conceived the greatest antipathy to party spirit in all its workings and manifestations, and that his son Alexander fully sympathized with him in these feelings. The existing division between the Burgher and Anti-Burgher Seceders had, indeed, been to him a source of so much regret that he had often urged, as opportunity offered, upon these parties, the duty of attempting a reunion.

Moved by his representations, and those of others favorable to such a measure, an effort was at length made to accomplish this desirable object, and a com-

mittee of consultation having met at Rich-Hill, in October, 1804, a report with propositions of union was prepared by Mr. Campbell, and presented to the Synod at Belfast,* by which it was very favorably received. In March, 1805, a conjoint meeting was held at Lurgan, and there seemed to be a unanimous desire, on both sides, for a coalescence, based particularly on the ground that as the Burgher oath was never required in Ireland, there was therefore nothing in the state of things existing there to warrant any division. The General Associate Synod in Scotland, however, hearing of the incipient movements in reference to union, took occasion to express their dissent in advance of any application, and the measure consequently failed for the time being.

In the following year an application was made to the Scottish Synod, by members of the Provincial Synod of Ireland, requesting them to consider whether it would not be expedient to allow the brethren in Ireland to transact their own business without being in immediate subordination to that court. It appears that Thomas Campbell was deputed to visit Scotland and lay this matter before the General Synod. When he set out on this journey, Alexander seems to have accompanied him as far as Belfast, which he then visited for the first

* The Anti-Burghers had constituted a Synod in Ireland in May, 1788, at which time the Scottish Synod concluded to establish different Synods in subordination to one General Synod, and accordingly arranged the different Presbyteries in connection with the association into four Synods, viz.: three in Scotland and one in Ireland. The Irish Synod was formed of the four Presbyteries of Belfast, of Market Hill, of Derry, and of Temple-Patrick, which, with the usual elders, formed the Associate Synod of Ireland. At that time the Presbytery of Market Hill consisted of the ministers of the congregations of Market Hill, Tyrone's Ditches, Newry and Moyrah, with a ruling elder from each of the sessions. The church at Ahorey was formed at a subsequent period, and Thomas Campbell became its minister in 1798.

time. His father, proceeding to Glasgow, fulfilled the duty assigned him, and presented the case to the Synod with great earnestness and force.* The Synod, however, decided that it was inexpedient to entertain the proposal, and matters were accordingly left as before. These movements, nevertheless, were not without some effect. The question, having been thus brought up, was generally discussed, and the propriety of union gradually became more and more evident, while a greater amount of fraternal intercourse took place between the two parties. Finally, some of the town councils abolished the religious clause of the Burgher oath; and it may be added that on the 5th of September, 1820, long after the Campbells had abandoned all sectarian establishments, and were diligently engaged in the New World in promoting the cause of a universal Christian union, the two Synods, Burgher and Anti-Burgher, formed a cordial reunion amidst general rejoicings and impressive exercises. This event was consummated in Bristo-street church in Edinburgh, in the very house where the division had occurred seventy-three years before.

* While Alexander was in Glasgow as a student, four years afterward, he was one day returning from church, when he was interrogated as to his parentage by a gentleman who accompanied him. Upon naming his father, the latter said: "I listened to your father in our General Assembly in this city, pleading for a union between the Burghers and Anti-Burghers. But, sir, while in my opinion he out-argued them, they out-voted him."

CHAPTER IV.

Independency—Toleration—Missionary movements.

NATURAL history teaches that there are certain species of polyps which reproduce themselves by a gradual division of their bodies into parts, and that these parts speedily acquire all the deficient organs and become distinct and perfect individuals. There are others among these singular creatures propagating their race by buds, which appear upon the body of the parent, and, after a sufficient degree of development, become separate and complete animals. Speaking analogically, it would appear that religious sects combine both these methods of increase, for not only do they divide themselves frequently into new parties, but likewise produce, occasionally, offsets, which, after adhering to the parent for a time, become so far developed as to be capable of assuming an independent life. Of the first method examples have already been given. Of the second mode, the Puritans or Independents and the Methodists are exemplifications, both having been off-shoots from the Church of England, with which they remained connected long after they were distinctly recognized as new productions of denominational fecundity.

Of the above-named parties, the Independents had a most important influence upon the religious views of both Thomas Campell and his son Alexander. There

was at this time in Rich-Hill a congregation of Independents, with whose pastor, Mr. Gibson, and many of the members, they were on terms of friendly acquaintance. It was not unusual for Thomas Campbell, after his return from the Lord's-day services at the country church of Ahorey, to go to the meeting of the Independents at night. Among the Seceders it was not allowable for any one to neglect his own meetings to attend those of others, but when there was no Seceder meeting within reach at the same hour, it was not particularly objected to that members should go to other meetings. This was called the privilege of "occasional hearing," which was conceded, but by no means encouraged, by the clergy. The members of the Independent Church were always much pleased to see Mr. Campbell come to their meetings, as they had a very high esteem for him as one of the most learned and pious of the Seceder ministers, but as he came only after dark, they were wont to compare him facetiously with Nicodemus, "who came to Jesus by night."

The Independents being more liberal than others in granting the use of their meeting-house to preachers of various kinds, an opportunity was thus also afforded of hearing occasionally persons who were distinguished in the religious world. On one occasion the celebrated Rowland Hill preached with great acceptance. James Alexander Haldane also visited Rich-Hill, and preached during Mr. Campbell's residence there. Alexander Carson, too, who left the Presbyterians and joined the Independents in 1803, preached about this time at Rich-Hill. Another individual who visited and preached at Rich-Hill was John Walker, whose abilities and learning made quite a strong impression on the mind of young Alexander. He had been a fellow and a teacher

in Trinity College, and minister at Bethesda Chapel, Dublin; but becoming grieved with the prevailing religious declension and the worldly conformity of most of the parties of the day, he resigned his fellowship in 1804, threw aside the clerical garb, and formed a separate society in Dublin. He taught that there should be no stated minister, but that all members should exercise their gifts indiscriminately. Baptism he regarded as superfluous, except to those who never before professed Christianity. He was Calvinistic in doctrine, but carried separatism so far that it was a special point with him strictly to prohibit the performance of any religious act without removing to a distance (if in the same room) from every person who refused to obey a precept that could be generally applied; insisting that true worship could be rendered only by those who receive and obey the same truths in common. It may be remarked that views not very dissimilar were held at various times by others. Roger Williams, for instance, the founder of the Baptists in America, held that it was wrong for professors of religion to hold worship with the unconverted, or to sit at the communion table with those who did not perfectly agree with them in religious sentiments. Mr. Walker was accustomed, at his meetings, to give a cordial invitation to all inquirers to call upon him next day at his room for religious conversation, and, as he was extremely affable and communicative, these interviews were usually very agreeable. Thomas Campbell, in company with one of his elders, called upon him, and Alexander also came in during their conversation, in which he became much interested. This singular man sold his carriage and traveled on foot through Ireland, and also through England, and gained here and there a few proselytes to his views,

especially in Plymouth, from whence they have become known as the Plymouth Brethren.*

The origin of the Independents as a religious body may be dated at least as far back as the reign of Elizabeth, when a number of intelligent English, exiled during the preceding reign of Mary, returned from Geneva, imbued with Calvinistic and republican sentiments. In 1566, a number of clergymen and others, who had adopted these principles, repudiated the Book of Common Prayer, and substituted the Geneva Service-Book. It was not, however, until about 1580 that a real separation occurred from the Church of England, under the leadership of Robert Brown, who, with a number of his followers, was compelled to leave England. Being subjected to various disabilities and persecutions, others, at different periods, fled to foreign parts, especially to Amsterdam and Leyden. These, again, under the reign of James the First, were followed by a considerable number, under the guidance of their pastor, Mr. Robinson. A portion of these exiles, under Brewster, Bradford and others, emigrated in 1617 to America, and landing at Plymouth, became the founders of the colony of Massachusetts, and the pioneers to others by whom the chief New England colonies were established. It is a singular fact that these exiles had no sooner obtained possession of power than they began to exercise the very same system of persecution of which they themselves had been victims.

* These "Brethren," however, it is believed, do not accord with all the views held by Walker. They practice immersion, but do not make it a term of communion; have no officers in the church, and conceive that "the unity of the Spirit" is shown by each member rising, as he may be moved, to perform public functions. They have small churches in England at various points, as at Leeds, Liverpool, etc., and the philanthropist Müller, author of the "Life of Faith," was immersed by them.

They whipped, branded, banished or executed Quakers and others who refused to conform to their views, thus affording another proof that a state or national religion is necessarily Popish in its spirit, for at that time, in these Puritan colonies, the Church was essentially the State.*

* Among other acts of tyranny, they banished from Salem, for the free expression of his opinions, Roger Williams, who was himself a Puritan. This champion of free opinion fled to Rhode Island, where he purchased territory from the Indians; and in 1643, returning to England, obtained a charter of incorporation. After spending some time in England, he came back to Providence, and, having become a Baptist, founded there the first Baptist church in America. In 1662 he obtained a second charter from Charles the Second, in which it was declared that "religion should be wholly and for ever free from all jurisdiction of the civil power;" so that to Roger Williams belongs the high honor of having founded the first political State in Christendom that embraced, in its constitutional provisions, the principle of universal toleration—a noble grant, the germ of civil liberty in the United States.

It is true that the theory of toleration had been advanced by individuals at former periods; and that some degree of religious freedom had at times been practically conceded, as in Bohemia, by the Emperor Rodolph, in 1609. Upon the burning of Servetus at Geneva in 1553 a work was published at Basil, attributed to Sebastian Castalio, denying the expediency of attempting to repress heresy by the civil power. Another publication on the same subject, by James Aconzio, appeared in 1565 at Basil, of which, in 1648, a translation was printed in England by John Goodwin, an Independent minister. These treatises, however, opposed persecution only on the ground of *inexpediency*, not denying the abstract right of the magistrate to punish heretics; and, even as to inexpediency, making an exception of atheists and apostates. The earliest English publication asserting religious freedom in its widest sense was made by Leonard Busher in 1614, in a tract entitled "Religious Peace—a plea for Liberty of Conscience." In this the author advocates the most complete toleration for all opinions and all religions, and would forbid any punishment of those opposed to religion. This was reprinted in 1642, and may have fallen under the notice of Williams, who was in England the year following, and himself published in London, in 1644, his noted tract to the same effect, entitled: "Bloody Tenet of Persecution for cause of Conscience, discussed between Truth and Peace." This bold champion of liberty died in 1683, and it was not till 1691 that Locke published his celebrated "Letters on Toleration"—a right, which, as just stated, had been already, though less ably, advocated by others, and was then actually in practical operation in Rhode Island. Craik's Hist. England, vol. iii. p. 785.

Whatever philosophical explanation may be made of the conduct of the Puritans, on the ground that self-preservation, in their then feeble condition, overrode all other considerations, since to oppose the Church was, in their case, tantamount to sedition against the State, one thing is certain, that the course they pursued was wholly inconsistent with the fundamental principle of Independency, and with not only the practice of their party in England, but with their own course subsequently, so soon as the Church was relieved from its false political position, and human rights became some what better understood.

It was this fundamental principle of Independency, the right of private judgment, that seems at this time to have particularly engaged the attention of Alexander Campbell. It was the natural tendency of his mind to seize upon principles, and this doctrine, so consonant with his own native independence of thought, was particularly agreeable to him. He does not appear, however, to have fully or practically adopted this principle, so entirely at variance with that of the denomination to which he belonged, and with the religious authority he had been taught to revere. Before taking this step, it was necessary that he should have a little longer time to observe the working of the religious systems of the time.

All these may be classed as Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational—to the last of which belong the Baptists and all others holding that each congregation is independent. In the Episcopal (including the Romish) and the Presbyterian systems no liberty whatever is granted to the people to interpret the Scriptures, this being entirely confined to the clergy. Hence, among Presbyterians, though the Scripture is

recommended to be read, the reader is carefully informed, as in the Acts of Assembly, "that the charge and office of interpreting the Holy Scriptures is a part of the ministerial calling, which none, howsoever otherwise qualified, should take upon him in any place, but he that is duly called thereunto by God and his kirk." No such thing, in fact, as liberty of private judgment is allowed in the Church of England or in Presbyterianism, any more than in the Church of Rome.

With the Independents, however, the right of every member to judge for himself as to the meaning of Scripture is the great distinguishing feature, and the basis not only of their congregational form of government, and their entire repudiation of the authority claimed by Presbyteries, Synods, Assemblies, Conventions or other church-courts, but also the reason of that tolerant spirit they so strikingly manifested when they attained to political power in England. In the Long Parliament, headed by Sir Henry Vane, they pleaded with the Presbyterian majority for such a degree of toleration as would at least include all holding Protestant doctrines. This, however, was abhorrent to the Presbyterians. "Toleration," cried one of them, "will make the kingdom a chaos, a Babel, another Amsterdam, a Sodom, an Egypt, a Babylon: toleration is the grand work of the devil, his masterpiece and chief engine to uphold his tottering kingdom; it is the most compendious, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evil. As original sin is the fundamental sin, having the seed and spawn of all sin in it, so toleration hath all errors in it and all evils."* The Independents, however, having got the control of the

* Craik's History of England, Book vii., c. 2.

army, and, finally, of the government under Cromwell, were enabled to put, to a considerable extent, their views into practice, so that during the Protectorate, for eleven years, a degree of peace, toleration and prosperity was enjoyed by all parties which had before been unknown. Although the toleration then granted was neither complete nor firmly founded, it greatly redounded to the credit of the Independents, and had an important influence upon the world at large. These singular but stern and religious men were, to use the language of Macaulay, "engaged in the great conflict of liberty and despotism, reason and prejudice. That great battle was fought for no single generation, for no single land. The destinies of the human race were staked on the same cast with the freedom of the English people." Opposed as well to Presbytery as to Prelacy and Popery, and regarding each congregation as independent and supreme in its jurisdiction, their views naturally made them republican in civil affairs, while their principle that every one should enjoy the right of private judgment in religion, released them from that spiritual despotism which all the other systems labored to establish.

For, to take the Presbyterian system as an example, their idea of a complete church is not by any means that of a single congregation, but of a number of congregations, with Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods sufficient to constitute a General Assembly. Each member of the congregation is subject, in conversation and doctrine, to the Session; the decisions of the Session to the Presbytery; those of the Presbytery to the Synod, and those of the Synod to the General Assembly. Thus, with them, the Church consists of congregations, with all the required church-courts,

comprising a complete system of absolute clerical domination.

Among these courts, it is the General Assembly which is the true exponent of the nature and animus of the entire system. This supreme court is the eye and ear and efficient head of the whole body. For, to use the vision of Assyria's king, if the Session be the legs of iron, emblem of popular strength, mixed at the feet with the miry clay of the unofficial laity, if the Presbytery be the belly and thighs of brass, and the Synod the breast and arms of silver, it is the General Assembly that constitutes the golden head, which is the crowning glory of the Presbyterian image.

No despotism, indeed, could be more complete than that sought to be established by the Church of Scotland, which exercised, by means of its clerical machinery, a real inquisitorial authority over men's minds and consciences, and, when called into question by the government for usurpations, or for preaching up sedition and rebellion instead of the gospel, would plead the divine commission of its ministry as the proof of its superiority to the civil power, and claim to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the courts in regard to everything said or done by its ministry in discharging their spiritual functions, whose extent, meanwhile, they asserted the right of determining for themselves.* When to these assumptions, we add the control of the

* When Andrew Melvin, one of those sent by the General Assembly to admonish James the First, proceeded to address the king, he informed him that of Christ's kingdom (which, with him, was only another name for the Presbyterian kirk) he was "neither a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member; and they," he added, "whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over the kirk and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient authority and power *from him* so to do, which no Christian king nor prince should control or discharge, but fortify and assist, otherwise they are not

sword of the magistrate which they constantly sought indirectly to acquire, and often really exercised, we have a dynasty quite as imperious as any ever main-

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faithful subjects to Christ. Sir when you were in your swaddling clouts Christ reigned freely in this land, in spite of all her enemies."

The same individual, on another occasion, when arraigned before the council for words spoken in a sermon he had delivered at St. Andrew's, at once declined the jurisdiction of the court. "After the giving in of the declination," says Calderwood, "the king and the Earl of Arran, then chancellor, raged. Mr. Andrew, never a whit dashed, said in plain terms that they were too bold, in a constitute Christian kirk, to pass by the pastors, prophets and doctors, and to take upon them to judge the doctrine and to control the ambassadors and messengers of a greater than was here. 'That ye may see your own weakness and rashness, in taking upon you that which ye neither ought nor can do (loosing a little Hebrew Bible from his girdle and laying it down before the king and his chancellor upon the table), there are my instructions and warrant: see if any of you can control me that I have passed my injunctions.' Here we see flaming out the true spirit of Presbytery, which, while opposed to any representation of the clergy in Parliament, had always sought to erect the Church into a power, independent of, and, in its own province, superior to the State—an arrangement which would afford an abundant compensation for the denial of political power of the ordinary kind."

As an illustration of the pertinacity with which the Presbyterians clung to their intolerant measures, and to those church-courts through which they contrived to embarrass and endeavored to control the civil power, it is well known that even Cromwell was unable to establish general toleration in Scotland, or maintain it there "with any chance of an hour's quiet to the country," as the historian remarks, "without putting a gag upon the Church. Accordingly," he continues, "when after many heats the General Assembly had met as usual at Edinburgh, in the summer of 1652, and was about to proceed to business, Lieutenant Colonel Cotterel suddenly came into the church, and standing up upon one of the benches, informed them that no ecclesiastical judicatories were to sit there but by authority of the Parliament of England; and without giving them leave to reply, commanded them instantly to withdraw themselves; and then conducted the whole of the reverend body out of the city, by one of the gates called the West-Port, with a troop of horse and a company of foot. The Assembly did not dare to meet again so long as Cromwell lived."

They knew too well the character of this remarkable man, who was intolerant only of intolerance, to try his patience farther. So liberal was he that he allowed the benefices and the pulpits to be occupied by all parties—some by the former Episcopal incumbents, some by Independents, and some even by the minor sects. For some time, indeed, the pulpits were open to

tained by Papal Rome. Happily, the example of the United States, the progress of liberal ideas and the great increase of dissenters had gradually checked the arrogance of the National Churches of Great Britain, and compelled them to hold in abeyance claims which, from their very constitution, it is impossible they should ever relinquish.

Although the spirit of these parties was thus, at this period greatly subdued, and no very arbitrary acts on the part of the Irish Synod had occurred to awaken discontent, the observant mind of Alexander Campbell perceived so much of a grasping spirit and of clerical assumption in the ministry, and such tendencies to a rigid exercise of power, as led him to reflect more seriously upon his future course. He had been repeatedly grieved to find that the occasional earnest overtures of his pious father in regard to various reforms, and especially in relation to a more frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper, then attended to only semi-annually, were treated with indifference, and rejected by the Presbytery and the Synod; and that there seemed no disposition whatever, on the part of those in authority, to admit of any changes or reforms. When he contrasted these things with the freedom of opinion and of

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any of the laity who seemed to have an edifying gift of utterance. To guard against an extreme here, "Cromwell," we are informed, "appointed in March, 1653, a Board of Triers, as they were called, in all thirty-eight in number, of whom part were Presbyterians, part Independents, and a few Baptists, to whom was given, without any limitations or instructions whatever, the power of examining and approving or rejecting all persons that might thereafter be presented, nominated, chosen or appointed to any living in the Church. This was tantamount to dividing the Church among these different religious bodies, or so liberalizing or extending it as to make it comprehend them all. * * * * This Board of Triers continued to sit and to exercise its functions at Whitehall till a short time after the death of Cromwell." Craik's History of England, iii. p. 481.

government enjoyed by the Independents, he was led to examine more carefully into the principles upon which the system of Independency was based. He found that the English Congregationalists differed somewhat from those called Scotch Independents, whose principal champion then was Robert Sandeman. Their rise is attributable to John Glas, an eloquent and able minister of the Church of Scotland, in the parish of Tealing, near Dundee, who abandoned the Establishment about the year 1728, and adopted Independent views, which he derived mainly from the works of John Owen. He formed churches in most of the large towns in Scotland, where his followers were called Glasites. About the year 1755, Robert Sandeman developed and sustained their views, and engaged in a spirited controversy with Hervey in regard to the leading doctrine in his "Theron and Aspasio," the appropriating nature of faith—a controversy which not only greatly promoted the circulation of Hervey's work, but gave celebrity to Sandeman, from whom this particular branch of Independents have, in England, been usually called Sandemanians. He afterwards came to America and founded societies in New England and Nova Scotia.

His doctrines were—that faith is merely a simple assent to the testimony concerning Christ; that the word faith means nothing more than it does in common discourse—a persuasion of the truth of any proposition; and that there is no difference between believing any common testimony and believing the apostolic testimony. He advocated the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper; love-feasts; weekly contributions for the poor; mutual exhortation of members; plurality of elders in a church; conditional community of goods,

etc. He also approved of theatres and public and private diversions, when not connected with circumstances really sinful.

The Independents at Rich-Hill, though in connection with those of Scotland, were Haldanean in sentiment, and did not adopt all the views of Glas or Sandeman. They attended weekly to the Lord's Supper, contributions, etc., but were opposed to going to theatres or such places of public amusements; to the doctrine of community of goods; feet-washing, etc., as advocated by Sandeman. They were also, in a good measure, free from the dogmatic and bitter controversial spirit so characteristic of Sandeman and his followers. It does not appear that Alexander acquired at this time anything more than a general knowledge of the history of these parties. If he became at all acquainted with the peculiar views of Sandeman in regard to faith, it is certain that he was far from adopting them; and that, even after his emigration to the United States, he continued to hold essentially the views of this subject entertained by Presbyterians. He seems, in addition, about this time to have read and to have been much pleased with the works of Archibald McLean, especially his work on "The Commission," of which he was wont ever after to speak in the highest terms.

In order to complete this brief account of the religious influences surrounding Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander at this period, it is necessary to notice a movement then in progress for the promotion of a simpler and, as it was termed, a more "evangelical" style of preaching, with the view of creating a greater general interest in the subject of religion. The reader is doubtless familiar with the history of the great excitement produced in England by the preaching of White-

field and Wesley about the same time at which the Seceders left the Kirk of Scotland, some sixty years previous. By their earnestness and zeal, by the introduction of the custom of field-preaching (unused since the time of the monastic orders, if we except the case of the persecuted Covenanters), as well as by the Wesleyan system of lay-preaching and itinerancy, the existing ecclesiastical establishments were roused from their state of frigid formality and apathy, and an unwonted religious fervor was diffused throughout all classes of the community. The same excitement was introduced also into Scotland, to which Mr. Whitefield was invited by the Seceders through the agency of the Erskines. As he was a Calvinist, they entertained hopes of winning him to their party, or at least of attaining to such doctrinal agreement with him as would justify them in availing themselves of his extraordinary powers. Immediately upon his arrival, therefore, at Dunfermline, they called a Presbytery, and proposed to set him right upon the matter of Church government and of the Solemn League and Covenant. He very properly declining to enter upon any disputes about what he regarded as trivial matters, and determining to adhere to his course of preaching Christ, free from the shackles of any party, the Seceders immediately became hostile and refused to hear him, denouncing him as "an enthusiast who was engaged in doing the work of Satan," while he, on the other hand, charged them with "building a Babel which would soon come down about their ears." Upon this, a number of the ministers of the Church of Scotland espoused Mr. Whitefield's cause and admitted him into their pulpits. Great excitement and extraordinary manifestations of swoonings, convulsions and cataleptic seizures attended Mr.

Whitefield's labors, especially at Cambuslang, near Glasgow, where at one time the assemblage was estimated to consist of at least thirty thousand persons. These singular cases had previously occurred under Mr. Wesley's preaching; and have several times since been noted, as in the revivals under the preachings of Jonathan Edwards in New England, and of James McGready, B. W. Stone and some other Presbyterian preachers in Kentucky, in 1801.

The intense religious interest awakened in Great Britain and Ireland by Wesley, Whitefield and their coadjutors, had, toward the close of the century, given place to a great degree of indifference and worldly conformity. The diffusion of infidel principles from France, political commotions and a variety of circumstances connected with the American and French wars, seem to have been chiefly instrumental in inducing a change which was deeply lamented by pious and earnest men in the different religious communities. It was resolved, accordingly, to make a united effort to arouse the people to greater religious activity, and, for this purpose, to employ those agencies of open-air preaching and itinerancy formerly so successful.

Among those conspicuously engaged in this work were the Haldanes of Scotland. A considerable missionary society, called the Evangelical Society, was formed for the above purpose, consisting in part of members of the Episcopal Church in England. As Thomas Campbell warmly sympathized in the proposed object, he became a member of this Society, and took great pleasure in aiding its operations. Many liberal and earnest preachers were sent out by its means through the country, who were accustomed to convene the people in the most public places in towns, or wher-

ever they could obtain an audience, and to address them with great earnestness upon the subject of religion.

In this species of mission there was something very pleasing, and certainly the position of such laborers was highly favorable to a fair and effective presentation of the general truths of the gospel. Like missionaries in heathen lands, they felt themselves freed, in a good measure, from the sectarian necessities and constraints of party-preachers. They were left, as it were, alone with the Word of God and the souls of men; and as far as it related to the general truths of the scheme of redemption, their addresses were most profitable in rousing the careless and thoughtless to inquiry, and in removing doubts and difficulties from the minds of the ignorant and the skeptical. "The more pure and free," as Neander well observes, "and unmixed with human schemes Christianity is, the more easily it makes its way into the hearts of men, and the more easily can it preserve in undiminished vigor its divine attractive power over human nature." It was, however, impossible for them, consistently with the nature of their mission and their views of religion, to recommend any very definite or particular course to anxious inquirers. The nature of faith; how Christ could be put on by faith; how the sinner could obtain an assurance of justification,—these were questions of the highest practical importance, to which different parties gave conflicting answers, and which, with matters of ecclesiastical organization, constituted the burden of polemical discussions and the ground of party differences. Their work was, however, a favorable omen of the approach of a better era, and served practically to break down the prejudices of religious society and to depreciate the value of those speculative theological dogmas and of

those sectarian distinctions by which pious believers were separated and alienated from each other.

Such, then, during the years of youth and of formative research and observation, were the religious influences which surrounded Alexander Campbell, and such the lessons of instruction which history afforded him. The effect of the whole was to increase his reverence for the Scriptures as the only infallible guide in religion, to weaken the force of educational prejudices, and to deepen his conviction that the existence of sects and parties was one of the greatest hindrances to the success of the gospel.

CHAPTER V.

Alexander Campbell's industry—Close observation—Failure of Thomas Campbell's health—Voyage to America.

IN human life there may be a second childhood, but never a second youth. As, in the natural year, the spring mingles its soft breezes with the chill blasts of winter, and the blue red-breast returns to warble from the leafless branches, and the tiny snowdrop blossoms or the crocus unfolds its gay petals amidst cheerless desolation, so, in wintry age, may childish thoughts and childish sports again delight, and dotage assume the guise of infancy, when the eye is weak and the memory defective, and the step unsteady, not from immaturity, but from decay. But youth, with its unspent energies, its keen perceptions, its earnest hopes, and its unfilled capacities, shall return to man on earth no more. As though deeply impressed with this conviction, it was in this, the seed-time of life, that, with unwearied industry, Alexander Campbell labored to store his mind with useful learning, and to avail himself of every accessible source of knowledge. He was accustomed to pursue his studies to a late hour in the night, and usually rose at four in the morning to resume them. Books were his constant delight, and self-education became with him a passion, as there seemed but little prospect of his being enabled to attend the University, owing to his father's large family, now increased with another daugh-

ter, named Alicia—making seven children living, three others having died in early infancy.

In addition to his duties in the public school, he was induced at this time to become private tutor to the daughters of Hon. William Richardson, giving lessons at certain hours in the day. This caused but little inconvenience, as Mr. Richardson's mansion was near at hand, surrounded with finely-improved grounds, where Alexander's sisters were accustomed often to walk on a pleasant evening to enjoy the beauty of the shrubbery and of the flowers. Amidst all his labors, however, he still found time for an occasional gunning excursion. On one of these expeditions an incident occurred, which, though trifling in itself, may serve to show how acute and introspective were his powers of observation, and how strong his objective tendencies, since, even in the midst of sportive recreation, he could readily make the operations of his own mind the object of analytic scrutiny. Having gone out on a Saturday, with two companions, in search of corn-crakes (a migratory land-rail abundant in Ireland), after a long walk their excursion seemed likely to prove unsuccessful. Upon their return they came into a meadow, and it was proposed that Alexander should take one end and his companions the other. In a little while one of the latter fired and shot a corn-crake. Alexander happened to have a gun with a worn pan, which sometimes allowed the powder to escape. Upon hearing the shot, he examined and found that there remained in the pan only one single grain of powder of large size. Not expecting to see any more game, however, he did not think it worth while to prime, and proceeded on his way; but had gone only a few steps when a hare started out of its form almost at his feet. As he was at

the end of the meadow near to the house of a tenant who had a license to take game, the first thought which struck him was, that he was in full view of the house. and, secondly, that the tenant might regard him as trespassing. He reflected further, that this man was very strict about the game; but it then occurred to him that, as he was a teacher in the family of the lord of the manor, he might be regarded as entitled to the privilege. He then recollected, however, that he had not primed his gun, and that it was not likely to go off, as there was but a single grain of powder in the pan. He perceived further, that the hare had but a very little way to go until it would reach a hedge and be hid from view, and that there was hardly time to take aim. But, lastly, considering that it was a risk all round, he concluded to try the experiment, and accordingly, putting up his gun, fired and killed the hare *before it had gone twenty steps*. He then discovered that at least *eleven* distinct thoughts had successively been present to his mind in that immeasurably brief instant—a circumstance which filled him with wonder as he reflected upon it, and became to him an illustration, which he never afterward forgot, of the inconceivable rapidity of the mind's action.

After several years spent in teaching at Rich-Hill, the excessive labor and confinement to which his father was subjected in fulfilling his duties to the congregation and to the school began seriously to impair his health. He grew extremely pale, dyspeptic and debilitated, and finally, after having for a long time tried various remedies in vain, he was informed by his physician that his life would be the forfeit if he persisted in continuing his unremitting mental toil; and that an absolute change of present pursuits, and such relief as

a protracted sea-voyage might afford, were indispensably necessary to his recovery. This decision was extremely distasteful to him. He could scarcely endure the thought of leaving his position and his family to undertake a voyage across the Atlantic, as was proposed to him by his friends, some of whom were almost constantly emigrating to the New World. At length, Alexander, seeing the critical state of his father's health, resolved to forward earnestly the proposed measure, and he therefore told his father that he would take the entire charge of the school until all existing engagements were fulfilled, and that he thought it highly important for him at once to visit America and see the country. As his father still hesitated, he at length told him that it was his own determination to go to the United States so soon as he came of age, and that all the circumstances seemed to him providentially to indicate the propriety of the course recommended, in order that a suitable location might be found for the entire family. Yielding at length to these representations and to the advice of his warmest friends, and especially of the Acheson family, Thomas Campbell gave his consent, and it was arranged that, in case he should be pleased with the country, he would send for the family; and, if otherwise, he would himself return to Ireland. As Miss Hannah Acheson was desirous of going out to her relatives, who had previously emigrated and settled in Washington, Pennsylvania, she gladly availed herself of the opportunity to place herself under the escort of her esteemed pastor.

Accordingly, a few days afterward, on the first day of April, 1807, Thomas Campbell, having taken an affecting farewell of his congregation, assembled his own family, to the members of which he delivered suit-

able counsels and instructions, after which, amid many prayers and tears, he bade them adieu, and set out with his company for Londonderry, the port from which he had concluded to sail. Hastily viewing the fine harbor, and some other points of interest connected with this ancient city, so celebrated in history for its heroic defence against James the Second, he took occasion, before embarking, to address a letter to his family, the following extract from which will show how highly, above all the things of the present life, he prized their spiritual welfare:

"Come out, my dear son," he wrote, "from the wicked of the world and be separate, and 'touch not the unclean thing,' saith the Lord, 'and I will receive you and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.' My dear children, look to this divine direction and promise, and the Lord will be with you and be your God; and 'if God be for us, who can be against us?' Now, if you attend to this, and do really come to and embrace the Lord Jesus for repentance and reformation, you will have good ground of confidence for all things necessary, in his mercy, for your comfort here and your future felicity, that he will make my journey prosperous for deliverance to you and your friends, and that he will not be wroth with me for your sakes. Live to God; be devoted to him in heart, and in all your undertakings. Be a sincere Christian—*i. e.*, imbibe the doctrines, obey the precepts, copy the example, and believe the promises of the gospel. And that you may do so, read it, study it, pray over it, embrace it as your heritage, your portion. Take Christ for your Master, his Word for your instructor, his Spirit for your assistant, interpreter and guide. Be always conformed in your heart and practice with it. Live by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, both 'for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption.' Above all things, attend to this, for without him you can do nothing, either to the glory of God or your own good."

Such were the affectionate counsels of Thomas Campbell to his family, and especially to his son Alexander, whose appreciation of them may be inferred from the fact that he carefully copied them into his note-book, that he might have them constantly before him. Meanwhile, his father had embarked on the ship Brutus, Captain Craig, master, bound for Philadelphia; and on the eighth of April, 1807, the wind being favorable, the vessel set sail, and passing out of Lough* Foyle, rounded Malin-Head, the most northern point of Ireland, where Thomas Campbell gazed for the last time upon his native shores as they faded from his sight in the dim mists of the eastern sky.

There was at this time a large and constant emigration to the United States. The political troubles; the religious dissensions; the oppressive tyranny of landed proprietors over tenants; the almost hopeless prospects for those with large families, and for the young, as to success in life; together with many other evils existing in this fertile and beautiful, but sadly-misgoverned country, led great numbers to seek a happier home under the free institutions of the New World. Several families of Thomas Campbell's acquaintance in the vicinity of Rich-Hill had, at this time, already made their arrangements to set out for the United States. Among these may be mentioned the family of the Hodgens, of which some of the younger members had been Mr. Campbell's pupils. Thomas Hodgens, having sold out his land for three hundred guineas, resolved to emigrate and purchase land in America; and one of his daughters being married to James Foster, he urged

* The word *lough* has in Ireland and Scotland a wider signification than the word *lake*, embracing not only inland sheets of water, but bays which have a narrow outlet to the sea.

his son-in-law to accompany him. This James Foster was destined to take no unimportant part in Thomas Campbell's future religious movements. He was one of those men who, from a retiring disposition or other circumstances, do not put themselves prominently forward, but who exert, nevertheless, an important influence within a limited sphere, and often make that influence widely felt through other minds.

He was a member and the precentor in the church of the Independents at Rich-Hill, and a young man of more than ordinary piety and religious attainments. Possessed of a remarkably retentive memory, and devoted to the study of the Bible, his mind became a complete treasury of the Word of God, so that he could, with the utmost accuracy, repeat from memory its sacred teachings at his pleasure. Having become convinced that there was no authority in Scripture for the baptism of infants, he would never consent to its administration in the case of his own children; but he was not, on this account, less esteemed among the Independents, with whom considerable latitude of opinion was allowed. His extreme conscientiousness, indeed, was so well known, and his character and religious worth so highly appreciated, that he was one of the most influential members in the church, and was often invited to the house of the pastor, Mr. Gibson, where he met, occasionally, some of those eminent preachers who visited Rich-Hill. At one of his visits he met with John Walker, and heard him discuss with Mr. Gibson various religious topics, on which occasion Mr. Gibson seemed to him to be a mere child in the hands of the learned and acute Walker. He heard Alexander Carson also, and thought him the finest religious teacher to whom he had ever listened. It was his habit not to speak from a text, but

to enter into the train of thought presented in an entire connected portion of Scripture, so as fully to develop the actual meaning of the passage.

When James Foster was urged to go to America, he hesitated to leave his recently widowed mother, until she herself urged his emigration, lest his wife should pine after her relations. Upon this he was induced to consent, and the whole party having made their arrangements, set out about two weeks after the departure of Thomas Campbell, and proceeded to Newry.

This town occupies a part of three counties—Lowth, Armagh and Down. It is connected with Lough Neagh by a canal, chiefly in the bed of the river Bann, and also with Carlingford Bay by a canal, through which vessels reach its fine spacious quay, so that it is a centre of considerable trade. It is built upon the side of a steep hill, at the foot of which is the Narrow Water, an inlet from Carlingford Bay, but not sufficiently capacious for large vessels. Along the margin of this Narrow Water, upon the left, a fine road passes down from Newry, five miles, to Warren Point, which is much resorted to as a watering-place. On the opposite side of this narrow inlet, in the county of Lowth, lofty and precipitous hills arise as out of the very water, presenting a magnificent appearance. Passing down, accordingly, to Warren Point, where the bay is about a mile and a half wide, James Foster and his companions embarked on a vessel bound for Philadelphia.

As though to attract the foreigner and detain the emigrant, Nature seems at this point to have grouped together the most enchanting scenery. Looking seaward, along the shores of the widening bay, high hills of beautiful forms rise up from the water's edge on each side. Two miles below, upon the left, nestling between

two mountains, is the village of Rosstrevor, celebrated for its picturesque beauty and connected with the demesnes of General Ross, who was destined to fall, a few years afterward, in the attack on Baltimore, and in whose honor an elegant monument, in the form of an obelisk, has since been erected a little above the village. Below Rosstrevor a majestic mountain lifts, to a great height above its green and wooded slopes, a bare and rugged peak, upon whose side appears a perpendicular rock of immense size, distinctly visible from Newry, and to which parties frequently resort to enjoy the magnificent view which it affords. On the opposite side of the bay is seen Carlingford Castle, a large and imposing structure, often visited by the tourist, and possessing many interesting historical associations. Still further down, at a distance of about four miles, and on the extreme point where the bay at length opens into the sea, stands the light-house, like a friendly hand stretched out from the shores of civilization and hospitality to "welcome the coming" or "speed the going guest." To all these charming scenes, and the cherished associations of their native land, the emigrants were now compelled to bid a final farewell, as the vessel, weighing anchor and steering down the bay, entered the Irish Sea, and taking a southerly course through St. George's Channel, along the coast of Wales, whose lofty mountains became distinctly visible, passed out at length into the broad Atlantic.

A departure to a distant land, with its last farewells to beloved friends and familiar scenes, has in it much of the bitterness of death. It brings, at least, home to the heart, the griefs, uncertainties and fears attendant upon a protracted separation; and the radical idea in death is separation, of which, to the Irish emigrant and

his family, the trackless ocean, with its seemingly boundless extent and unfathomed mysteries, becomes at once the emblem and the instrument. These feelings were most fully realized in the family home-circle at Rich-Hill, in which a once honored seat remained vacant, and the venerated form of a beloved father was seen no more. In all the buoyancy of youthful hope, Alexander Campbell nevertheless addressed himself to his labors, conducting the school energetically according to arrangements, and assisting his mother in the care of the family, managing everything with such vicacity and cheerfulness as to revive the spirits of all, like a pleasant sunshine after a day of gloom.

After some three months had passed away, he received with great joy a letter from his father announcing his safe arrival at Philadelphia, after a prosperous voyage of thirty-five days, which, at that time, was reckoned a speedy trip. It stated that he had been so highly favored as to find the Anti-Burgher Synod* of North America then assembled in the city, and had been very kindly received by the members upon presenting his testimonials from the Presbytery of Market Hill and the church at Ahorey. This letter is dated May 27, 1807, and continues as follows:

"What a debtor am I to the grace of God! and what a debtor are you, my dear Jane, and you, my dear little ones, for whom I am ardently praying to that gracious God that hears and helps and saves all that call upon him in truth! for these kindnesses conferred upon me are also for your sakes, that, through his mercy, we may yet praise him together in the congregation of his people. To call this in question would

* The only Seceders in the United States were attached to this Synod, as the Burghers never had any distinct organization in America.

be to belie his goodness. And you, dear Alexander, upon whom the burden lies at present, and must for some little time longer—I hope not longer than we expected at our parting—be sure you make it your chief study to do all to please and nothing to offend that great God who has raised such friends and conferred such friendships upon your father, both at home and abroad, and especially when he became a stranger in a strange land. But what do I say? A minister or a member of Christ's Church is a citizen of the world, as far as the Church extends. * * * * My dear Jane, let nothing discourage you. Turn to God; make his word and will your constant study, and rely upon it that as 'the days wherein you will have seen and years you grief have had,' so the Lord will make you glad, and satisfy you with his tender mercies. My dear children, let me address you together: if you have any sympathy, any sincere affection for a father who cannot cease to love you and pray for you so long as his heart shall beat or tongue be able to articulate, see that you follow the directions that I gave you at my parting, whether by word or writing. Be a comfort to your mother; love, cherish and pity one another. Love the Lord your God; love his Son Jesus Christ, and pray to the Lord constantly and ardently for me your poor father, who longs after you all, and who cannot rest, if the Lord will, till he has prepared a place of residence for you all, where I trust we shall spend the rest of our days together in his service."

This letter also, together with others breathing the same affectionate and religious spirit, Alexander reverentially copied upon the pages of his note-book, in which he had already numerous selections from Young, Johnson, Buffon, Beattie, and other esteemed authors: for it was his custom to write down, for his future use, and in order to impress them the more upon his memory, those passages in the books he read that particularly pleased him.

CHAPTER VI.

Merited Confidence—Preparations for Departure—Delays—Embarkation.

IT is the sense of what we seem to others that moulds and fashions human character. This may be rough-hewn by Nature, but it is the consciousness of the judgment of others, the praise of those we esteem, the criticism we fear, the model we admire, that will modify its form and determine its features. Hence the opinion which a friend entertains of another's virtues or abilities becomes to him often a standard to which he insensibly labors to conform; and the confidence reposed in him becomes one of the most powerful motives to deserve it. In the education of youth, therefore, encouragement and trust are needed, rather than censure or suspicion; and the "love that believeth all things" and "hopeth all things" will accomplish more than the skepticism which doubts or the austerity that chills the most generous emotions. It was upon this principle—which, indeed is the same which underlies the profound philosophy of the gospel itself—that Thomas Campbell acted both as a parent and as a teacher; and the frank confidence now reposed in Alexander, in committing to him so important a charge as the management of the academy and the family, became to him not only a flattering evidence of his father's high appreciation of his abilities and his principles, but a powerful incentive to him to show that this confidence was not unmerited.

He continued his labors, therefore, with that careful punctuality to which he had been accustomed, and conducted the school successfully to the close of the term.

No other letters being as yet received from America in reference to removal, and his uncle Archibald at this time greatly desiring his assistance, he now went over to Newry and took charge of a number of private classes. Here he continued, frequently seeing the family at Rich-Hill and providing for their comfort, until the month of March, 1808, when a letter was at length received from his father, urging immediate departure, and referring, for general advices, to other letters written in the preceding November, but which, as it now appeared, had failed to reach their destination. He learned, by the letter now received, that his father had been, at his request, assigned by the Synod at Philadelphia to the Presbytery of Chartiers, embracing Washington county, in Western Pennsylvania, where some of his former neighbors had already settled, and whither James Foster and his party were bound. After spending a short time very pleasantly with the Seceder ministers and the acquaintances he had formed in Philadelphia, he had proceeded over the mountains to Washington, Pennsylvania, from which town the letter was dated, January 1, 1808. James Foster and his friends, it appeared, had landed at Philadelphia five weeks after his arrival there, and, coming on to Washington county, had found him there already engaged in ministerial labor. The following extract from his letter will show how earnest and unceasing were the aspirations of this excellent man for entire consecration of heart and life to the service of God,

"I have been encompasse with mercies from the day I

left you until this day—not the slightest accident by sea or land has befallen me. * * * * My confidence toward God in behalf of you all, to whose gracious providence and merciful protection I have heartily resigned you, keeps my mind in perfect peace. I feel greatly comforted in pouring out my heart's desire to the God of all mercy for the preservation and salvation of my family. I do not know but that I have felt more solemn, elevated pleasure in this grateful exercise since I set my foot in this land of peace, liberty and prosperity, than I could have done in the same time had I remained in the midst of you, all things considered. In those happy exercises I have enjoyed a gracious and triumphant confidence in that unlimited power, wisdom and goodness to which nothing is difficult, much less impossible. I have been enabled to cast all my care upon the Lord, so that I feel neither anxious nor afraid of anything upon earth. I perceive myself in the arms of Almighty Goodness, and am greatly comforted. I hope the receipt of this will find you all in like happy circumstances. If you knew the solid and adequate satisfaction that the clear apprehension of the great gospel of the grace of God is calculated to afford, and does actually afford to all that truly know and embrace it, you would earnestly covet this happiness and spare no pains to acquire it. Neither is it hard to acquire. Only be devoted to God; give up yourselves to the diligent study and practice of his holy word, looking to and leaning upon the promise of his Holy Spirit, which he freely and graciously gives to all them that sincerely and heartily seek it, to enable them to know and to conform to his will in all things; and you shall know the truth of his promise, 'You shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.' You shall know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent; then shall you feel yourselves impregnable as the Rock of Ages, in whom you put your trust. 'All that know thy name shall put their trust in thee, and they that put their trust in thee shall never be confounded.' Let us rejoice; the Lord reigns! and his servants need fear no evil. Be of good comfort

through his grace, and cautiously avoid danger. Omit no opportunity of removing, as the Lord may graciously permit. The merciful providence of the Lord be with you. Wishing you a happy new year under his gracious auspices, adieu.

"THOMAS CAMPBELL."

Immediately upon receipt of this letter, the family began to make the necessary arrangements for the contemplated voyage. When nearly ready, however, an unlooked-for visitation occasioned further delay. That dreaded disease, the small-pox, happened just at this time to visit Rich-Hill. Alexander, with his accustomed promptitude, at once suggested to his mother the propriety of having inoculation performed upon all the members of the household who had not yet had the disease. This was the method of protection then generally employed, as vaccination had not yet come much into use. The discovery, in fact, had been published by Jenner only in 1798, and it was several years before its efficacy was fully confirmed, the British government not taking it under its protection until 1808. It happened, however, that before the necessary preparation could be made, some of the younger children were found to have caught the infection. Fortunately, most of the cases assumed a mild form, Jane being the only one who had it very severely. She was then in her eighth year, and a beautiful child, extremely fair and blooming, with light flaxen hair; but her beauty was considerably marred and her face deeply marked by the disease.

As soon as all were convalescent, preparations for departure were resumed, but it was August before they were completed. On the 20th of this month Alexander set out on horseback for Londonderry, to make arrangements for their embarkation. The distance being

sixty miles, he was occupied two days in making the trip, greatly admiring, as he passed along, the beauty of the scenery, now enhanced by the contrast of the golden grain-fields with the green meadows and pasture lands. Upon reaching the city, he stopped at an inn belonging to a Mr. William Wilson, merchant, and proceeded to make inquiry in regard to vessels for America. He took this opportunity to visit also those parts of the city and its vicinity which had been rendered interesting by the memorable siege. The place was shown where Lundy, the treacherous governor, who was disposed to surrender the city, let himself down from the wall by the assistance of a pear tree, and made his escape to the enemy, to avoid being torn to pieces by the citizens. Upon his departure, Baker and Walker were elected governors, and the most vigorous measures adopted for defence. For many weeks all the efforts to take the town by storm were gallantly repulsed; upon which the siege was changed into a blockade, and all the avenues of assistance carefully secured. The supplies in the city were short, yet the people manfully held out, even when they had to assuage their hunger by gnawing salted hides, when rats became dainty fare, and dogs, fattened on the blood of the slain, were luxuries that few could purchase—the price of a whelp's paw being, as Macaulay informs us, five shillings and sixpence. At length, at the end of one hundred and five days, the boom stretched across the Foyle, a mile and a half below, was broken by ships bearing provisions, and the city, which by no art could have held out two days longer, was happily saved. Alexander found the walls very high, especially next the sea, and so broad at top that a coach and four could be driven upon them, though,

at the time of the siege, the defences were in a very poor condition. He was pleased with the wide streets, the old-fashioned houses, and particularly with the fine public square, upon which fronted some of the best houses in the city. He visited the place where the great boom had been stretched across the Foyle, and saw the rugged mass of rock to which it had been attached upon the left bank by a cable a foot thick. Near by was also the well from which the besiegers drank, and the burial-ground where they laid their slain, and where the spade of the gardener occasionally still turns up some of their mouldering bones. Having completed his examinations, and visited the vessel in which he expected to sail, he made a conditional engagement with the captain, and returned home after what was to him a very pleasant excursion.

As the vessel was not likely to sail for some time, and some of his acquaintances were about to visit Dublin, he concluded to accompany them, in order to have a better idea of his own country before leaving it, and to be enabled to compare it with other lands. He set off, accordingly, for the metropolis by stage on the 2d of September, and arrived safely at half-past six in the evening. Dublin is a very old city, having been spoken of by Ptolemy, who flourished in the reign of Antoninus Pius, about A. D. 140, and who then called it a city—Eblana Civitas.* From the elegance of its architecture, the number of its public buildings, the magnificence of its quays, docks, and many of its streets, Dublin is regarded by tourists of discrimination as one of the finest capitals in Europe. There are few points,

* It is thought by many that in Latinizing the word Dublin, the initial D was accidentally omitted, and that Eblana should be Deblana.

in the approaches by land, which afford a good view of the city; that from Phœnix Park being perhaps the best. The scenery, however, on entering the bay between Howth and Dalkey Island, is extremely fine. Bold promontories, green sloping pastures, neat villas are seen, and especially among the latter, the elegant seat of Lord Charlemont. Several beautiful islands present a picturesque appearance, while, behind them, appear the Rochetown hills, and, still further back a varied prospect of villas, woods and pastures, terminated grandly by the distant Wicklow Mountains. Within the city itself there are some charming prospects, especially that from Carlisle Bridge. On the right is Sackville street, one of the most splendid in the world, terminated by the Rotunda and Rutland Square. On the left, Westmoreland street, with elegant buildings, terminated on one side by Trinity College and on the other by the Bank of Ireland. In front is the river Anna Liffey, which passes through the midst of the city, with its eight beautiful bridges and spacious quays, parapetted with granite, and extending for two miles and a quarter along the wide open space which passes quite through the city, and in the centre of which the river flows with a lively current. In the distance, the Four Courts are seen on Inns-Quay; the Phœnix Park also; while, toward the east, the magnificent Custom-House appears, and the fine harbor, crowded, as far as the eye can reach, with vessels of all descriptions.

The morning after his arrival he sallied forth to view the city. As he kept a journal of his visit, his impressions may perhaps be best learned from his own words:

"The principal things that drew my attention this day were the Linen-Hall, the infirmaries, hospitals and other eleemosynary superstructures. The Linen-Hall is a very ex-

tensive and elegant building, built in long squares, with doors opening into a very wide common hall. In the rooms there are offices and other accommodations for the merchants. * * * * The poor-houses, infirmaries and hospitals are numerous and elegantly conducted. In one of the foundling hospitals I saw about a thousand male and female children dine together in one apartment. Their repast consisted of white bread, with a portion of bursted barley, which is not their usual repast. One of the children, about twelve years old, gave thanks in a small pulpit before and after dinner; and before they dispersed the female part sang a part of a hymn. * * * * From the whole I observed the good and happy effects of economy, regularity and good discipline. The next thing that engaged my attention was the cradle, where I admired the care that was taken of the infants of a hundred parents—poor children whose hearts shall never glow with filial affection, who shall never feel the benign effects of parental love, and whose souls shall never be knit together by the ties of brotherly affection or tender regard. Yet even these are not forgotten by the Almighty Father. They have been snatched from the hand of cruel parents, whose awful wickedness might have led them (were not this means appointed for their preservation) to imbrue their hands in their innocent blood.

"Next day, being the Sabbath, we went to Back-lane and heard the Rev. Samuel Craig deliver a very elegant discourse from these words: 'Fear not, little flock; it is my Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.' Monday I spent walking up and down for amusement, viewing the canals, bridges, etc., and going out of the city a few miles to where I might have a good prospect. I also visited the Royal Exchange, and saw the most respectable part of the merchants of Dublin assembled to do business.

"Tuesday I went with a party to the Botanic Gardens, where we saw the vegetable world in miniature. The Gardens contain about sixteen acres. Here are the productions of the torrid zone, reared by the most assiduous care under

glass—the herbs of sandy Africa and all the plants of the Indies. Here are themes sufficient for the naturalist, the horticulturist and the botanist. Wednesday, I paid a visit to the Museum, where I was greatly delighted with the elegance of the appearance, the vast variety of curiosities that presented themselves to my view. Birds of every species, preserved in full form, drew my attention on one hand ; on the other, the beasts of the forest and the tenants of the main. Add to these, the great variety of terrene and marine productions ; the works of nature and of art ; the whole tribe of insects ; the medals and coins of other years, and specimens from the mines and minerals of many nations. * * * * Same day, I took a walk round the College and the College Green, and conversed with one of the students. The College is one superb square, and the Green delightful. The public buildings in Dublin are elegantly magnificent: the most superb street is Sackville street, where there was a monument erecting in memory of Lord Nelson. Dublin is a little world in itself. The inhabitants are numerous, and in general hospitable and generous. During my stay, I stopped at the house of Mr. Lukey, a respectable and worthy gentleman."

On Thursday he returned home and continued his preparations for the voyage, which being completed by the 20th of September, the whole family set out that day for Londonderry, where they arrived safely in four days. Their ship, the Hibernia, was, however, not yet ready to sail, and they were detained here eight days waiting upon it. At length, on the 28th of September, the vessel weighed anchor in Lough Foyle, with the design of putting out to sea, but, the wind soon proving adverse, cast anchor again. On the 1st of October (1808), wind and tide being favorable, she hoisted sail and took her departure, firing off, by way of adieu, the ten pieces of cannon with which she was armed. Toward evening, when near the mouth of the Lough,

the wind failed and the anchor was cast for the night. Next morning, which was the Lord's day, the wind again favoring, they passed out into the Atlantic, but came to anchor again not far from Innishowen, from which place some of the passengers desired to obtain their supply of whisky. It began now to appear that the ship, though strongly built and a good sailer, was very poorly manned and managed. The captain, Jacob Jumer, was self-willed and given withal to drink. The sailors were mostly young and inexperienced. The mate, Mr. Ryan, was evidently the only good seaman on board, and he and a Dutchman, who was a good hand, seemed to be equal to the half of the crew, which consisted of twelve, including the cook's mate and cabin-boy. A large number of passengers had been taken on board, many of whom were Catholics, having a priest along with them. Comfortable quarters had been obtained, somewhat apart, for Mrs. Campbell and her family, where they read books, conversed with each other, attended to their usual family duties, and where Alexander conducted their worship regularly morning and evening. He had now just entered upon his twenty-first year. He was tall, athletic and well-proportioned, with much of that bloom and freshness in his complexion so common in the youth of Ireland. He had an air of frankness about him, blended with decision and self-reliance, which at once inspired respect; yet he was affable and fond of conversing with others and eliciting information. The next in age, his sister Dorothy, now in her sixteenth year, was somewhat tall and slender, but erect in carriage, with regular features, having an intelligent and thoughtful expression. She was well versed in the Scriptures, having a fine memory and a strong, masculine understanding,

resembling in this respect her brother Alexander more than any of the family. Next to her was her sister Nancy, about thirteen, more like her father in figure, and of a very quiet and retiring disposition. Jane was the next in age, and now in her ninth year, had just recovered from her tedious confinement with the small-pox, which, though it had destroyed the beauty of her complexion, left still a very engaging face, with handsome features and bright, expressive eyes. Thomas, a boy of over six years, of an extremely active and restless temperament, with the two younger, Archibald and Alicia, of four and two years respectively, as yet mere children, were their mother's especial care to guard them from the unaccustomed dangers of the ship. All of them, in the novel circumstances in which they were now placed, realized more fully than ever the family and social ties that bound them to each other, and endeavored to make each other as happy as possible, in the expectation of soon reaching Philadelphia, to which port the ship was bound. But a very different destination awaited her.

CHAPTER VII

At Sea—Scottish Coast—Imminent Peril—Determinations—Rescue—Views of Prayer.

TO abandon for ever one's native land, with all its endearing associations, naturally gives rise to emotions of sadness. Such were the feelings of Thomas Campbell's family when the vessel, setting sail again on the following morning, gradually left the shores of green Erin in the dim and misty distance. But the remembrance of a beloved husband and father waiting to receive them in the Western World, the hopeful buoyancy of youth, and the strange groups and ever-shifting scenes on board the vessel, soon gave rise to other and more cheerful thoughts.

The wind in the early part of the day was fair, but toward evening, off Malin Head, it became adverse, and increased so much in force that the ship was unable to make head against it, even when close-hauled. It became necessary, therefore, to take in sail and run before the wind all night. Next morning they found themselves near the coast of Scotland, which, from their position on the previous day, lay only about thirty miles to the north-east. As they approached the shore, it appeared very rocky and dangerous, but the captain succeeded in running the vessel into a very crooked bay which happened to be near. Neither he nor the sailors appeared to know precisely on what part of the

coast they were; but some time after daybreak pilots came on board and informed them that they were in Lochin-Daal Bay, on the coast of the island of Islay; adding that this part of the bay was very unsafe, many vessels having been wrecked there. They therefore advised the captain to proceed on further, to a better harbor near a small village called Bowmore, which was the chief town of the island. The captain, however, being resolved to go out to sea again as soon as ever the wind would permit, concluded to remain for the present where he was, and accordingly cast anchor.

Here they remained for three entire days, the wind continuing still unfavorable. During this period, Alexander occupied himself in observing the motley crowd of passengers, in conversing occasionally with the more intelligent, and in reading some of the books he had selected for the voyage. Some of the Catholics on board, having heard him engage in prayer with the family at morning and evening worship, seemed inclined to show their contempt for Protestants by occasionally requesting him, in a bantering tone, to pray for them. To such jeers, however, he paid no attention, knowing well the ignorance and the bigotry by which they were dictated.

On the evening of the 7th October, the ship still riding at anchor in the bay, and no appearance of any threatening danger, a singular circumstance occurred to him. After having attended to family worship and Scripture recitation as usual, he had reclined upon one of the sofas, and was reading aloud to his sister Dorothea in "Boston's Fourfold State." Finding, after some time, that she was becoming drowsy, he ceased reading, and soon afterward himself fell into a somewhat uneasy slumber. At length he started up with evident

marks of alarm, and told his mother and sisters that he was confident a great danger was impending, and that he feared they were about to be shipwrecked. He said he had just had a most vivid dream, in which he thought the ship had struck upon a rock, and that the water came rushing in and nearly filled the vessel. He thought he had been making the most strenuous exertions to save the family and secure their luggage; and so strong was the impression made upon his mind that he said, "I will not undress to-night. I will lay my shoes within my reach, and be ready to rise at a moment's warning; and I would advise you all to be prepared for an emergency."

All having at length retired to their berths, the decks and cabins became quiet, and no noise was heard but the dull sound of the waves as they dashed against the sides of the vessel, the whistling of the wind through the rigging, or the creaking of the cables as the ship began to strain upon them more and more. Finally, about ten o'clock, the wind, veering toward the south, increased rapidly to a severe gale, blowing directly into the bay. In a few moments the passengers were suddenly aroused by a violent shock, accompanied with the crashing sound of breaking timbers and the rushing of water into the main hold of the vessel. Instantly all was commotion and terror. The ship, it appeared, had dragged her anchors, and had been dashed upon a sunken rock, which had penetrated her bottom, while the force of the wind and waves had thrown her almost upon her beam-ends. As the passengers scrambled to the upper deck, they found the captain calling up all hands to cut away the masts. In the confusion, however, but a single axe could be found. With this the sailors commenced to hew at the masts, while some of

the passengers who had broadswords assisted with these in cutting away the stays. The masts being at length cut and falling overboard, the ship righted to some extent, fortunately still remaining upon the rock, upon which she seemed to settle more firmly as she gradually filled with water. All the passengers, with whatever baggage they could rescue, were now crowded upon the upper deck, exposed to the fury of the elements, as wave after wave of immense size approached and broke upon the vessel, sweeping the deck and threatening instant destruction. The captain now ordered minute-guns to be fired in token of distress, but such was the noise of winds and waves that it seemed impossible that they could be heard on shore. The situation, indeed, appeared to all to be desperate —the violence of the storm continuing, the long and dreary night before them, and no prospect of any human help.

It was now that Alexander, having done all that was possible for the present safety of his charge, abandoned himself to reflection as he sat on the stump of the broken mast, and, in the near prospect of death, felt, as never before, the vanity of the aims and ambitions of human life. The world now seemed to him a worthless void, and all its attractions a vain, delusive show. Kingdoms, thrones and sceptres could not, he thought, if offered, excite one wish for their possession. The true objects of human desire and the true purposes of man's creation now appeared to him in all their excellence and glory. He thought of his father's noble life, devoted to God and to the salvation of his fellow-beings, and felt that such a calling, consecrated to the elevation and everlasting happiness of mankind, was, indeed, the highest and most worthy sphere of action

in which any human being could engage. It was then, in that solemn hour, that he gave himself up wholly to God, and resolved that, if saved from the present peril, he would certainly spend his entire life in the ministry of the gospel. It was at this moment that he, for the first time, fully decided upon adopting the ministry as his profession.

Calmly submitting himself to the dispensations of Heaven, he now began to observe the conduct of the other passengers. Most of them presented the aspect of extreme terror, as they hopelessly gazed at the careering clouds above or into the surrounding gloom, or shrunk away from the fury of the dashing waves. The Catholics, especially, manifested the most abject fear, and now, no longer in a jeering tone, but in all sincerity and humility, besought him to pray for them. Some of them were telling their beads and muttering prayers to the saints; others were calling aloud on the Virgin Mary and the angels to "fall the winds and save our bodies;" strangely enough, never offering a petition for the salvation of their souls. Others were busy confessing their sins to the priest, who was granting them absolution and endeavoring to prepare them for what seemed their inevitable fate.

Among the passengers, however, there was one unknown female, who, amidst all the dreadful noise and turmoil of the elements and the contagious sympathy of fear, sat quietly by herself, nursing her babe. This, under the circumstances, appeared to the Campbells very singular, and it indicates their comparative calmness that they noticed her particularly, as she sat apparently unconscious of the raging winds and waves and the imminence of the danger, sheltering, as best she could, her helpless infant.

Meanwhile, upon the ill-fated Hibernia, the rushing waves and the pitiless tempest continued to beat with unabated fury, and the dismal hours of the long and dreary night passed slowly away. About five o'clock, the captain, with the Catholic priest and some of the crew, resolved to make an effort to get ashore in the long-boat. They succeeded in launching the boat and getting clear of the ship, but upon nearing the shore the boat upset in the surf, and it was with great difficulty that, by swimming and wading, they at length succeeded in reaching the land. But the captain and most of the sailors had become so much intoxicated by the time they reached the nearest houses that they acted in a rude and boisterous manner, and were unable to represent properly the exigency of the case, so that it was not until daylight revealed the situation of the vessel that a few inhabitants began to collect upon the beach.

At first, the passengers doubted whether the people who appeared on the barren and rocky coast were disposed to befriend them, or, as is often the case, to act the part of common wreckers, who plunder the unfortunate. It soon became evident, however, from the signals they made, and their strenuous efforts to launch the boats they gathered from various quarters, that their intentions were to rescue the passengers and crew. All their efforts to board the vessel by means of their boats proving abortive, in consequence of the force of the wind and waves driving shoreward, the passengers were instructed by signals to tie a rope to an empty cask and allow it to drift on shore, while they retained the other end. The cask being caught on shore, its rope was immediately transferred to the prow of one of the boats, which, by the assistance of those on board

the ship, was then successfully dragged through the surf, and finally, to their great joy, brought alongside. It was now decided that the women and children should be taken first ashore, but some men seeming resolved to accompany their families, the more resolute passengers, drawing their swords, stood at the gangway, and threatened to cut down any man that dared to go until all the weaker portion of the passengers were landed. The arrangement was then carried out, and as each boat-load reached the shore, the boat was drawn back as before for others.

Alexander concluded to remain for the last boat, and while the others were going ashore, perceiving that there was now but little danger of loss of life, he began to think about the property they had on board. Their trunks and boxes, he found, were floating about between-decks, and among them a large cask in which he had packed the books. He at once determined to save these if possible, but as there was now no tackle or means of hoisting the cask to the upper deck, he managed, with great difficulty and at the imminent risk of his life, to break it open with the axe and throw the books upon the deck. After all, however, he found it was impossible to convey them ashore at that time, and as he left the ship with the last of the passengers, he was reluctantly compelled to leave them to the mercy of the elements. It was now about two o'clock, and the tide was at the ebb, so that the boat ran upon a rock a good distance from land, and Alexander, with the rest, had to wade ashore with no little difficulty and danger through the surf. He immediately sought out his mother and the family, and found them assembled safely upon a large rock, where they all rejoiced together at their merciful deliverance, while the rest of

the passengers, gathered around in groups, were congratulating each other with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. The people of the island were extremely kind, supplying food and drink to warm and refresh the benumbed and exhausted, and bringing carts to convey to the village the luggage which was from time to time brought ashore, and which they safely deposited in the store-room of a Mr. Hector Simpson, a merchant of the town.

Every arrangement having been made to secure as much as possible of the property from the wreck, the passengers began to disperse to look for lodgings. Alexander repaired with the family to the nearest and most respectable house he saw, and all were very warmly received by the owner, a widow lady possessed of a respectable fortune, and having a family of grown-up daughters. Her husband had been a clergyman, and was said to have translated from the Gaelic many of the fragments regarded as the poems of Ossian. This lady's maiden name was Campbell; and when it was discovered that her guests were of that name, she, as well as all the rest of the people, seemed to redouble their attentions, for as it now appeared, instead of going to America, they had been thrown directly among the Campbells of Argyleshire, from whom they deduced their lineage. Having, in this hospitable mansion, got themselves warmed, dried and refreshed, along with many others of the passengers they proceeded to the town, which was about two miles off, where they obtained lodgings in the house of a Mr. McCallister. Here they meditated with grateful hearts upon the eventful scenes through which they had just passed, and recalling the premonition given by Alexander, were assured by him that the reality, as it

occurred, was precisely what appeared to him in the forewarning. The appearances of things in his fancy had been verified in the facts, and he had done the very things he supposed himself to have done in his singular dream. He was a very firm believer in special providences, and was the more impressed on this occasion as, in his previous history, he had found his presentiments several times strangely verified. With him, these were simply facts which he did not pretend to explain upon natural principles, but regarded as indications of God's watchful care and interest in the affairs of his people.

He was busily occupied for some days afterward in obtaining from the wreck, as the weather would permit, such books, clothing and other property as had not been washed overboard or otherwise destroyed, and in drying his books and preparing them to be repacked. Laird Campbell, of Shawfield, chief owner of the island and member of Parliament, observing his books, invited him very cordially to his house, and treated him more like a relative than a stranger. Here he spent many pleasant hours, as well as at the house of Mr. Simpson, whose wife was possessed of much intelligence and piety, and for whom he conceived a very high respect. She was very fond of reading religious books, and seemed to feel a deep interest in the prosperity of Christ's kingdom. Laird Campbell had appointed Mr. Simpson to take charge of the wreck and secure the property of the passengers, to whom he endeavored to render every service in his power. Alexander got acquainted also with a Mr. Fulton, a very godly man, who taught the principal school, and also kept a Sunday-school for the benefit of the people.

A portion of his time he spent in viewing the island,

which is, in some parts, hilly, but contains a considerable amount of arable land, which had been improved by the energetic and skillful management of Laird Campbell. Islay has, indeed, been always noted as the most fertile of all the Hebrides, or Isles of the Gael. These extend along nearly the whole western coast of Scotland, and are about two hundred in number, of which at least thirty of the more southern appertain to Argyleshire. Of these latter, Islay is by far the most important. In former times it was the chief abode of the "Lords of the Isles," who often maintained an authority independent of the Scottish Crown, and the ruins of whose castles and strongholds, situated generally on cliffs overhanging the ocean, are seen at various points, as along the coast of Mull and Ardnamurchan. In the centre of Islay there is a lake about three miles in circumference, called Loch Finlagan, from an island situated in it, in which the great McDonald, King of the Isles, formerly had his residence. Here also was held, we are told, the high court of judicature, consisting of fourteen members, to which there was an appeal from all the courts of the isles, the chief judge receiving, as his fee, the eleventh part of the sum in dispute. The ruins of the ancient edifices, and the traditions of celebrated chieftains who had lived in Islay, as lords of Innisgael,* such as "good John of Islay" and "Ronald of the Isles," who, in his castle of Dunnaverty, protected Bruce in his distress, could not but excite a deep interest in the mind of a youthful traveler, himself not unrelated to the people among whom these relics and histories were fondly cherished.

* Isles of the Gael. They also ruled over Ross-shire and other parts of the adjacent mainland.

On the second Lord's day after the shipwreck, the first having been necessarily occupied in attending to the property at the wreck, he visited early in the morning the Sunday-school taught by Mr. Fulton. The children read the Scriptures, repeated psalms and the catechism, after which Mr. Fulton gave an exposition of some Scripture, sung, prayed and dismissed with a benediction. Afterward, he went to hear the Rev. Mr. McIntosh, the Scots' Church minister of the parish. He seems at this time to have been growing more and more doubtful in regard to the claims of the clergy, and more careful and critical in observing their proceedings. "He was entertained," he remarks, "with a specimen of good old Scotch divinity," and was pleased with the "aspect, pronunciation and gravity of the venerable parson." He preached from the text "Let us come boldly to the throne of grace" in the forenoon, and in the afternoon addressed his audience in Gaelic. At the morning service the laird and his family were present in their pew, situated in the most conspicuous place in the church, and Alexander noticed that the minister made a particular mention of them all in his prayer, with earnest petitions on their behalf. On the following Lord's day they were absent, as the laird was about to take his seat in Parliament, and Alexander noticed that they were equally absent from the prayers of the parson. This made quite a forcible impression on his mind, and, as he remarked afterward in his Christian Baptist, "became a subject of curious reflection."

"I had not, however," he adds, "traveled very far till I found it was a general practice in all parish churches, when the patron was present, to give him a large portion of the opening prayer, but always when absent he was forgotten. Being

but just arrived at the period of reflection, and determined to study men as well as things, I became very attentive to the prayers of not only the parish clergy, but of all others. I observed it to be a general rule that when two or three ministers of the same party happened to be present in the same pulpit, whichever one prayed he made particular supplications for his ministering brethren. Thus the parson A prayed very ardently for his brothers, parsons B and C, when they were present; but when B and C were absent, A asked for no blessings for them. I do not know that I ever saw it otherwise in any sect or in any country. I noted this fact in my pocket-book of memorandums, and placed it under the same head with those of the parish ministers for their patrons. I think I headed this chapter, in my juvenile fancy, with the words 'COMPLIMENTARY PRAYERS, or *prayers addressed to human beings not yet deified.*'"

In the same article he goes on to detail a subsequent similar experience. "In process of time," he remarks, "I happened to make a tour with a very devout divine, and as he always spent the night in the house of some of his 'lay brethren,' in offering up his evening sacrifice, or what is more commonly called 'leading in family worship,' he never forgot to pray in an especial manner for his host, earnestly desiring that the family among whom he spent the night might be peculiarly blessed. During fourteen days and nights which I spent in his company, he never once forgot to pray for the proprietor of the house that gave him his supper and bed. In justice to his devotion, I should remark that one evening was spent at an inn, where he asked the liberty of attending upon family worship, and there he also prayed as fervently for his landlord and landlady as if in a private family. In justice to the landlord, too, I should observe that he remitted to him his bill in the morning, with an invitation to give him a call when convenient. * * * * This I also noted down under the head of '*complimentary prayers.*'" In order, however, to prevent misunderstanding, he adds: "I would not be understood as censuring the practice of one Christian praying for

another when it is by request, or when, from any consideration, it becomes necessary, or of a whole church praying for another church, or for one member or for those that are not members, either in their presence or absence. But this is quite a different thing from those prayers which we call *complimentary*, which, if not intended as a mere compliment, most certainly appear so in the above instances at least, and in many others which might be adduced. * * * *

"It is usually allowed that it is one of the greatest and best of blessings that we should be admitted to lift up our voices to the throne of the Universe. But if ever there be a moment in a Christian's life when humility and sincerity become him well, this is the moment, when he is speaking to that glorious and mighty One, before whose throne 'seraphs veil their faces and angels prostrate fall.' Our words, assuredly, should be few and well ordered—no pomp of language, no vain parade of words, no compliment to men when we claim the audience of our Almighty Maker."

He always thought it incongruous for any one leading in prayer with others to offer special petitions for one or more of those who are supposed to unite in the prayer, while he uses at the same time the first person plural, "we ask," "we pray," etc., thus including the person prayed for in the terms employed, while in point of fact he is necessarily excluded from the address offered by others on his behalf. He therefore carefully avoided the practice which he condemned, and neither he nor his father were in the habit of offering up special petitions for any who, at the time, united in the prayer. By both of them, prayer was regarded as a sacred privilege, to be exercised with a very strict regard to the proprieties of the occasion. As to their style, it may be well to observe here, while the subject of prayer is under consideration, that Alexander generally used great plainness and directness of expression, while his

thanksgivings and petitions were comprehensive, scriptural and appropriate to the circumstances. His father went more into detail, was more diffuse, and his thoughts, as well as his sentences, were sometimes involved. He was disposed to make a rather redundant use of adjectives, both in his prayers and sermons, and when quoting Scripture, as he constantly did in both, he could not in some cases forbear adding epithets, in order, if possible, to enhance the force of the language. Thus, when at the close of his prayer he would sometimes embody in it what is commonly called the Lord's Prayer, instead of the simple words, "thy will be done," he would say, "thy *blessed* and *holy* will be done." Again, instead of asking for "mercy" and "grace," he would pray for "sin-pardoning mercy and sanctifying grace." With the exception, however, of those cases in which his feelings led him thus to endeavor to exalt and magnify the Divine perfections, he was careful to quote the exact language of Scripture. Alexander, on the other hand, seemed often to prefer a paraphrase, though he was fond of using a new version if it rendered the sense more clear. Thus, instead of saying, "Lead us not into temptation," he would say "Abandon us not to temptation;" instead of "Deliver us from evil," "Deliver us from the Evil One." With regard to the Lord's Prayer, both regarded it as a model rather than a prescribed formula, and thought it, at least in regard to one of its petitions, as being specially designed for the time at which it was given. At that time Christ's kingdom had not yet been fully set up on earth, and there was a propriety then in the petition "thy kingdom come." But when the kingdom had come, and had been publicly set up and established, as recorded in the second chapter of Acts, this petition

ceased to be appropriate, at least in its original application. If, then, the expression "thy kingdom come" happened to be used by Thomas Campbell, he was careful to apply it to the second coming of Christ in his kingdom, and to say, "thy kingdom come, in its ultimate fullness and glory;" while Alexander perhaps would say, "May thy kingdom be established in the hearts of the children of men." Both were given to amplification. The father was disposed to enlarge the expression; the son to amplify the thought. The former would enforce by means of epithets and repetition; the latter by extending the idea in connecting it with its antecedents or its results. Both were characterized by fluency, solemnity, fervency and manifest sincerity. In neither was there any tendency to ornate or pompous diction, or to a loud and boisterous delivery. To some, indeed, Alexander's style of prayer might at first appear too composed and calm; but his manner was the natural expression of a high intellectual nature, necessarily undemonstrative, as holding the feelings in abeyance, but not on that account less deep, fervid and sincere. In a word, his manner was reverential without being abject; deliberate, but not frigid; earnest, but not impassioned; while his dignified and solemn bearing, the distinct intonations of his clear and silvery voice, his forcible emphasis, his truly scriptural petitions, his evident realization of his true position, and his self-posed consciousness of the nature of the duty in which he was engaged, all contributed to render his prayers most edifying and impressive.

CHAPTER VIII.

Journeyings—Jura—Iona—Account of Columban—Glasgow—Kind reception by Greville Ewing.

SPECIAL providences are seldom properly comprehended at the time of their occurrence. Events which are afterward recognized as blessings are, at the time, often thought to be disasters; and seeming blessings are found subsequently to prove the greatest evils. When Simeon was detained in Egypt, the patriarch Jacob said: "Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are against me." But these apparent privations were only the appointed means through which he himself and his house were to be reunited and preserved. Rachel thought the possession of a child would be the highest joy on earth; but when Benjamin was born, she found occasion to call him Benoni, "son of my sorrow." The shipwreck which Thomas Campbell's family had suffered seemed to be a complete disappointment of all their hopes, as it was an entire frustration of their plans and purposes. But there was an important work for Alexander to accomplish, needing special preparation both of heart and mind; and this seeming calamity was afterward seen to be one of the most important of that train of events by which that preparation was secured. Already had it led him to a final determination as to his proper field of labor; and the circum-

stances in which it directly involved him were those precisely adapted to qualify and guide him in that future life-work.

While the family were engaged in securing, drying and packing up whatever portion of their property could be recovered from the wreck, it became an important question with them what course to pursue. Their passage-money had been at once honorably refunded by the owners of the vessel, and by going to some shipping-port they might have renewed their attempt to cross the ocean. But the season was now far advanced, and even if new preparations had been made, which would have required some weeks, Mrs. Campbell and her daughters were unwilling to tempt again so soon the dangers from which they had just escaped. It became evident, therefore, that their embarkation for America would have to be postponed until, at least, the stormy winter months were past, and they thought it best to remain, in the mean while, in some suitable place in Scotland. The selection of such a place was not difficult, for, as Alexander felt an ardent desire to spend some time at the University where his father had been educated, it was at once determined that they would all proceed to Glasgow.

From Bowmore, it was necessary to travel about one hundred and thirty miles by land and water in order to reach Glasgow, owing to the somewhat circuitous nature of the route. Accordingly, all things being in readiness, on Monday, October 24, the most of the baggage was forwarded to Greenock by the Bowmore and Greenock packet, the family concluding to go by a more comfortable and direct way. Before starting, Alexander obtained a letter of introduction from Mr. George Fulton to Rev. Greville Ewing; one from Mr.

Hector Simpson, merchant, to Mr. William Harley, manufacturer; and one from the Rev. Mr. McIntosh, the parish minister, to Rev. Mr. McKenzie of Glasgow. A conveyance being obtained for his mother and the younger children, with the remainder of the baggage, he sent them forward to Port Askeg, about ten miles distant, on the eastern side of the island, from which place all were to take a boat to Tarbet. He, himself, with a companion, walked down in the evening and found all safely arrived, though his mother and one of his sisters had been greatly endangered by a fall from the vehicle on their way. Port Askeg is a small harbor in the narrow sound between Islay and Jura. Near the edge of the high bluff which here forms the coast of Islay, a large building had been erected for the accommodation of passengers, and from this point a boat sailed, usually twice a week, for Tarbet, about thirty-five miles distant on the way to Glasgow.

On the opposite side of the sound lay the island of Jura, whose shore is shelving and less steep than that of Islay, but the interior of the island seemed to present nothing except great mountains and rocky cliffs. Having waited in vain, on the following day, for the packet, which was detained by contrary winds, and finding that on the morning of the 26th there was still no sign of it, Alexander, pleased with the majestic aspect of the mountains of Jura, determined to cross over the sound to visit them. He found the island wild, rude and almost uncultivated, there being but few houses and very little arable land. He ascended some of the lofty peaks called the "Paps of Jura," and was greatly delighted with the bold and romantic scenery presented to his view. Covered mostly with heath, these lofty elevations and rugged slopes furnished a

scanty pasturage for a species of coarse-wooled sheep recently introduced with great advantage into the Highlands. He admired greatly the flocks of these animals, so clean and white and marked with black spots upon their foreheads, grazing like herds of deer amidst the wild scenery. He viewed with a degree of awe the precipitous cliffs which presented themselves as he toiled up the steep ascent, and contemplated with delight the rills of limpid water which, issuing near the summits, fell from rock to rock like tiny streams of liquid silver, until they disappeared in the deep and silent glens.

Alexander had an excellent appreciation of the beautiful, and especially of the grand, in Nature, and was always pleased with extensive prospects and fine landscapes. In these respects he differed much from his father, who seemed to pay little or no attention to anything of this kind. If he were called to see a fine view, he would readily acquiesce in the admiration of those who had directed his attention to it, but the next moment he would be found engaged in what seemed constantly to occupy his mind—the goodness of God and the salvation of men. Upon Nature around him he seemed ever to look with the eye of a utilitarian, and if directed to the beauty of a flower, would begin to inquire respecting the uses of the plant, and especially if it possessed medical qualities. To cure or alleviate the evils, both physical and spiritual, to which man is subject, to fear God and keep his commandments, seemed to be his whole concern. The æsthetics which claimed his attention were, so to speak, those of the human soul—the beauty of virtue—the charms of godliness and the attributes of the Creator, glorious in holiness and infinite in all his perfections. But Alex-

ander, while he was impressed, perhaps as profoundly as his father, with spiritual excellence and beauty, and the sublime revelations of Deity, seemed to superadd to this, from a wider range of thought and feeling, and his more acute perception of the resemblances of things and of their relations, a considerable taste for the beauties of Nature and of Art. With him, these gave rise, however, to a calm feeling of enjoyment, rather than to enthusiastic admiration, nor was their contemplation usually unmingled with considerations economical and practical. In regard to the strictly imitative arts, as painting and sculpture, his taste had received no culture, and he made no pretensions to a critical judgment. In music, especially sacred music, he took great pleasure, and was visibly affected by it, often calling, when the occasion permitted, for the singing of psalms and hymns, and, though unable to carry the air alone, uniting in the singing with a clear, musical voice and evident enjoyment. In regard to poetry, to which he had already paid considerable attention, his taste was more developed, and his judgment even critical, though he was more disposed to exercise it upon the *sentiment*, which in poetry is secondary, than upon the *expression*, which is primary, and much more sensible of defective imagery than of defective rhythm.

He was, at this time, quite an admirer of the poems of Ossian. Whether or not, with Drs. Blair, Gregory and many other Scotch critics, he believed in the genuineness of these poems, he was at least much taken with the tenderness and sublimity so characteristic of them, and had been at the pains of copying into his common-place book extended extracts from them. As much of the beauty of these poems is derived from local associations, it were easier to imagine than to

describe his feelings now, when, upon the summit of one of the lofty peaks of Jura, he found himself amidst the very scenes described by the poet, where "the mountains showed their gray heads," "the blue face of ocean smiled," and "the white wave was seen tumbling round the distant rock." In fancy, he might almost hear the "murmur of the streams of Lora," or see in the distance the "halls of Selma" and the groves of "woody Morven," for it was but a few leagues across the arm of the sea which washes the northern shore of Jura to the isle of Mull, with its towering Bein Vore visible to the distant islands, and but a few miles further to the narrow sound, where, upon the mainland toward the right, a district of Argyleshire still retains the name of Morven, and where, amidst the finest and most romantic natural scenery of the Western Isles, and the ruins of ancient castles upon the rocky cliffs, both history and tradition serve to enhance the enjoyment of the present through the associations of the past.

But we cannot suppose his thoughts confined to themes of mere scenic or poetic interest or to those of legendary lore, for close to the isle of Mull, off its western coast, lay the isle of Staffa, with its basaltic pillars and its celebrated Cave of Fingal, and directly opposite the opening of this cave, at a distance of some seven miles, the island of Iona, most of all likely to awaken the reflections and to enchain the attention of the youthful and religious student. This, as Dr. Johnson observes, is "that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavored, and would be foolish, if it were

possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of *Marathon*, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of *Iona*." Here are still to be seen the ruins of an august monastery and cathedral, and of three royal chapels, with extensive cemeteries, filled with numerous graves of those now unknown, but who, as Dr. Johnson observes, "did not expect to be so soon forgotten." For it is in this hallowed earth, to use the language of Scott,

"Where rest from mortal coil the mighty of the isles;"

and tradition makes it also the place of sepulture for the kings of Scotland, and even for the monarchs of other lands, brought hither to rest in the consecrated soil of the Holy Isle.

There is not a more charming or interesting portion of history than that which records the life and labors of Columban, who, in the sixth century, rendered the little island of Iona a brilliant centre of learning and of pure religion amidst the darkness and idolatry that then brooded over Great Britain, when an imperfect and Popish Christianity, mingling itself with the barbarous superstitions of Scandinavian mythology, led Redwald, King of East Anglia, to place a Christian altar by the side of the statue of Woden. Intelligent and noble youths here assembled from various regions; some, like Oswald, to be educated for the discharge of

kingly duties; others to be prepared, by a course of discipline and study, usually of eighteen years' duration, to be ordained as missionaries and instructors, not only to enlighten their own country, but to labor in other fields both dangerous and remote. After all the controversies that have been waged in reference to the history of these Culdees of Iona, it is generally admitted that their doctrines and their lives were pure and simple; that they rejected the Romish ceremonies, doctrines and traditions; that, as even Bede admits, though himself indignant at their repudiation of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, "they preached only such works of charity and piety as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical and apostolic writings;" that they boldly asserted the exclusive authority of the Scriptures, and that their modes of worship and their forms of church government were primitive and simple.*

* The labors of that remarkable missionary, Patrick, had prepared the way for those of Columban. Patrick was a Scotchman, born in the fourth century, in the village of Boneven (since called in honor of his memory Kilpatrick), between Dumbarton and Glasgow. He led a wild, thoughtless life till about seventeen, when, with many others, he was carried off to Ireland by pirates, and sold to an Irish chieftain. While herding his cattle he became deeply impressed with religion, and the spirit of devotion glowed within him. Making his escape after six years, he returned home to Scotland; but meditating upon the unenlightened and barbarous state of the people in Ireland, he found no rest in his spirit, but experienced an irresistible desire to carry the message of salvation to those among whom he had passed so many years of his youth. "Whence did I receive," he says, "so great and blessed a gift, to know and love God, to leave native land and parents, although many gifts were offered to me with tears if I would remain there? And against my wishes I was forced to offend my relations and many of my well-wishers. But, according to God's guidance, I did not yield to them at all; not by my own power, but it was God who conquered in me, and withstood them all; so that I went to the people of Ireland to publish the gospel to them, and suffered many insults from unbelievers and many persecutions, even unto bonds, resigning my liberty for the good of others.

Columban was an Irishman, born in the village of Garten, in county Donegal, about A. D. 565. It was while at the monastery of Bangor, which contained three

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And if I am found worthy, I am ready to give up my life with joy for His name's sake."

He is supposed to have gone to Ireland about 431, and for the rest of his life continued to preach Christ amidst many persecutions and trials throughout Ireland, reclaiming the people from idolatry and barbarism, and establishing monasteries distinguished for strict Christian discipline, for industry, for a knowledge of the Scriptures and the best learning of the age, so that Ireland became, for a time, under these influences, the most enlightened country of Europe, and acquired the title of the "Isle of Saints." Patrick himself, afterward, when Popery became fully developed, was canonized and became the tutelar saint of Ireland with the Catholics.

Although the devotion and purity of purpose of the eminent men to whom Ireland owed this distinction can hardly be exaggerated, the effects produced by their labors was great, not so much in itself as in contrast with the darkness and degradation that prevailed among the people; and, though their influence undoubtedly enlightened and civilized many, it never pervaded the mass of the population, who remained barbarous and uneducated, and soon afterward fell an easy prey to the superstitions of the Church of Rome. On this point, Southey remarks, in his Life of Wesley: "Melancholy and anomalous as the civil history of Ireland is, its religious history is equally mournful and not less strange. Even at the time when it was called the Island of Saints, and men went forth from its monasteries to be missionaries, not of monachism alone, but of literature and civilization, the mass of the people continued savage, and was something worse than heathen. They accommodated their new religion to their own propensities with a perverted ingenuity at once humorous and detestable, and altogether peculiar to themselves. Thus, when a child was immersed in baptism, it was customary not to dip the right arm, to the intent that he might strike a more deadly and ungracious blow therewith, and under an opinion, no doubt, that the rest of the body would not be responsible, at the resurrection, for anything that had been committed by the unbaptized hand. Thus, too, at the baptism, the father took the wolves for his gossips, and thought that, by this profanation, he was forming an alliance, both for himself and his boy, with the fiercest beasts of the woods. The son of a chief was baptized in milk; water was not thought good enough, and whisky had not then been invented. They used to rob in the beginning of the year, as a point of devotion, for the purpose of laying up a good stock of plunder against Easter; and he whose spoils enabled him to furnish the best entertainment at that time was looked upon as the best Christian."

thousand monks, that Columban became impressed with the earnest desire to go out amidst difficulties and dangers to publish the gospel and to establish Christian discipline among savage nations."

"O that God would grant," said he, as quoted by Neander "(since, insignificant as I am, still I am his servant), that he would awaken me out of the sleep of indolence, and so kindle that fire of Divine love that this Divine flame may always burn within me! O that I had the wood with which that fire might be continually nourished, that it might never more be quenched, but always increase within me! O Lord, give me I beseech thee, in the name of Jesus Christ thy Son, my God, that love which can never cease, that will kindle my lamp, but not extinguish it, that it may burn in me and enlighten others. Do thou, O Christ, our dearest Saviour, thyself kindle our lamps, that they may evermore shine in thy temple; that they may receive unquenchable light from thee—the unquenchable light that will enlighten our darkness, and lessen by us the darkness of the world! My Jesus, I pray thee, give thy light to my lamp, that in its light the most holy place may be revealed to me, in which thou dwellest as the eternal Priest, that I may always behold thee, desire thee, look upon thee in love, and long after thee. It belongs to thee to show thyself to us thy suppliants, O Saviour full of love, that we may know thee, love thee alone, think of thee alone day and night, that thy love may fill our souls, and that this love so great may never more be quenched by the many waters of this earth; as it is written, 'many waters cannot quench love.'"

Permission having been granted by the abbot, Columban first fixed upon the island of Iona as a suitable place of retirement and seclusion, and with twelve companions established there a monastery and school, which soon became widely celebrated. Though monastic rules were adopted, and Columban inculcated strict obedience to them as evidence of Christian hu-

mility, he seems to have encouraged individual freedom, and to have directed the thoughts of the brotherhood to the greatest attainment of the Christian life—the surrender of the will to God.

"We must willingly surrender," says he, "for Christ's sake, what we love out of Christ. First of all, if it is necessary, our bodily life must be surrendered by martyrdom for Christ. Or, if the opportunity be wanting for such blessedness, the mortification of the will must not fail, so that they who live henceforth live not unto themselves, but unto him who died for them. Let us therefore live to him who, though he died for us, is the life. Let us die unto ourselves, that we may live to Christ. For we cannot live to him, if we do not first die ourselves, that is, our own wills. Let us be Christ's, not our own; we are bought at a dear price, truly so; for the Master gave himself for the servant, the King for his attendants, God for man. What ought we to give in return when the Creator of the universe died for us sinners, who yet were his creatures? Believest thou that it is not necessary to die to sin? Certainly thou must do that. Let us therefore die; let us die for life, since he who is the life, died for the dead; that we may be able to say with Paul, 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me, who died for me;' for this is the language of the chosen. No one can die to himself, if Christ does not live in him. But if Christ be in him, he cannot live to himself. Live in Christ, that Christ may live in thee."

Such were his sweet lessons in relation to a true union with Christ, nor were his warnings against speculations in religion less remarkable. Speaking against idle subtleties about the Trinity, he says:

"Who can speak of the essence of God? How he is everywhere present and invisible, or how he fills heaven and earth and all creatures, according to these words, 'Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord?' Jeremiah xxiii. 24.

The universe is full of the Spirit of the Lord. 'Heaven is my throne and earth is my footstool.' God therefore is everywhere in his own infinity; everywhere altogether nigh, according to his own testimony of himself. 'Am I not a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off?' We therefore seek after God not as one who is far from us, since we can apprehend him in our own inward souls, for he dwells in us as the soul in the body, if we are not dead in the service of sin. If we are susceptible of this, that he is in us, then we are truly made alive by him, as his living members. 'In him,' says the apostle, 'we live and move and have our being.' Who shall search out the Most High according to this his unutterable and inconceivable essence? Who shall fathom the depths of the Godhead? Who shall boast that he knows the infinite God, who fills and surrounds all things; who penetrates all things, and is exalted above all; whom no man has seen as he is? Let no one then venture to inquire into the unsearchable essence of God; only believe, simply but firmly, that God is and will be what he was, since he is the unchangeable God. God is perceived by the pious faith of a pure heart, and not by an impure heart and vain discourse. Art thou disposed to investigate the unutterable with thy subtleties? Then wisdom will be further from thee than it was. Ecclesiastes vii. 24. Dost thou, on the contrary, apprehend him by faith? Then wisdom will stand before thy doors."

Thus many of the important things that have distinguished the Lutheran and other great religious reformations were taught and practised in this lonely isle, under the influence of that Divine light which, at sundry times and in various modes, and in different places, has strangely and unexpectedly shone forth amidst the darkness of the nations. This light, however, has long since departed from Iona. When Dr. Johnson visited the island in 1773, he found its fertile but limited area of scarcely three square miles in-

habited by a dense but gross and neglected population, without a school for education or a temple for worship, with but two among them who could speak English, and not one who could read or write. But that light of truth has shone forth in turn in other lands, and the youth who now, from the mountains of Jura, gazed upon the surrounding scenes and thought of former times, was himself destined in a few years, like his countryman Columban, to establish, in a secluded valley of the far-off Western World, a religious reformation based exclusively upon the Bible, and embracing the same striking points of personal trust in Christ and opposition to human speculations which characterized the teachings of Columban; and to found there, likewise, a literary institution free from the perverting influences of a sectarian theology, and from which youthful and devoted missionaries have already borne a pure apostolic gospel, even to the shores of California and to the distant regions of Australia.

After spending most of the day upon the rugged mountains of Jura, Alexander rambled over other parts of the island, and called at the residence of the proprietor, whose name was Campbell, where he was very kindly and hospitably received. As evening approached, he recrossed the sound and returned to the inn, where, though greatly fatigued, he slept but little during the ensuing night. Next morning, about ten o'clock, the packet arrived, and soon after the family embarked with the other passengers who were waiting, and, sailing down the sound with a side wind, arrived, after a rough passage of twenty-four hours, at Art-Patrick, ten miles from Tarbet. Here, the wind being ahead, they had to cast anchor. Laird Campbell had a very handsome seat at this place, and his family, who

were there at this time, learning that some of the shipwrecked passengers had arrived in the packet, and were detained by a contrary wind, very kindly sent a large row-boat to convey them to Tarbet. As the boat was very heavily laden, having in it twenty-four passengers with their luggage, Alexander found it necessary to row without intermission for the whole ten miles, in order to assist its progress. From the place of landing there was a land carriage of two miles across the peninsula of Cantyre, in order to reach the packet. In assisting the passengers out with their luggage, he happened, by a sudden movement of the boat, to be thrown into the water, but got out without any other inconvenience than a complete wetting, which, however, might have proved very injurious had he not possessed a vigorous constitution, for, as there was not a sufficient number of conveyances to take all the passengers and their baggage, he, in courteously giving place to others, was finally obliged to remain himself, wet as he was, with his own baggage, very uncomfortably upon the lone and rocky shore, until a conveyance could return from Tarbet. He often, in after life, referred to the hours thus spent, when, chilled with the ocean breeze, he paced alone the deserted strand, as among the most dreary he ever passed. But the conveyance having at length arrived, he was carried to Tarbet, where he got himself dried, and, having obtained some supper, went to bed and slept soundly.

The next day, being the Lord's day, October 30th, he spent chiefly in family duties and in reading, and on the following morning they all set out from "the small, uncouth village of Tarbet," as he styles it, in a packet bound for Greenock. The wind being fair, they made about half the distance in eighteen hours; but the wind

now failing, and the captain and sailors becoming drunk, there was a very uncomfortable delay. A Captain Campbell, who was on board with his sisters, growing uneasy, ordered some of the best of the sailors to ferry him ashore. While they were gone the wind rose and was favorable, but having to await the return of the boat, which was long detained, no advantage could be taken of it; and as it soon after failed again, they had to remain in the same position all night. Next morning all the male passengers went ashore, having resolved to walk to Greenock, five miles distant. Here Alexander engaged lodgings, and immediately returned in a boat for his mother and the family; and after much fatigue and trouble, owing chiefly to the drunken captain, succeeded in getting them all with their luggage safe to Greenock. This he found to be a considerable town, with an excellent harbor filled with ships from foreign ports, as the greater part of the commerce of Scotland was carried on from Greenock and from Glasgow Port, three miles above. Here, too, ended the harassing difficulties of their transportation, which contrast so strongly with the speed and comfort now enjoyed through the agency of steam vessels, first introduced upon the Clyde in 1812, little more than three years afterward.*

* It was a native of Greenock, James Watt, who, in 1764, while instrument maker to the University of Glasgow, there first gave to mankind the steam engine as an effective motive power. This noble invention seems to have been first successfully applied to navigation in the United States by John Fitch, upon the Delaware, 12th of October, 1788, in the "Perseverance," which made a trip from Philadelphia to Burlington, and attained a speed of six and one-third miles per hour against the current. Fulton's successful experiment on the Hudson did not occur until 1807. Fitch used paddles moved by steam, but Fulton introduced the paddle *wheel*, which is said to have been previously invented by Mr. Miller of Dalswinton, Dumfrieshire Scotland.

Deeming it advisable to reach Glasgow in advance of his mother and sisters, in order to have suitable lodgings in readiness, Alexander, on the 3d of November, after having made arrangements for the passage of the family, next day, on the fly-boat plying on the Clyde between Greenock and Glasgow, set out on foot for Glasgow, twenty-three miles distant, where he arrived in the afterpart of the day. After obtaining some refreshments at an inn, he concluded to present his letter of introduction to Mr. Ewing, in order to obtain his advice as to a suitable place of lodging. Calling, therefore, at his house, No. 4 Carlton place, he was most kindly received and hospitably entertained. Next morning, having received Mr. Ewing's advice and a note from him to the Rev. Mr. John Mitchel, he called and breakfasted with Mr. Mitchel, who rendered him some assistance in finding lodgings, which were at length obtained in Broad street, Hutchinsontown, ready furnished. Here the family, who arrived safely next morning, were duly installed, designing here to spend the winter, while Alexander would attend the classes at the University, and happy in being once more quietly settled after the dangers, fatigues and trials of the past month.

CHAPTER IX.

Glasgow University Classes—Essays—Religious Life—Scripture Meditations.

GLASGOW, in which the Campbell family were now to reside for a time, is the chief city of Scotland as regards wealth, commerce and population. It then contained about one hundred and fourteen thousand inhabitants, and was noted for its extensive manufactures, for which it possessed great facilities, being placed in the midst of a coal deposit averaging fifteen feet in thickness and extending over one hundred and ten square miles. It is adorned with many public buildings and churches, and its venerable cathedral, the only one that escaped the iconoclastic rage of Knox and his adherents, is regarded as the finest specimen of Gothic architecture in Scotland. The college extends along the High street more than three hundred feet, and occupies an area of more than two acres. In an elegant building is contained the Hunterian Museum,* a very valuable collection of specimens in natural history, anatomical preparations and medals. The Town Hall is another fine building, much admired for its magnificent front. South-east of the city, on the banks of the river Clyde,

* Dr. William Hunter was a native of Kilbride in Lanarkshire, a pupil of Dr. Cullen, and elder brother of the celebrated John Hunter. He spent a large fortune upon the collection of this splendid Museum, which now enriches the University of Glasgow. Died in 1783, ten years before his brother John.

the "winding Clutha" of Ossian, there is a fine park of about one hundred and eight acres, adorned with trees, and with more than three miles of graveled walks for the recreation of the citizens. Many interesting personal and historical associations cluster around this ancient city, which is supposed to have existed for more than twelve centuries.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Ewing, Alexander was introduced to the different professors of the University, and on the 8th of November, immediately after the "town sacrament," the time at which the course commenced, he entered his classes. He had but fairly begun, however, when Mr. Ewing, who seems to have taken a special interest in the family, ascertaining that their place of lodging was incommodious, sought out, of his own accord, a more eligible situation in Youngsland, Broad street, Hutchinsontown, to which they all removed in the latter part of November. Here they remained during their stay in Glasgow, spending the time very agreeably, forming a very pleasant acquaintance with many persons of respectability, and experiencing the kindest attentions from a number of choice friends. One of Alexander's first cares, after the family were fairly settled, was to look to the preservation of the books which had been damaged in the shipwreck. A great many of them he found it necessary to have re-bound; and, from the list which he made out of them, it appears that they were volumes of the Greek and Latin classics and English literature, but chiefly works on theology.

As the University was attended by a large class, often numbering fifteen hundred students, many of whom were from Ireland, Alexander, who was of an eminently social disposition, formed a very extensive ac-

quaintance among them, and some warm friendships. Of those with whom he was specially intimate may be mentioned Mr. Moffit, Mr. McFarlane, Mr. Beard, Mr. Dymock, Mr. Cuthbertson, of Scotland; Mr. Whinning and Mr. Gourley, of Ireland; and Mr. Crisp, Mr. Redford, Mr. Cluney, Mr. Grive, Mr. Burder and Mr. Hooper, of England, who were among his classmates.

The classes he had entered were those of Professor Young, both public and private, in Greek; those of Professor Jardine, public and private, in Logic and Belles Lettres, and Dr. Ure's class in Experimental Philosophy. The necessary preparation for these classes, and the various exercises required, kept him extremely busy, and he devoted himself with uncommon zeal and indefatigable industry to his studies during the session. In addition to the above regular classes, he resumed the study of the French, and gave considerable time to English reading and composition. Retiring to bed at ten o'clock P.M., he rose regularly at four in the morning. At six, he attended his class in French; from seven to eight, a class in the Greek Testament; and from eight to ten, his Latin classes, returning to bathe and breakfast at ten. In the afternoon he recited in a more advanced Greek class and in Logic, attending also several lectures per week delivered by Dr. Ure, and accompanied with experiments in natural science, in which he was very much interested. Professors Young and Jardine had been his father's teachers upward of twenty-five years before, and had been also favorite professors with the poet Campbell, who had finished his course at Glasgow, his native city, in May, 1796, and who speaks of Jardine in his letters, as the "amiable," the "benign," the "philosophic Jardine." Professor Young, too, the profound grammarian and

master of elocution, had taken great interest in the youthful poet, and used to read to his class, with enthusiasm, the elegant metrical versions of the Greek poets presented by his pupil, which constantly received the highest prizes. With these and other renowned professors Alexander was greatly pleased, and the devoted attention which he gave to their instructions is amply attested by the large number of closely-written volumes which he filled during the session with copious notes of their lectures, and with his own translations from the Iliad of Homer, the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, etc., together with numerous essays and exercises in prose and verse, handed in to the professors in his various classes as regular exercises.

A number of juvenile poems, some of which he had composed in Ireland, also appear in one of these volumes, having been written, as he states, "for his own improvement, and that he might be enabled to judge of the poetic compositions of others." These, however, do not possess sufficient merit for publication, nor did he himself ever esteem them worthy of it. They are deficient in rhythm and expression, and "want fire," as was said of some of the early verses of the author of the "Pleasures of Hope" by his elder brother Daniel, to whom he had submitted them for criticism; and who, suiting the action to the word, twisted up the manuscript and thrust it between the bars of the grate! There is scarcely any one, of even ordinary taste and education, who does not, in the ardent period of youth, experience something of the "*afflatus poeticus*." With most, this is, however, but a transient influence, springing from the exuberance of youthful feeling; and though it may have its use in refining that feeling and creating a love for poetry, it usually subsides amidst the sober pursuits

of life. To what measure of success Alexander Campbell might have attained in this species of composition, had he devoted himself to it, it is not easy to say; but, though some subsequent attempts at versification seem more promising, it is not likely he would have excelled in it, as the natural tendency of his mind was to wide and general views, rather than to that delicate analysis and minute descriptive detail so necessary in poetry; and his conscientious reverence for truth and fact, prohibited any lofty flights of fancy or of bold invention. For fiction, indeed, he had no taste whatever; and though he conceded, in this respect, a certain license to the distinguished poets, he used in after years often to express his wonder that any one could take an interest in works of mere invention, such as romances, when they knew, perfectly well, that not one of the things related had ever happened.

That he himself possessed a good degree of the imaginative faculty is unquestionable; but in him the understanding and the judgment largely predominated, and his imagination displayed itself, not in poetic creations, but in the far-reaching grasp by which, as an *orator*, he seized upon principles, facts, illustrations and analogies, and so modified and combined them as to render them all tributary to his main design. It was in the choice of arguments, in unexpected applications of familiar facts, in comprehensive generalizations, widening the horizon of human thought and revealing new and striking relations, that this faculty manifested itself; subservient always, however, to the proof of some logical proposition or to the development of some important truth. His deficiency in the musical faculty, as well as the preponderance of the reasoning powers and of the practical understanding, would, doubtless,

have inhibited the attainment of any poetic distinction. It is true, indeed, that a man of even ordinary talents, sensibility and reading, may, by application and labor, produce works dignified by the name of poems; but it is little else than a mechanical process, where the ear arranges words, and the fancy selects imagery to exhibit and to adorn prosaic thoughts in a poetic dress. The true poet must possess, by nature, the most delicate perceptions of beauty and of harmony, and that vivid imagination to which these are allied, and which not only creates, but gives unity and life and action to its productions, so as to make "things that are not" seem "things that are." It is by no means to be regretted, however, that Alexander Campbell did not devote himself to poetry. He chose the more congenial pursuit of truth, and a nobler and far more important field of labor, where success was to be rewarded not by mere human applause or the fading garland of the poet, but by the praise of God and the crown of immortality.

Since he became afterward distinguished as a prose writer, it may not be uninteresting to the reader to place before him one of his prose essays, written during his stay in Glasgow, that a proper comparison may be made in regard to his style at different periods. The following essay is selected from among those required by Professor Jardine in Belles Lettres, as it is brief. In a note prefixed to the manuscript volume in which they are contained, it is said that the reason for writing them out thus was to preserve them "for retrospection, that at any future period the author may look back at former states of mind and habits of composition, and may, from thence, judge of improvement, etc." Criticism is also strongly deprecated, if the book should happen to fall into the hands of a critic, who is re-

minded that these essays are the imperfect attempts of a mere student, and that the critic himself was once similarly inexperienced, and should not look with scorn on such efforts for improvement; and the note closes with the remark "that perhaps in circling months, the day may come that the author will bid defiance to him who should demean himself to criticise the attempts of youth." From this last sentence he seems to have been conscious of the possession of that undeveloped power which became afterward so conspicuous, and to have anticipated the high distinction to which he would one day attain:

"ON THE PURPOSES SERVED IN OUR CONSTITUTION BY THE REFLEX SENSE OF BEAUTY.

"Doubtless the wise Author of our nature has not endowed us with any faculties of mind or body that are not useful to us, and conferred on us for good and wise ends, that we might be capable of admiring the works of creation, and therein behold the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Author; that we might be enabled to observe the grandness, sublimity and beauty of all his works, and receive pleasure in contemplating his goodness in thus preparing an habitation for us. He has endowed us with powers of receiving pleasures from the beauties of nature and art: these powers are called natural. Each particular sense differs from another in itself, in the qualities of external objects that make an impression on it, in the emotions produced in the mind, and in the final cause; but as we are to confine ourselves to the purposes served in our constitution by the external sense of beauty, we shall proceed to point them out.

"That as man is destined for the enjoyment of perfect beauty hereafter, it was wise and kind in the wise Author of nature to give him a taste for it and a sense to feel it.

"The objects that man in his future state of happiness is destined to behold are represented to us in divine revelation

as perfectly beautiful both in color, proportion and variety: not only the objects man has to behold, but the sounds which he is to hear, are to be harmonious and beautiful to the ear. Were he then entirely unacquainted with what is beautiful in sight or sound, had he no sense to feel it, nor taste for it, all those descriptions would be of no avail, no inducement to him to excite to virtuous actions, that he might enjoy this happiness for ever; but that we might be excited by these representations to seek for this happiness, our present constitution is so organized as to receive pleasure from the various qualities called the beautiful in external objects, insomuch that the eye is not satisfied with seeing nor the ear with hearing. No qualities in objects make such an impression upon the mind, nor excite such a desire for the possession, as the beautiful.

"It tends to make this present state more pleasing. From none of the internal senses do we receive so much pleasure as from beauty; no qualities in objects interest us so much as the beautiful. The very variety of beautiful qualities in the works of creation and of art have given rise to the definition of taste, that it is the power of receiving pleasure from the beauties of nature and of art.

"It produces the most refined pleasure. To prove this let us suppose man to have no sensation of beauty, and then where is his pleasure? If he have any, it must be of the most gross kind, sensual, and only pleasing as good or evil. Where would be the beauties of the rising and setting sun, of the radiance of risen day, and all the variety of color in the speckled clouds that stand proportionate on the face of the vast concave of heaven? Where would be the pleasing trains of imagination that would naturally be associated with such a beautiful scene? Not possessed of a sense of beauty, we must behold this otherwise beautiful scene with as much coldness and indifference as we would the dark night or the irregular motions of some ill-shapen object. Not the harmony of human voices nor the warbling melody of the grove would excite one more pleasing emotion than the most ungrateful

sounds or the solemn silence of the moonless night. It proves an incentive to the study of nature, when, delighted with the exterior appearances of the works of nature, we are incited to study the causes and to trace the effects of this beauty; and in our studies we are lightened by the beauties interspersed, and our mind is everywhere relieved by the occurrence of what is beautiful, and filled with the most pleasing sensations.

"The desire for beauty is not lessened by new gratifications: in short, without it all the beauties of spring and of the blooming year, with all the variegated beauties of nature and art, would excite in us no more pleasing emotions than were all nature a mere jargon of discordances and a chaos of confusion. Whereas, on the other hand, we find more refined pleasure in the contemplation of the color, proportion and harmony of all the works of creation and the beauties of art than in any other power or capacity with which we are endowed."

During his studies he still found time to indulge his love of reading. He was constantly adding to his store of books as circumstances permitted, and devoting spare moments to perusing them and writing down from them in his commonplace book such passages as he desired particularly to remember. Thus there is a memorandum that from May 1, 1809, he read Dr. Beattie's "Minstrel," "Life and Poems of James Hay Beattie." A work of Stuart's, MacKenzie's "Man of Feeling," Buffon's "Natural History," Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," four volumes, Dr. Beattie's "Ethics," and one volume of Goldsmith's "Animated Nature." Many extracts appear from Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," and still more from Dr. Beattie's "Ethics." Among these, we have much upon the principles of Law and Civil Government, Right, Obligation, Justice, etc., also upon Reasoning and Evidence, and style of composition, his-

torical, rhetorical, etc. Under the latter head he was particular to record the following qualifications, "as necessary to attain excellence in the composing and pronouncing of sermons:"

"1. The preacher must be a man of piety, and one who has the instruction and salvation of mankind sincerely at heart.

"2. A man of modest and simple manners, and in his public performances and general behavior must conduct himself so as to make his people sensible that he has their temporal and eternal welfare more at heart than anything else.

"3. He must be well instructed in morality and religion, and in the original tongues in which the Scriptures are written, for without them he can hardly be qualified to explain Scripture or to teach religion and morality.

"4. He must be such a proficient in his own language, as to be able to express every doctrine and precept with the utmost simplicity, and without anything in his diction either finical on the one hand or vulgar on the other.

"5. A sermon should be composed with regularity and unity of design, so that all its parts may have a mutual and natural connection, and it should not consist of many heads, neither should it be very long.

"6. A sermon ought to be pronounced with gravity, modesty and meekness, and so as to be distinctly heard by all the audience.

"Let the preacher, therefore, accustom himself to articulate slowly and deliver the words with a distinct voice, and without artificial attitudes or motions or any other affectation."

These rules are here inserted, because he seems to have been impressed by their justness, and to have modeled himself by them in his future course as a preacher.

In addition to his various classes and literary exercises, he seems also to have been engaged in teaching

some private classes, as the poet Campbell had done, and as was the usual resort of those who were not otherwise able to defray their expenses. He had a class in Latin, one in English grammar and reading, and one in writing and arithmetic, composed of youths from several families in the city, as those of Mr. Monteith, Wardlaw, Burns, etc. While thus diligently engaged, however, in literary pursuits, he by no means neglected his religious interests. On the contrary, he seems to have been unusually atttentive to the state of his own religious convictions and feelings. He was strict in his daily devotions and readings of the Scripture; and seems, from various records, to have cherished constantly a devotional frame of mind and a habit of self-examination. On the last evening of December, as he sat in his apartment, he resolved to occupy himself in writing and reflecting upon religious subjects until the old year should be closed. When the New Year (1809) had come in, he then determined that he would keep a religious diary or record of the results of daily self-examination.

This sort of religious discipline had formerly been practised by his father, and was at this time very common with religious persons. Wesley began to keep a diary while at Oxford, but his private diary was not so much a record of self-examination as of the events of the day, and of his own reflections upon men and things, interspersed with views of his own religious condition and changes at different periods. This work, which has been published, is perhaps the best and most valuable autobiography extant, containing, in addition, valuable material for history. The diary, however, which he commenced in connection with Hervey, Morgan, Whitefield and other members of the so-

called "Godly Club" at Oxford, was really a record of self-examinations of the most searching character, extending to thoughts, words, motives and actions, in reference both to God and man, and, in the elaborate scheme drawn out by Mr. Wesley himself, endeavoring to bring under scrutiny every thought and imagination of the human heart. Other members of the "Godly Club" continued the practice after they left college; and Hervey, who became a very popular writer, earnestly recommended religious persons, each for himself, thus to "compile a secret history of his heart and conduct."

That such a practice may be useful to certain minds and in particular circumstances is probable, but it may well be doubted whether its evils would not, in a majority of cases, outweigh its advantages. That the power of self-superintendence and self-examination ought to be daily exercised by all is unquestionable, but so minute a scrutiny into the workings of the human soul, and so elaborate a record of the suggestions, vain and frivolous thoughts and imaginations which flit across the mind, is likely to induce an utter despair of human nature with some, and, with others of a different temperament, to foster the pride of self-knowledge, or a presumptuous confidence in man's power of self-renovation. It does not seem designed, nor is it enjoined by the Creator, that man should thus, as it were, apply the microscope to certain parts of his moral nature, and distort these into such unnatural disproportion as would, upon a similar scale of magnitude, convert even the most beautiful physical form into a monster. As there is a certain distance at which a portrait must be viewed in order to have a true conception of it, so is it with human character, where causes must be considered

along with their results; motives with actions and the general tenor of life, rather than special moods and casual caprices, which often spring from a physical rather than a moral source. Man can never know himself aright until he shall be enabled to comprehend the delicate relations which God has established between the various parts of his own nature, as well as between him and exterior things; and, in default of this knowledge, he must be content to remain ignorant of much that lies beyond the field of ordinary observation, just as men breathe the life-giving air and conceive it to be pure, forgetful that in the sunbeam they saw it filled with an infinite number of motes and particles, of whose nature or use they could form no conception. In fact, those minute inquisitions to which reference is made are at all possible only to a few, and therefore can never constitute an imperative religious duty, which must of necessity be of universal obligation.

The diary kept by Alexander, partly in short-hand, but chiefly in Latin, records the usual deficiencies in spiritual-mindedness, self-consecration and attention to duty, and the usual longings after a higher spiritual life. It seems also to have resulted in the conviction of the impossibility of maintaining or of conducting such a scrutiny to a practical or useful end, and to have led him to the appropriate inquiry of the Psalmist, "Who can understand his errors?" and to his equally appropriate prayer to God, "Cleanse thou me from secret faults"—a prayer which is entirely in harmony with the spirit of the New Testament, where the self-examination enjoined presumes not to separate the minute filaments which compose the varied web of human motives and feelings, but confines itself to faith as connected with obedience. Such a scrutiny, while

it must reveal to every Christian his own inability, and that he offends in many things, will lead him neither to despair of the perfection which God requires, nor to flatter himself with any assurances of self-sufficiency; but will lead him rather, by prayer, to seek assistance from Him who can "work in him both to will and to do of his own good pleasure," and whose strength is made perfect in human weakness. He will be induced to hope not in self-righteousness, but in the merits of Christ, and to look off to Him whom God has made to him wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. It was in harmony with such reflections that the minute inquiries of the earlier portions of his diary gradually gave place to broader and more elevated views, and to appropriate meditations upon certain portions of Scripture. Thus we have, under date of January 15:

"Thoughts on these words: 'The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked: who can know it?' Man is composed of two parts—a body and a soul; the body visible, material, mortal, divisible; the soul invisible, immaterial, indivisible and immortal. Their union is an impenetrable arcanum. The heart of man is put here for the mind, or thoughts, as the heart is the seat of life, and is thought by some to be the seat of intellect and will. The soul of man is unfathomable. The human mind is an emanation of the Divine Mind. The soul was first made after the image of God in knowledge, righteousness and true holiness; was perfectly able, in its first state, to keep the commands of God, but is now fallen by a breach of God's command well known. That heart, once so perfect as to have communion with God, and to enjoy communion with him, is now so depraved, so awfully depraved, as to be the habitation of every unclean thought, the spring of all filthy communication, the source of every sinful action.

"The tongue is said, by a beloved apostle, to be a fire, a world of iniquity; it defiles the whole body and setteth on fire the course of nature, and is set on fire of hell. But, alas! sure 'tis the heart, 'tis by the will, the tongue is lifted up; 'tis then the heart that is the cause of this evil, this awful iniquity. But how is the heart so deceitful? how is it so unknown? It is so dreadfully deceitful as to shun all good. When we essay to do good, the heart rebels; when, with our tongue, we attempt to praise our Maker, our deceitful heart wanders off to vanity, to a thousand vanities. We cannot command it; it escapes our closest watch, our deepest ken, and deceives us.

"It is pleased with the vanities of a present, evil world, and naturally shuns the precious truths of God. It fondly drinks in the draughts of iniquity and loathes the healthful cordials of God's word. It is fond of its bitterest enemy and hates its best friend. It is dull, it is languid to that which is good; it is lively, it is active to every evil work. It is in its element when in the service of Satan, but out of it in the service of God. This is the true state of the natural heart; it loves death and hates life; it chooses the former and rejects the latter. How unhappy, then, would this carnal heart be in the everlasting company of God, of angels and of glorified saints! Yea, heaven would be no heaven to it; it prefers the company of the damned (if it could avoid their punishment), rather than union and communion with God and the fellowship of angels and of glorified saints. Let us pray, then, to God to be merciful and change these hard and deceitful hearts."

Again, on the 29th of January: "'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.' * * * *

"The word of God, which is contained in the Old and New Testaments, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him. 'The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the

simple. * * * * Moreover, by them is thy servant warned, and in keeping of them there is great reward.' Psalm xix. Here is sufficient proof of the authority of the Scriptures, so that, from their holiness and superlative dignified majesty, they are the powerful words that can convert the soul that lies in iniquity; they can convince the most obstinate sinner; they can humble the most haughty and high-minded, and turn those far from righteousness from the power of Satan to the living God.

"In them we have the blessing of Christ bequeathed unto us fully, freely, earnestly, and particularly to all and every individual sinful man. See 2 Peter i. 4: 'Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these you might be partakers of the Divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.' And again, Luke xxii. 29: 'And I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father appointed unto me.' These are the inestimable purchases and legacies of our new covenant head; such purchases as all creation could not produce or such a gift; all this, and freely without money and without price. From all this we may learn that the Scripture is the true and only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy Him.

"But that the Scriptures may have the desired effect, we are to read them for this end and in this manner. For this end, that, by the blessing of God and the influence of the Holy Spirit, we may be rendered thereby holy, humble and wise unto salvation; that we may know of the grand concerns of an eternal scene, and be put in the way to escape eternal wrath and to gain eternal happiness. And in this manner are we to read them: First, to understand them by a diligent comparing of them, one with another, observing the regularity, strength and consistency of each part; and, second, to receive any benefit from them, we must earnestly pray for the Spirit to apply them and to explain them to our hearts. Acts xvii. 11: 'They searched the Scriptures daily whether these things were so;' and John v. 37: 'Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and these are they which

testify of me.' Hence the Word of God, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy God here and hereafter."

So full, indeed, was he of religious thought that he could not forbear giving expression to it, even in those manuscript volumes which he had reserved for merely literary purposes. Thus, in one consisting of extracts, juvenile poems, etc., we have, under date of March 13, first, a sentence from Luther: "Three things make a minister—faith, meditation and temptation." Then follows this comparison, which was a favorite one with his father: "A man may enter a garden for three purposes: First, to learn the art of gardening; second, for pleasure; third, to gather fruit. So may a man read the Bible for three things: First, to learn to read it or dispute about it; second, read the historical parts for pleasure; third, to gather fruit; this last is the true way." After these, he writes down the following reflections:

"Whatever our conduct may have been, if, convinced by his word of our sad misconduct, we, returning to him, confess our sin, sincerely supplicating mercy through the priesthood of Jesus, heartily adopting his word as the rule of our practice, and constantly calling upon him, by prayer, to enable us by his Holy Spirit, to fulfill it in all things, he will surely pardon all our past sins, give us his Holy Spirit, and graciously forgive our daily shortcomings. Whilst we thus go on in a daily and diligent study of his holy word, endeavoring to do better and better every day, not at all making our own endeavors the ground of our confidence, but merely and only the mercy of God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, constantly looking for pardon and acceptance only through his blood; this is true religion, this is true Christianity; anything otherwise, anything less or more than this, is delusion."

In reference to family religion, he notes elsewhere:

"Do you think that religion is a mere way of talking or educational art, received by tradition from our forefathers? God forbid! It is a substantial thing, solid as the adamant, lasting as eternity, bright and glorious as the Divine Author and object of it. It is the social knowledge of God, the social love of Jesus, social holiness, meekness, humility, charity, patience, submission, delight in God, that is only worthy to be wished for in a family."

These cherished sentiments, private meditations and personal details of daily life, show how deeply his heart and mind had been impressed by religion, and how his naturally strong and independent judgment began to assert its power to guide his thoughts and determine his convictions. In this latter respect, however, the circumstances around him had so marked an influence, and contributed so largely to modify his religious views and decide his future course, that they well deserve particular consideration.

CHAPTER X.

Religious Movement of the Haldanes—State of Religious Society in Scotland—Effects upon Alexander Campbell.

IN natural science, it is admitted as an axiom that all effects have their proportionate causes. Some have thought this untrue in moral affairs, from the difficulty of making any calculations in reference to the actions of voluntary beings, who appear to be governed often by caprice, rather than by reason. The difficulty of tracing human actions to adequate causes is not, however, an argument against the existence of such causes, any more than the difficulty of accounting for the changes in the weather is a proof that such changes are not due to sufficient causes. Our inability may arise, not from the absence of such causes in human affairs, but from our imperfect knowledge of human nature. and from the complexity and abstruseness of the subject. It is certain that, in most cases, human actions *can* be traced to mouves entirely sufficient to account for them; and it is not to be doubted that if we were perfectly familiar with all the springs of human action, and all the influences, physical, moral and spiritual, which act upon man's complex organism, we should be able to reduce to the rule of some fixed law, effects which now seem the result of some inconsistent whim or unaccountable and passing fancy.

The power of surrounding circumstances to mould

human character is familiar to all, and it is one of the most interesting points in the lives of those who have become distinguished in any particular field of labor to note the methods by which Divine Providence has thus often prepared their hearts and minds for the sphere for which they were designed, and changed or modified heir own purposes and plans until these were in harmony with their appointed life-work. It was, as formerly stated, the cherished desire of Thomas Campbell that his son Alexander should become a minister of the gospel in the Seceder denomination, to which he belonged; and in this arrangement Alexander seems to have acquiesced, rather from respect to his father's wishes than from any original purpose of his own. It was not until he encountered the perils of the shipwreck that, as formerly stated, he finally resolved, from his own convictions of duty, to devote himself to the ministry, in pursuance of which determination he was now attending his preliminary course at the University. Thus far, everything seemed tending toward the end so much desired by Thomas Campbell, who, having received intelligence of the shipwreck, and the consequent delay of the family at Glasgow, had written to them a letter full of affectionate solicitude and consolation, and highly commending all their proposed arrangements. But Alexander's stay at Glasgow, while it left his main purpose unaltered, was destined to work an entire revolution in his views and feelings in respect to the existing denominations, and to disengage his sympathies entirely from the Seceder denomination and every other form of Presbyterianism.

This change seems to have been occasioned chiefly through his intimacy with Greville Ewing. This gentleman seemed to take a special interest in Alexander

and in the family, and performed so many kind offices in their behalf that he became greatly endeared to them. Alexander was frequently at Mr. Ewing's to dinner or to tea, where he formed many agreeable intimacies with the guests at his hospitable board, and acquired, during this intercourse, an intimate knowledge of Mr. Ewing's previous religious history, and that of his coadjutors, the Haldanes and others. As the facts thus presented to Mr. Campbell produced a lasting effect upon his mind, it will be necessary to present a brief sketch of them, and of the eminent men concerned in the reformatory movement then progressing in Scotland—a movement from which Mr. Campbell received his first impulse as a religious reformer, and which may be justly regarded, indeed, as the *first phase* of that religious reformation which he subsequently carried out so successfully to its legitimate issues.

Among those connected with the Haldanes, Mr. Ewing himself stood deservedly high. He possessed very fine personal qualities; was a man of deep and fervent piety, and of varied and extensive learning. He was particularly well acquainted with biblical criticism, and was regarded as a skillful expositor of the Sacred Volume. He was a native of Edinburgh, and had been destined by his father for the mercantile business; but as soon as his apprenticeship expired, having a strong predilection for the ministry, he applied himself with great assiduity to the preparatory studies necessary for obtaining license in the Church of Scotland. After passing his examinations with great credit, he was licensed to preach at twenty-five years of age, and in 1793 accepted a call from the worshipers in Lady Glenorchy's chapel in Edinburgh, and was

ordained as the colleague of Mr. Jones, in connection with whom he preached for some years to an immense concourse of hearers. It was about this time that the brothers Haldane commenced those enterprises which produced such important religious changes in Scotland, and greatly influenced the course of Mr. Ewing's future labors.

These two brothers, Robert and James A. Haldane, were of a distinguished Scottish ancestry, and sons of a very pious mother, who was the sister of the celebrated Admiral Duncan of the British navy. Both were thus naturally led, from this relationship, to look to the sea as the theatre of their future achievements. In due time, Robert, the elder, obtained a situation in the navy, and served with honor in the war with France, on board of the Monarch, under his uncle, and afterward in the Foudroyant, under Admiral Jervis. In the action of the Foudroyant with the Pegase, he was sent on board the captured vessel in a very stormy sea, in which two boats had been previously lost; and he so much distinguished himself by his prudence and decision in bringing the French commander on board the British vessel that he received the highest commendation from his brother officers and from Admiral Jervis. Peace being made in 1783, he relinquished the naval profession, and retired to his fine estate near Stirling, called Airthrey, to the improvement of which he devoted himself, with his accustomed energy, for ten years. But amid these peaceful pursuits the early religious impressions received from his mother revived with unwonted force. He became a daily student of the Scriptures, and devoted himself, with great earnestness, to a thorough examination of the evidences of Christianity, from which he derived great benefit. About this time,

Dr. Innes, the minister of the kirk in Stirling, induced him to commence family worship, and it was his delight to converse with Dr. Innes and other preachers on religious themes. It was, however, to a conversation with a pious stone-mason, with whom he once walked some miles through the woods of Airthrey, that he attributed his first clear conceptions of the plan of justification, and of the important truth that faith must cast away all reliance on frames and feelings, and rest only upon Christ. He no sooner thus learned to rely upon him alone, than he was relieved from all the doubts and uncertainties which had perplexed his mind amidst conflicting religious theories, and came to realize his personal interest in the salvation of the gospel. From this moment he determined to devote his life and his property to the promotion of the interests of religion—a resolution in which his amiable and pious wife heartily concurred. "Christianity," he well observed, "is everything or nothing. If it be true, it warrants and commands every sacrifice to promote its influence. If it be not, then let us lay aside the hypocrisy of believing it." "It immediately struck me," he says in his narrative, "that I was spending my time in the country to little profit, whilst, from the command of property, which, through the goodness of God, I possessed, I might be somewhere extensively useful."

Greatly impressed with the importance of the missionary work in India, then commenced by Mr. Carey, his first idea was to go, with some companions, in order to introduce Christianity among the natives of Bengal. Having induced the amiable Dr. Innes, with whom he was on terms of great intimacy, to be one of the number, he was persuaded by him to propose the matter also to Greville Ewing, the doctor's brother-in-law,

whose consent having been also obtained, as well as that of Doctor Bogue, of Gosport, England, an old and valued friend of Robert Haldane, he proceeded at once to make arrangements for the enterprise. For each of his coadjutors Mr. Haldane was to supply the necessary outfit and passage-money, and also to provide an independent competence for those whose co-operation involved the loss of their means of subsistence; and he engaged, furthermore, to bestow the sum of thirty-five hundred pounds upon any one of them who might be compelled to return home. He accordingly determined to sell his beautiful estate of Airthrey, in the cultivation and embellishment of which he had taken so much pleasure, and proceeded to engage a printing establishment and all necessary assistants; but, upon application to the East India Company for permission to establish the mission among the Hindoos, this was positively and unexpectedly refused. The most earnest appeals having been made in vain to induce the Company to revoke their decision, Mr. Haldane was compelled, in the course of this year, 1797, to relinquish the enterprise, after having disposed of his estate. But this disappointment only served to direct his beneficence into other channels.

During the previous year Mr. Ewing had become the editor of a periodical called the "Missionary Magazine," published under the auspices of Doctor Charles Stuart, of Edinburgh, who had once been a minister of the Kirk of Scotland, but had resigned his charge, become a Baptist, and was then engaged in the practice of medicine. He was a man of high birth, being a lineal descendant of the Regent Murray, and had renounced worldly distinction, seeking only to promote Christian and benevolent enterprises. The object of

the Missionary Magazine was to awaken the churches to the importance of missions to the heathen world; and it was conducted with marked ability by Mr. Ewing, and caused no little stir throughout Scotland, not only from the novelty of the subject, but from certain leanings toward Independency, which soon awakened the jealousy and hostility of the Kirk. Religion was at this time at a very low ebb in Scotland. The open infidelity of Hume, Adam Smith and others had infected all ranks, beginning with the classes at the University and penetrating the Church itself. The eminent Professor Playfair had actually renounced Christianity, and many others who continued to officiate as ministers were imbued with skepticism or Socinianism,* while religious apathy seemed to brood over the entire Church, with a few brilliant exceptions. This became strikingly

* This condition of affairs may be exemplified by the fact that Doctor McGill, minister of the Established Church in Ayr, published in 1786 a book entitled "A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ," in which he taught, in the most undisguised and offensive manner, sentiments totally at variance with the Scriptures and with the standards of his own Church. He taught "that Christ was a person of our own order, and that, although he was invested with a very extraordinary office, and endued with extraordinary powers, yet he was not God, equal with the Father. He endeavored to explain away the doctrine of the atonement, by affirming that Christ did not die as the substitute of sinners; that his priesthood and sacrifice were merely figurative; that his errand into the world was not to purchase salvation for men, but to make a clear and distinct revelation of the rule of our obedience, to exemplify it in his holy life, and to assure sinners of their obtaining pardon upon their repentance, and of their being accepted upon their sincere obedience," etc. It is particularly worthy of note, that this book was permitted to circulate extensively, for at least two or three years, without any judicial cognizance being taken of its author, either by the Presbytery or Synod to which he belonged, or by the General Assembly; and that when a complaint was made in 1789, at the meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, after various postponements and appeals, the whole affair was finally hushed up upon certain vague explanations and apologies made by Doctor McGill, who continued to officiate in the National Church as before—McKERROW'S "*History of the Secession Church*," p. 359.

evident by the fact that when, at length, the subject of missions was brought up in the General Assembly, upon the resolution offered, "That it is the duty of Christians to send the gospel to the heathen world," this, after debate, was voted down by a large majority—a favorite argument of the opposing party being that there was plenty of ignorance, unbelief and immorality at home to occupy the efforts of all.

This remark struck with great force the mind of James Alexander Haldane, who was present at the discussion, and was well aware that no adequate efforts were made, or were likely to be made, by the Church to remedy the evil. This remarkable man had, like his brother Robert, entered upon a seafaring life in the East India trade, in which the family had already an interest. After making several voyages to India, in which he greatly distinguished himself by his courage, seamanship and enterprising spirit, and during which, like the Rev. John Newton, he experienced many remarkable providential deliverances, he at length became captain of the East India vessel called the Mellville Castle. About this time he married a Miss Joass, niece of Sir Robert Abercrombie, and made all necessary preparation for sailing with a large East India fleet, which was expected to start from the Downs, under convoy, in December, 1793. The fleet, however, being unexpectedly detained until the month of May, he became, during this interval of leisure, much impressed with the subject of religion. He read religious books and a portion of the Scripture every day, and began to form a habit of prayer. He thought also of becoming a communicant in the Church, and experienced a strong inclination to abandon the sea in order to devote himself to religious matters, which had now become much

more congenial to his feelings. Receiving from his brother Robert a letter earnestly recommending this step, he decided to adopt it, and selling out his interest in "The Mellville Castle" for fifteen thousand pounds, he returned with his wife to Scotland, and finally settled in Edinburgh. Here his religious impressions continued to deepen. He sought the society of religious persons and continued to read religious books, but was, we are told, particularly devoted to the Scripture, which he considered a certain authority; and whenever he found it against any of his opinions, he readily gave them up. Continuing his investigations, he began to read the Bible in a still more child-like spirit, without seeking for any interpretation that should agree with his own ideas. But his own account of his progress is so interesting, that it is here given in his own words:

"I now saw more of the freeness of the grace of the gospel, and the necessity of being born again, and was daily looking for satisfactory evidence of this change. My desire was now set upon frames and feelings, instead of building on the sure foundation. I got no comfort in this way. Gradually becoming more dissatisfied with myself, being convinced especially of the sin of unbelief, I wearied myself with looking for some wonderful change to take place, some inward feeling by which I might know that I was born again. The method of resting simply on the promises of God, which are yea and amen in Jesus Christ, was too plain and easy; and like Naaman, the Syrian, instead of bathing in the waters of Jordan and being clean, I would have some great work in my mind to substitute in place of Jesus Christ. The Lord gradually opened my eyes. He always dealt with me in the tenderest manner, and kept me from those horrors of mind which, in my ignorance and pride, I had often desired as a proof of my conversion. The dispensations of his providence toward me much favored the teaching which he

has vouchsafed to afford. The conversations of some of the Lord's people with whom I was acquainted were helpful to my soul; and, in particular, I may here add that the knowledge of the Scriptures that I had acquired in early life was very useful to me when my views were directed to the great concerns of eternity. Many things were then brought to my remembrance which I had learned when young, although they seemed wholly to have escaped while I was living in forgetfulness of God. Instead of those deep convictions which are experienced by some with much horror of mind, the Lord has rather shown me the evils of sin in the suffering of his dear Son, and in the manifestation of that love which, whilst it condemns the past ingratitude, seals the pardon of the believing sinner. In short, I now desire to feel, and hope in some measure that I do feel, as a sinner who looks for salvation freely by grace; who prefers this method of salvation to every other, because thereby God is glorified through Jesus Christ, and the pride of human glory stained. I desire daily to see more of my own unworthiness, and that Jesus Christ may be more precious to my soul. I depend on him for sanctification as well as for deliverance from wrath; and am in some measure (would it were more!) convinced of my own weakness and his all-sufficiency. When I have most comfort, then does sin appear most hateful; and I am in some measure made to rejoice in the hope of being completely delivered from it by seeing, in all his beauty, Him who was dead and is alive, and liveth for evermore. Amen."

Thus it was that both the brothers had been, by a careful study of the Scriptures and a gradual enlightenment, and not by any sudden impulse or external influence, brought under deep religious convictions, and, in both, this occurred about the same time, though it seems to have been developed a little earlier in James. Both the brothers were strongly attached to each other, and sympathized with each other in their religious changes and undertakings. After the failure

of the Bengal mission, and while J. A. Haldane was residing at Edinburgh, he was greatly benefited by his intercourse with the pious Mr. John Aikman, who was then attending the divinity lectures with a view to the ministry. Much was also due to his intimacy with Mr. John Campbell, a man of singular piety, and of remarkable practical and executive powers in benevolent and Christian enterprises. The mental changes he had undergone closely resembled those of the brothers Haldane, in whose memoirs, by a son of J. A. Haldane, Alexander Haldane, Esq., the following brief but interesting notice of Mr. Campbell occurs:

"For many years he had known and believed the truth; but his views of Christ had been rather sought in the reflection of the inward work of the Holy Spirit in his heart than in the finished righteousness of Christ; and he had neither peace nor joy in believing. It was a subjective rather than an objective faith. Doubts, fears and actual backslidings had often shaken his hope, and driven him almost to despair, even at the time he was esteemed by other Christians and regarded as a pattern. At last, to use his own earnest words in a letter published by Mr. Newton, 'the cloud which covered the mercy-seat fled away—Jesus appeared as he is! My eyes were not turned *inward* but *outward*. The gospel was the glass in which I beheld him. In the time of my affliction, the doctrine of election appeared irritating and confounding; now it appears truly glorious and truly humbling. * * * I now stand upon a shore of comparative rest. Believing, I rejoice. When in search of comfort, I resort to the testimony of God. This is the field which contains the pearl of great price. Frames and feelings are, like other created comforts, passing away. What an unutterable source of consolation it is that the foundation of our hope is ever immutably the same!—the sacrifice of Jesus as acceptable as ever it was! To this sacrifice I desire ever to direct my eye,

especially at the first approach of any gloom or mental change.'

"After my deliverance," continues Mr. Campbell, "my ideas of many things were much altered, especially about faith. I perceived that this principle in the mind arises from no exertion in the man, but the constraint of evidence without. The Spirit takes the things of Christ, and discovers their reality and glory in such a manner to the mind of man that it is not in his power to refuse his belief. It is no mighty matter, nor is it any way meritorious, to believe the sun is shining when our eyes are dazzled with its beams. The internal evidences of the truth of revelation had ten thousand times more effect upon my mind than all its external evidence. There is a divineness, a glory and excellence in the Scriptures, perceived by enlightened minds, which they cannot so describe as to make it intelligible to an unregenerate person. Formerly the major part of my thoughts centred upon either the darkness I felt or the lightness I enjoyed. Now they are mainly directed to Jesus—what he hath done, suffered and promised."

This John Campbell had a large iron-monger shop, overlooking the Grass-Market of Edinburgh; and is described as "a little man, active, with an intelligent, benevolent countenance, a quick, dark eye, and a mind far superior to his position." Earnest, single-hearted, prayerful and devoted to his heavenly Master, this indefatigable and laborious man was eminently distinguished for his successful efforts in behalf of religion and humanity.

"He became in Edinburgh," continues the biographer whose sketch we here condense, "the living model of a city missionary, a district visitor, a Scripture reader, a tract distributor, a Sabbath-school teacher, and a Sabbath-school founder, long before Christians had learned to unite themselves together in societies to promote these objects. His warehouse

was then the only depository in Edinburgh for religious tracts and periodicals, and became a sort of house of call, or point of reunion, for all who took an interest in the kingdom of Christ. Mr. Campbell was the chief founder of the first tract society in the world, at Edinburgh. In 1797 he formed there a Sabbath-school society, independent of clerical superintendence, and opened a number of Sabbath evening schools, which were so successful that, in company with James A. Haldane, he visited Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, and other places, to set before the friends of religion the duty and advantages of adopting the same plan. A week's journey led to the establishment of sixty Sabbath-schools; and no long time elapsed till there was not a single town in Scotland which was not provided with those most useful seminaries.* He was also one of the first directors of the Scottish Missionary Society; the founder of the Magdalen Asylum for the reformation of unfortunate females; and a stated visitor of the jail and Bridewell, whose unhappy inmates, though abandoned by almost every one else, he endeavored to awaken to a consideration of the one thing needful. In a large village of colliers, called Gilmerton, near Edinburgh, he found so much ignorance and irreligion that he endeavored to induce

* Sunday-schools had been first introduced at Gloucester, by Robert Raikes, some twenty years previously, and had been extended to many other towns in England; and he is justly regarded as the founder of the general system of Sunday-school instruction. It is related, however, by Dr. Fahnestock, in his history of the German Seventh-day Baptists in the United States, that Ludwig Hœcker, who taught the common school at their village of Ephrata, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, soon after his arrival in 1739, projected the plan of holding a school in the afternoons of the Sabbath, and commenced it, in connection with some of the other brethren, in order to give instruction to the indigent children who were kept from regular school by employments which their necessities obliged them to be engaged in during the week, as well as to give religious instruction to those of better circumstances. This continued for more than thirty years, until the battle of Brandywine, when the school-room was given up for a hospital for a considerable time, and the school was not afterward resumed. According to this account, the first Sabbath-school had been established in the United States about forty years before Raikes opened his school in Gloucester.

preachers of different denominations to visit it, but without effect. Not being as yet himself in the habit of public speaking, he at length induced a young preacher, Mr. Rate, from Dr. Bogue's academy at Gosport, to preach a few times. The interest produced was so great, and Mr. Aikman and J. A. Haldane were so much impressed with the importance of continuing the meeting after Mr. Rate's departure, that they both finally consented to address the people."

It was here at Gilmerton that James A. Haldane delivered his first sermon on the sixth of May, 1797, greatly to the satisfaction and edification of those present. Large crowds continued for some time to flock to these meetings to hear Mr. Aikman and the sea-captain, and great good resulted from their earnest and affectionate appeals. The clergy, however, soon began to manifest their hostility to lay-preaching; and the parish minister took means to deprive them of the house in which the meetings were held. A spacious loft was then obtained, which proving too small, the meetings were then held in a large barn.

Shortly after this, the two preachers becoming greatly impressed with what they heard of the coldness and immorality of many of the ministers in the north of Scotland, resolved to travel through this region and preach to the people in the streets of the towns and villages. They based their right to preach to the people, as they announced in a printed notice of their design, "upon the indispensable duty of every Christian to warn sinners to flee from the wrath to come, and to point out Jesus as the way, the truth and the life. Whether a man," they continued, "declare those important truths to two or two hundred, he is, in our opinion a preacher of the gospel, or one who declares the glad tidings of salvation, which is the precise meaning

of the word preach. In harmony with this view, we find that, in the beginning, when the members of the Church at Jerusalem, numbering then from eight to ten thousand, were all scattered abroad except the apostles, they went everywhere preaching the Word."

Setting out, accordingly, on their tour in a light open carriage, accompanied a part of the way by Mr. Rate, they visited almost every place in the north of Scotland and the Orkney Islands, distributing tracts, preaching in the open air to great multitudes, and producing a very remarkable awakening, both among preachers and people. From the success of this remarkable tour, and the abundant evidence he met with of the truth of the declaration made in the debate on foreign missions in the General Assembly, and with which his mind had been so much impressed at the time, that "there were enough of heathen at home," J. A. Haldane, with some others, established at Edinburgh a society for propagating the gospel at home, January 11, 1798. In their first address they declare:

"It is not our desire to form or to extend the influence of any sect. Our whole intention is, to make known the evangelical gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In employing itinerants, schoolmasters or others, we do not consider ourselves as conferring ordination upon them or appointing them to the pastoral office. We only propose, by sending them out, to supply the means of grace wherever we perceive a deficiency."

The funds needed for the operations of the society were chiefly supplied by Robert Haldane, and its principles and plans were earnestly and ably recommended through the pages of the "Missionary Magazine." Mr. A. Haldane, the biographer, remarks:

"Of that publication, the editor, Mr. Ewing, had not then

left the Established Church, although his position was becoming every day more untenable. On the 24th December, 1797, he delivered an eloquent and powerful sermon in defence of field-preaching, which produced a great sensation, and served still more to alarm the Moderates. The occasion of this sermon was a request to preach on behalf of the Edinburgh Sabbath-evening schools, which had been rapidly increasing under the influence of the new impulse. Mr. Ewing undertook to prove that the unfettered preaching of the gospel was one of those characters of universality which distinguish the Christian from the Jewish dispensation; and he ably contended that, in the closing words of the Apocalypse, the whole system of revelation and the whole mystery of God seem to be resolved into the provision made for the universal propagation of the gospel. The Holy Spirit and the Church unite their voice and continually cry to sinners, Come. This precious invitation is so necessary to be known, and known without a moment's delay, that every one that heareth is commanded to repeat it. Like a multiplying and never-dying echo, 'the joyful sound' must be on all sides transmitted from one to another, and in this accepted time, in this day of salvation, he that is athirst may come, and whosoever will may take the water of life freely."

In the spring of 1798, Mr. Rate was sent out by the society to itinerate in Fifeshire, and Mr. Cleghorn and William Ballantine, who had been Seceders and had studied theology under Dr. Bogue, were sent to the North to labor, where the great awakening had taken place during the recent tour of J. A. Haldane and Mr. Aikman. During the summer Mr. J. A. Haldane and Mr. Aikman, who did not depend on the society, but acted independently, made a preaching tour in the south and west of Scotland, attended with much opposition on the part of the clergy and the magistrates, with many striking incidents and great effect in arousing many souls to the importance of religion. While

at Langholm, in the county of Roxburgh, they were taking a walk along the banks of the Esk, when they observed an English clergyman conversing with the minister of the parish, and were much struck with his appearance. He was of a tall, commanding figure, had a piercing eye, an aquiline nose, and a countenance beaming with intelligence, and with an expression denoting a natural vein of humor. After their return to their inn, they were surprised by a call from this gentleman, who, having heard of them, was desirous of making their acquaintance. He proved to be the celebrated Rowland Hill, who was now on his first visit to Scotland, having been invited by Robert Haldane to come and make a tour in Scotland, and especially for the purpose of opening the religious services in a large building called the Circus, lately rented by Robert Haldane, in Edinburgh. Next morning, while the two friends remained to prosecute their tour, Mr. Hill proceeded to Edinburgh, to the residence of James A. Haldane, in George street, adjoining the house, No. 14, in which Henry Brougham, the future Lord Chancellor, then resided. He preached in the Circus July 29, and subsequently at several points in the open air, near Edinburgh, and also at Stirling, Crief, Dundee, Perth and Kinross, whither he was accompanied by Robert Haldane, greatly adding to the religious excitement which existed. Returning to the capital, he preached again in the Circus, and set off on Monday morning with Robert Haldane to preach in the church-yard of the old Cathedral at Glasgow.* Going back to Edin-

* In the account of his tour which Mr. Hill afterward published, he speaks thus of the meeting at Glasgow: "The scene was solemn. The old Cathedral stands *externally* in perfectly good repair, and much is it to the honor of the city that it should so stand, as it is the only one left in a perfect

burgh, he preached again in the Circus and on Calton Hill to some fifteen or twenty thousand persons; and afterward made another short tour through Fifeshire, accompanied this time by James A. Haldane, who had returned from his itineracy. Coming back to Edinburgh, Mr. Hill preached there again to immense audiences twice on 2d September, soon after which he set out for home, accompanied by Robert Haldane, who went with him to Gloucestershire on his way to Gosport to visit his old friend Dr. Bogue.

Shortly before this, Robert Haldane had taken hold of a project, which originated with John Campbell, to obtain from Africa thirty or thirty-five children, and, after educating them in Great Britain, to send them back to their native country as missionaries. They were to be children of the chiefs or principal men among the tribes, and of sufficient age to be able to retain their native language. For the accomplishment of this enterprise, Robert Haldane pledged the sum of seven thousand pounds. Accordingly, in June, 1799, Mr. Macaulay, the Governor of Sierra Leone, arrived with twenty boys and four girls, and John Campbell was immediately despatched to London to bring them to Edinburgh, where Mr. Haldane had already pre-

state of preservation in that part of the kingdom. Underneath were the remains, I may venture to say, of millions, waiting for the resurrection. Here I stood on a widely extended space, covered or nearly covered with the living —all immortals; five thousand, I should suppose, at least. What solemn work to address such multitudes! Who is sufficient for these things? I attempted to illustrate that passage Isaiah lx. 19: 'Thy God, thy glory.' Could we but explain to sinners and make them feel that God, a God in Christ, is their glory, and that it is their privilege to glorify God in return, we should have more than abundant recompense for all our little toil in a work so glorious." It may be here added that, near the spot where Mr Hill then preached, is the vault, within the walls of the Cathedral, where the mortal remains of Robert Haldane now repose.

pared, for their reception, a large house in the King's Park, afterward used as the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and described by Walter Scott in his "Heart of Mid-Lothian," as that of the "Laird of Dumbiedykes." Being detained, however, in order to be inoculated for the small pox, Mr. Macaulay, with some other Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, began to hesitate about placing the children under Mr. Haldane's exclusive care, on account, as was believed, of the liberality of his religious views. Mr. Haldane, however, very properly refusing to consent to any change in the original arrangement, and the children having created great interest in London, funds were at length otherwise provided, and the children were, after some years, sent back to Africa, carrying with them many of the arts of civilized life, though, unfortunately, their training had not been that which Mr. Haldane proposed to give, far more attention having been paid to their secular than to their religious education. The whole affair, however, serves to place in a strong light the Christian enterprise and munificent liberality of Robert Haldane.

It was during the progress of this affair, that he became interested in several other important enterprises. He had already found it difficult to obtain a regular supply of ministers to preach at the Circus building he had rented in Edinburgh; and he had conceived the idea of having a number of pious young men educated for the ministry. He had also, while on his travels with Mr. Hill, determined to erect, in the chief towns of Scotland, large buildings for preaching, after the Whitefield model, called Tabernacles. Upon his return to Edinburgh, he conferred with his brother, and the matter was broached to Mr. Innes and Mr. Ewing. The latter entered fully into his plans: and

on 29th November, delivering his last discourse in Lady Glenorchy's chapel, he, on 1st December, resigned his charge and left the Church of Scotland. A few days afterward, about twelve of those chiefly interested in the preaching at the Circus, and in the Society for propagating the gospel at home, including the two Haldanes, Mr. Ewing, Mr. Aikman, Mr. John Campbell, George Gibson and John Richie, met for consultation, and after prayer and deliberation, resolved to form themselves into a Congregational Church. Mr. Ewing drew out a plan for its government, and J. A. Haldane was invited to become the pastor. His earnest, faithful and successful labors hitherto in the evangelical field which he had chosen; the remarkable scriptural knowledge he had acquired, and his prayerfulness, kindly and unwearied attention to the sick, and eminent social and personal qualities, rendered him admirably fitted for this position; and although he modestly regarded himself as better suited to mere evangelical labor, he nevertheless, when the call was persisted in, yielded to it as the voice of Providence.

The avowed object in forming this church was to enjoy the benefit of Christian fellowship on a scriptural plan, to observe the ordinances, and avoid that contracted spirit which would exclude from the pulpit, or from occasional communion, any faithful preacher of the gospel or sincere lover of Christ. It was constituted in January, 1799, and about three hundred and ten persons at once united in it, consisting not only of those who had become awakened under the preaching of J. A. Haldane, Rowland Hill and others, but of many old members of the Established Church. J. A. Haldane was duly ordained on 3d February, 1799, the service being conducted by Messrs Taylor of York

shire, Garie of Perth, and Greville Ewing. Mr. Haldane answered at length to the questions propounded, giving an interesting account of the views and motives which had led him to engage in preaching, and accepting the charge in dependence on the grace of Jesus Christ, though stipulating that he might still occasionally labor as an itinerant, to which he thought he had been especially called. James A. Haldane thus became the first minister of the first church formed among the new Congregationalists of Scotland; and continued most faithfully and successfully to discharge the duties then assumed, for fifty-two years, up to the time of his triumphant death, February 8, 1851, in his eighty-third year.

As soon as J. A. Haldane had consented to officiate at Edinburgh, his brother Robert, in furtherance of his plans, proceeded to Glasgow, and purchasing, at a cost of three thousand pounds, a very large building in Jamaica street, which had been used as a circus, converted it into a tabernacle for a congregation, over which Mr. Ewing was to preside. From Glasgow he went in company with Mr. Ewing to Stirling, to propose to Mr. Innes a similar arrangement with regard to Dundee. To this Mr. Innes finally consented,* and accordingly broke off his connection with the Church of Scotland. A number of students for the ministry having been by this time collected, the first class was placed under the care of Mr. Ewing, who remained in Edinburgh during the winter, and removed to Glasgow in May following. The class commenced with twenty-four, all of whom were Presbyterians.

* It is related by the biographer of the Haldanes, that the hesitation of Mr. Innes to leave the Church of Scotland terminated when he was ordered to assist personally in the ordination of a minister who was a profane swearer, and charged as such in the open congregation.

"Some of us," says Mr. Monroe, one of the number, "belonged to the National Establishment, others to the Relief, and not a few were Burghers and Anti-Burghers. The only qualifications for admission to the seminary were genuine piety, talents susceptible of cultivation, and a desire to be useful to our fellow-sinners by preaching and teaching the words of eternal life. The grand object proposed by the zealous originators of the scheme was, to qualify pious young men for going out literally to the highways and hedges to preach the gospel, unconnected with the peculiarities of any denomination."* "The students were all maintained," remarks Mr. Haldane's biographer, "at Mr. Haldane's expense, according to the scale, for each married and unmarried student, drawn up at the time by those well acquainted with such matters. Before their admission, they underwent a strict examination as to their abilities and qualifications. But next to the importance of engaging in the work on purely Christian principles, nothing was more strongly impressed upon their minds than the assurance that there was no design to elevate them in their social position, and that it was not intended to make gentlemen of such among them as were mechanics, but catechists and preachers; and that after their term of study was over, they must not look to their patron for support, but to their own exertions and the leadings of Providence."†

In June, 1800, J. A. Haldane took another tour in company with John Campbell, visiting Ayr, Port-Patrick, Aran and Kintyre, preaching every day in the open air to large numbers. On this trip they were

* Mr. Maclay, who went out afterward as a missionary to America, and became a popular Baptist minister in New York, was one of this first class.

† The Dundee Tabernacle was not opened till the 19th of October, 1800, but, during the interval, Robert Haldane collected another class of about forty missionary students and catechists, whom he placed under Dr. Innes, to be transferred in the second year of their studies to Mr. Ewing at Glasgow. Another class of students was placed under Dr. Bogue at Gosport.

held for some time under arrest by the Highland chiefs, at the instigation of the clergy. But notwithstanding the opposition, great good was effected, and a marked religious reformation was accomplished, especially in Kintyre.

With regard to Robert Haldane, he not only largely maintained the religious enterprises previously spoken of, but published at his own expense myriads of religious tracts, and distributed Bibles and Testaments, when as yet there were no tract or Bible societies. He had formed, also, many Sabbath-schools; and inviting Andrew Fuller to Scotland, aided largely, by his own liberality, example and influence, in promoting the Serampore translation of the Scriptures. He also sometimes labored in preaching, until he was compelled to refrain from public-speaking on account of a spitting of blood. Soon after his brother became pastor of the Circus Church, he erected, at the head of Leith Walk in Edinburgh, a spacious place of worship called the Tabernacle, capable of holding four thousand persons, entirely at his own expense. Not long afterward, owing to the vast size of the congregation, Mr. Aikman, co-pastor with J. A. Haldane, concluded to build, at his own cost, a chapel, in the old town of Edinburgh, where he continued to preach to a part of the congregation.

In May, 1801, James A. Haldane made a trip to the south, and preached in Dumfries and the neighboring towns and villages. He then crossed over to Ireland, in September, where he was very kindly received, being allowed to preach in the parish church of Portadown. At Coleraine, he first became acquainted with Dr. Alexander Carson, who had been a classmate of Greville Ewing in Scotland, and had lately left the

Presbyterians, and become an Independent. At Omagh, he was kindly received by James Buchanan, who, afterward coming to America, was, for many years, British Consul at New York, and became one of Alexander Campbell's warmest personal friends, and an earnest advocate of the religious reformation urged by the latter. It was while on this tour that J. A. Haldane visited and preached at Rich-Hill, as formerly related.*

It was about this time (1802) that the studies of the

* From Mr. A. Haldane's memoir the following notice of a trip to the Highlands is here condensed, for the sake of certain facts which it presents:

"In the summer of 1802 he visited Derbyshire, England, preaching with much acceptance at many points. In the summer of 1803 he made a tour into the Highlands. About this time some of the students from the seminaries who had been sent out as missionaries began to produce considerable effect in Ireland and elsewhere. Among them, a Mr. Farquharson, a young man of zeal and piety, but whose natural capacity seemed hardly to warrant his continuing in academical studies, was sent away from Dundee to Breadalbane, at the end of his first six months, to see if he could not be of use as a Scripture-reader in that district, where the poor uneducated Highlanders had neither Bibles nor the preaching of the gospel. At first, he experienced great opposition, and but three families would receive him. But he went from village to village during the winter, reading the Bible and speaking a few words to all who would listen. At length, in 1802, through the efforts of this humble youth, a remarkable awakening occurred, showing what may be accomplished by the Divine word, read or spoken, even by those least gifted, if they possess true piety and zeal. To this point James Haldane first directed his course, in company with John Campbell.

"At this time many persons in the district were sick with a contagious fever, but Mr. Haldane did not hesitate to visit and pray with them. Among others he visited a Mrs. Sinclair, whose husband, though much opposed to any departure from the Established Church, was so much impressed with Mr. Haldane's piety and kindness, that he became quite favorable, and his son, Donald Sinclair, after his father's death, always opened his house to Mr. Haldane and other ministers of the connection, when they were in that part of the country. Preaching for some time through the Highlands, where Mr. Haldane's name was ever after regarded with veneration, they proceeded to John O'Groat's house, from whence they passed again into the Orkneys, and thence returned to Edinburgh. Soon after he undertook another tour with Mr. Campbell to the north of England, preaching on his return at Greenock, Paisley and at Glasgow."

second class of Mr. Ewing's missionary students ended. The Glasgow Seminary was then closed, and another one was opened in Edinburgh, on a larger scale, under the instruction of Mr. Aikman and John Campbell in theology, and Thomas Wemyss as classical tutor, the whole being under the immediate superintendence of the brothers Haldane. Subsequently, John Campbell retired, and was succeeded by William Stevens, once an actor, but then a popular and powerful preacher. He came from Aberdeen to assist in the tabernacle at Edinburgh, and remained there until he became a Baptist, upon which he removed to Rochdale in England, where he continued to preach for many years until his death.*

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* The course of study of these classes generally extended over two years, with a vacation of six weeks in every year, and embraced the English grammar and rhetoric, the elements of Greek and Hebrew, Latin (in the case of the last three classes), lectures on systematic theology, and essays upon prescribed subjects. Each student, in rotation, delivered sermons before the class, the tutor making his remarks. One day in each week each student was required to speak, in rotation, from a passage of Scripture appointed for that purpose, the tutor making concluding observations. The students were supported, had medical attendance when needed, their education and class books were given them, and they had access to a large and well-selected library—all at the expense of Mr. Robert Haldane. In addition to the seminaries already mentioned, others were established. One at Elgin under Mr. Ballantyne, one at Granton under Mr. McIntosh, and one under Rev. Mr. Hamilton at Armagh in Ireland; subsequently there was another at Paris under the care of MM. Francois and Henri Olivier. Both the Haldanes also contributed afterward to the support of theological students taught by Mr. Carson of Tubbermore in Ireland, many of whose theological works were published at the expense of Robert Haldane. He made efforts also to introduce Bibles and tracts into Italy and Germany, but was unable to succeed. In all, about three hundred young men were educated and sent out from the seminaries, and, though many of them were sent out with rather meagre attainments, owing to the urgent demand for laborers, there were choice spirits among them, who pushed on their private studies with vigor, and made attainments in actual scholarship superior to many students of the University, and became eminently useful, both as preachers and as writers.

In the summer of 1804 James A. Haldane again visited England, and passed from thence over to Dublin, and preached a number of times at the Bethesda Episcopal Chapel, where Mr. Mathies and the learned John Walker of Trinity College then officiated. Mr. Walker had not left the Church of England at this time, but sympathized largely in the efforts of the Haldanes and concurred to a considerable extent in their religious views.

Thus it was that, during this eventful period, many individuals, not altogether coinciding in their views upon all points, were nevertheless co-operating with each other in the effort to spread simpler views of the gospel, and awaken men to a true sense of religion. Through the intercourse, personal or epistolary, which existed among them, their knowledge of the Bible, which was practically regarded by them all as the only true guide in religion, was greatly increased, and their views of many questions were changed or modified. Among all these efforts, however, none were so scriptural, so simple, and so consistent as those of the brothers Haldane; and it was mainly in consequence of this that theirs were most successful. It is not to be doubted, however, that without the liberality of Robert Haldane, the views and principles he endeavored to promote would have required many more years to obtain the circulation and influence they then possessed. Before Alexander Campbell's visit to Glasgow, Robert Haldane had already expended about sixty thousand pounds for the spread of the gospel at home; and the innumerable ministries thus set on foot, together with the incessant and effective labors of his brother James Alexander, added to his own personal efforts, all brought to bear within a few years upon religious society, pro-

duced a most powerful impression, which was felt throughout almost the whole Protestant world.*

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* Among the results of the personal labors of Robert Haldane, none were more remarkable than those which proceeded from his visit to Geneva a few years later, and immediately after the peace in 1816. He had long desired to do something for the effective promotion of the gospel in France, and left home for this purpose, but, finding no opening at Paris, he was, from what he heard of the state of religion at Geneva, induced to visit that city. The love of doctrinal speculation, engendered by the Calvinian system, had here issued in an almost complete abandonment of those simpler evangelical truths with which Calvin himself began his reformation. The pastors and the professors of the divinity-school had, indeed, with scarcely an exception become Arians and Socinians. "They taught," says Mr. Haldane in his letter to Mr. Bickersteth, "neither law nor gospel fully, and their doctrine did not seem to affect the consciences of their hearers." A few exceptions there were among them, and especially a Mr. Moulinié, who held the divinity of Christ, but was otherwise poorly informed in the gospel, and with whom Mr Haldane could make but little progress. Discouraged, he visited the other cantons, and, at Berne, succeeded in awakening the mind of a young minister, M. Galland. At Lausanne, he was induced to return to Geneva, through the persuasion of a zealous English lady, a Miss Grant, whom he met there, and in order that he might see a young minister six miles from Geneva, M. Gaussen, of whom he had heard a favorable account. Finding still no apparent opening at Geneva, he was about to proceed to Montauban, when he was providentially brought into communication with a student who had been deputed by Mr. Moulinié to show Mrs. Haldane a model of the mountains. "With this student, Mr. James," says Mr. Haldane, "I immediately entered into conversation respecting the gospel, of which I found him profoundly ignorant, although in a state of mind that showed he was willing to receive information. Next morning he came with another student, Charles Rieu, equally in darkness with himself. I questioned them respecting their personal hope of salvation, and the foundation of that hope. Had they been trained in the schools of Socrates or Plato, and enjoyed no other means of instruction, they could scarcely have been more ignorant of the doctrines of the gospel. They had, in fact, learned more of the opinions of the heathen philosophers than of the doctrines of the Saviour and his apostles. To the Bible and its contents their studies had never been directed. After some conversation, they became convinced of their ignorance of the Scriptures, and exceedingly desirous of information. I therefore postponed my intended departure from Geneva."

The two students above named soon brought six others, with whom Mr. Haldane had frequent and long conversations. Others continuing to come, Mr. Haldane agreed to meet them regularly three times a week for religious

Notwithstanding his unbounded liberality, however, Robert Haldane was not permitted to escape the slanderous insinuations by which Satan usually tries to impair the influence of those who seek to promote the interests of the kingdom of God. Thus he was charged with making money by renting the seats in the tabernacles. But the truth was, the income arising from the rent of the seats in the tabernacles went to the support of the preachers and of the seminaries. Thus Mr Ewing was to have two hundred pounds annually, Mr. Haldane agreeing to make up this amount if there should be any deficiency in the amount derived from seat-rents, and allowing him two hundred pounds ad-

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instruction; and taking up the Epistle to the Romans, he expounded to them this important portion of the word of God during the whole winter, and until the close of the session in the following summer, having in his class nearly all the students of theology, and instructing in the evening, and often till late at night, other students attending at Geneva, as well as a number of the resident citizens of the place, of both sexes, who desired to be informed respecting the gospel. Meanwhile, the pastors and professors in the Faculty began to preach openly against Mr. Haldane's views, and to insist upon their own. They taught that the Saviour was the first of created beings; that the gospel was useful, but not indispensable to salvation, and various other speculations, Arian, Socinian and Arminian. Mr. Haldane, on the other hand, collecting their arguments, proved to the students their fallaciousness, and showed that their tenets were entirely inconsistent with the Scriptures. The controversies thus maintained naturally gave rise to great excitement, and to sundry persecutions on the part of the clergy. Notwithstanding all these oppositions, however, great good was effected. Many of the students, and among them, M. Malan, F. Monod, Henri Pytt, and Merle D'Aubigné, were called not only to comprehend the true nature of Christ's salvation, but to suffer for his name such privations and indignities as the clergy could inflict; the latter, D'Aubigné, being refused ordination and compelled to leave his native city, in order to finish his studies at Berlin; and it is largely to these labors of Robert Haldane at Geneva that the continent of Europe was blessed with that religious awakening by which, through the subsequent ministrations of the above-named students, with those of Adolphe Monod, Tholuck, Julius Müller and others, a mighty barrier has been erected against that flood of Rationalism which threatened to obliterate all the teachings of the Lutheran Reformation.

ditional while he was teacher of the seminary. Notwithstanding all, however, groundless complaints were not wanting on the part even of some who co-operated with Mr. Haldane in his religious enterprises. Thus even *Mr. Ewing*, with his large and wealthy congregation, seemed to think that Mr. Haldane should make a present of the Glasgow Tabernacle to the church, and both were quite dissatisfied when he, who had his own views with regard to the best appropriation of his means, would only agree to give one thousand pounds of the purchase-money, desiring to devote the other two thousand pounds to the printing and circulation of the Scriptures. It was during Mr. Campbell's residence at Glasgow that the unhappy difficulty between Robert Haldane and Mr. Ewing, arising partly from this affair, created a good deal of public excitement. After hearing the matter, however, at Mr. Ewing's, Mr. Campbell was very decided in his conviction that Mr. Ewing was in the wrong. The latter had previously become dissatisfied because Mr. Haldane, being not well pleased with certain divergencies from his views of religious reform which began to be entertained by Mr. Ewing, had removed the Glasgow Seminary from under his care to Edinburgh; yet on Mr. Haldane's part, these divergencies, which had respect chiefly to church order and church ordinances, seemed to occasion no diminution of Christian regard for Mr. Ewing, with whom he still desired to remain on terms of religious fellowship.

CHAPTER XI.

Reformatory views of the Haldanes—Division—Religious influences at Glasgow—Abandonment of Presbyterianism—Helensburgh—Embarkation.

THE knowledge which he obtained during his intimacy with Mr. Ewing, in regard to the religious reformation then progressing in Scotland, made a deep impression on the mind of Alexander Campbell. That devotion to the Bible by which the movement was characterized was entirely consonant with his own cherished feelings; and that independence of spirit which led the Haldanes to establish a system of lay-preaching and itineracy, and to endeavor to carry the gospel into every town and hamlet in spite of clerical opposition, was most congenial to his own character and disposition. Such, indeed, was the contrast between the unselfish and liberal proceedings of the Haldanes and their coadjutors, and the course which the clergy pursued under the influence of their narrow policies and bigoted sectarianism, that it is not surprising to find him stating, as he did in after years, that he "imbibed disgust at the popular schemes, chiefly while a student at Glasgow." Nor is it strange that the munificent liberality of the elder brother, Robert, and the earnest and abundant labors of the younger, James A. Haldane, filled him with admiration. He felt his own devotion to the cause of human salvation and advancement strengthened, and, while without means

to imitate the example of the former, he felt that he might, at least, follow that of the latter in preaching the gospel without charge. Hence it was that, when he commenced his public ministry, he resolved that he would preach the gospel without fee or reward. To the purpose then formed he steadfastly adhered throughout his subsequent life, not only demanding nothing for his services as a preacher, but defraying his own traveling expenses, in all his many tours through the greater part of the United States, as well as in Canada and in Europe.

As it respects the doctrines taught by the Haldanes, he found that they did not fully approve the views of Glas, Sandeman and of Walker, which were at that time much discussed, and with which he had himself become somewhat acquainted. The Haldanes regarded the writings of Glas and Sandeman as exhibiting, here and there, noble views of the freeness of the gospel and the simplicity of faith; but to their system, as a whole, and especially to the intolerant spirit manifested by them and their followers, both the brothers were always strongly opposed. With regard to faith, they regarded Sandeman's view, that it was the mere assent of the understanding to testimony, and that faith in Christ did not differ from faith in any other historical personage, as frigid and defective. They regarded it as resting, indeed, upon the evidence furnished by the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures, but as embracing not only the understanding but the heart; and both of them have remarked that "trust or confidence in Christ seemed substantially to express the meaning of the term." This simple and comprehensive view was that which Mr. Campbell, in his subsequent religious history, himself adopted, and continued to advocate during his

entire life. Amidst his numerous controversies, indeed, he was often obliged, in contending against the popular errors upon the subject, to insist upon the absolute necessity of evidence, and to assert, most truthfully, that where there was no evidence, there could be no faith; yet he ever regarded true faith in Christ as implying a willingness to submit to his authority, and as consisting in a heartfelt, personal trust in Him as the Son of God and the appointed Saviour of mankind.

The object of the Haldanes had not been the inculcation of new tenets. They wished rather to awaken the community from their apathy to greater religious zeal, and had no idea, in the beginning, of separating from the Church of Scotland, with whose doctrines, as exhibited in the Westminster Confession, they substantially agreed. They had, however, simpler views of the gospel, and labored especially to impress upon men the divinity, dignity and the glory of Christ, and the all-sufficiency of the work of salvation which he accomplished; and to enforce the great principle of justification by faith. Thus far, their reformation was a revival of that of Luther and Calvin, from whose spirit and teaching Protestants in general had at that time greatly departed. When finally compelled, through the opposition and intractability of the clergy, to form a separate congregation, they were unexpectedly led to enter upon a new chapter of church reform, and from the teaching of the Scriptures, to which they were accustomed to refer as the only authority, to adopt the independent or congregational form of church government. It was to Mr. Ewing, whose mind was much engaged with this particular subject, that this change was mainly due. He had advocated it before in the Missionary Magazine, and in his religious sentiments

generally he was much more favorable to the views of Glas and Sandeman than were the Haldanes. Indeed, his introduction of the works of Sandeman into the seminary at Glasgow gave umbrage to the Haldanes, who protested against it, and it was one of the reasons for the transfer of the seminary to Edinburgh. When the new churches were first formed, it was adopted as a principle that ecclesiastical usages should be conformed to the practice of the apostolic churches. Hence, while the Scottish National Church attended to the Lord's Supper only twice a year, Mr. Ewing first introduced, at Glasgow, the practice of celebrating it every Lord's Day. This was soon after adopted by the Edinburgh church, and the rest of the new churches. Mr. Ewing next proposed a weekly church-meeting, besides the Lord's Day meeting, which was to be for social worship and mutual exhortation. Various publications were at this time made upon the subject of church order, as Mr. Ewing's "Rules of Church Government;" "Reasons for separating from the Church of Scotland," by Dr. Innes; a pamphlet by Alexander Carson, containing his reasons for separating from the Presbyterians, and a volume by James A. Haldane, published in 1805, entitled "Views of the Social Worship of the First Churches," which quickly ran through two editions. To these publications, replies were made by the Rev. Mr. Brown of Langton and others, which occasioned other pamphlets from J. A. Haldane, Mr. Ewing and Mr. Carson. Thus the subject of church order came to occupy a large share of attention, and gave rise to much discussion and disagreement among the members of the churches. It was about this time that William Ballantine published his "Treatise on the Elder's Office," which brought matters to a crisis, and

was the means of producing a widespread division in the new churches. In this treatise he insisted upon a plurality of elders in every church, and upon the great importance of mutual exhortation on the Lord's Day, as the means of obtaining them. Mr. Ballantine had first been officiating in Thurso, but afterward in the Tabernacle at Elgin, where he had under his charge one of the classes of missionary students supported by Robert Haldane. The adoption of his views by the Haldanes, and the debates which they occasioned, caused great disaffection amongst the churches; and when J. A. Haldane, during the spring previous to Alexander Campbell's visit to Glasgow, informed his congregation at Edinburgh that he could no longer conscientiously baptize children, and, in the month of April, was himself immersed, the division, which had been for some time imminent, immediately occurred in the church at Edinburgh. Some of the members went back to the Established Church; some to Mr. Aikman's church in College street, while a considerable number concluded to become a separate church, and rented a room to meet in. The remainder, about two hundred in number, remained with J. A. Haldane, agreeing to make the question of baptism a matter of forbearance. It was not, indeed, so much the change in J. A. Haldane's views of baptism, as the doctrine urged by Ballantine and others that it was not only the privilege but the duty of the members in general to speak in the church on the Lord's Day, that was the real cause of division. This practice, which had been introduced several years before, under the title of "church order," had been found largely productive of church *dis*order, and threatened to destroy completely the pastoral office. Many debates and dissensions, and some local schisms,

as at New Castle and London, had, indeed, already been produced by thus allowing incompetent members (for in these cases the most ignorant are generally the most forward) to undertake the office of public teachers and exhorters—an office which, in the primitive Church, could safely be exercised, under apostolic direction, only by those possessed of spiritual gifts.

These dissensions, and the division which took place immediately after J. A. Haldane's immersion, were earnestly deprecated by both the brothers, and sincerely regretted by many pious men in all the religious parties, who regarded, approvingly, the remarkable success, thus far, of the effort to awaken a deeper religious interest among the people. The division spread rapidly from Edinburgh through all the churches of the connection; and, as the pecuniary assistance of Robert Haldane could no longer be consistently continued to those who were opposed to his views of church reform, and who, with Mr. Ewing and the leaders of the seceding party, refused to have visible communion any longer with those who adhered to the Haldanes, this great effort to establish Congregationalism in Scotland was deprived of that support which had hitherto so largely contributed to its success. Accordingly, the cause of Independency from this time languished, whilst the prominent religious parties, who had, at length, become awakened to more correct views of the gospel, and to greater earnestness, began to exert a better influence; and, under the leadership of Chalmers and others, to preach the gospel in greater purity, and to adopt various successful methods of promoting religious knowledge.

This disruption among the Independents connected with the Haldanes had taken place during the year

preceding Mr. Campbell's attendance at the Glasgow University, and the questions involved were still frequent subjects of discussion at Mr. Ewing's. The Haldanes, who regarded the preaching of Christ crucified as the great essential matter, and wished all differences about church order and church ordinances to be matters of forbearance, continued to persevere in the course they had adopted. Believing that there should be a plurality of qualified elders in every church, Robert Haldane had consented to act for a time, with his brother James, in the church at Edinburgh. In the course of a few months, he himself abandoned pedobaptist views, and was immersed. The same change took place also with various other leading men in the connection. John Campbell had long since been immersed, and was now acting as pastor at Kingsland Chapel, near London, where he continued to labor for thirty-six years, with the exception of five years which he spent as a missionary and explorer in Africa. Mr. Innes, also, who came to Edinburgh, soon after the disruption, to preach for a portion of the members who had broken off from the Tabernacle, in a few months, likewise, changed his views on the subject of baptism, and was immersed.* The same change had occurred

* The incident which hastened the decision of Dr. Innes, who was already unsettled on the subject of baptism, is thus related by one familiar with the facts: "While he was pastor of the church at Barnard's rooms, one of the deacons, having occasion to be on the top of a building, fell to the ground and was taken up dead. The widow of this man made application to Dr. Innes to have her child sprinkled. The woman, however, was not a Christian, and Dr. Innes told her that he would not baptize the child, as the father was dead, and she made no profession of religion. The woman replied that he had baptized all the children, not on her account, but because of their father, and that this child was as much entitled to be baptized as the others. Dr. Innes, never having had a case like this before, concluded to bring it before the church for their consideration, and told the woman to await their

with William Stevens, who, as before related, had succeeded John Campbell as teacher in the Edinburgh Seminary. The acute and critical Dr. Carson, also, had experienced the same change of views on the subject, and now occupied the same position as the Haldanes, believing that immersion only was baptism, but in his church at Tubbermore not making it a term of

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decision. When the subject was introduced, about one-half of the church were for baptizing the child, and the other half were opposed to it. During the discussion, the fourteenth verse of the seventh chapter of First Corinthians, was again and again recited as proof for admission of the child to baptism. One side insisted that this child was as 'holy' as the other children who had been baptized in the lifetime of the father. To this it was replied, that the holiness of the child was dependent on the life of the father, and that his death put an end to it; that as the child *now* was no longer 'holy,' and the mother an unbeliever, it would be a profanation of the ordinance to apply it to such a child. The other party replied that it was not on account of the believing husband that the child was entitled to baptism, but according to the text under discussion, which said that 'the unbelieving wife was sanctified by the husband,' it seemed clear that the holiness of the child was to be ascribed to the wife, for the text said, 'else were your children unclean, but now are they holy.' Why? Because the unbelieving wife was sanctified. To this it was replied again, that if both holiness and sanctification were derived in that way, then the unbelieving woman was as much entitled to be baptized as the child.

"During this curious discussion, one in the church said that as sanctification and holiness proceeded from nothing this side of the throne of God, and that as nothing they could say could either sanctify the woman before them or make the child 'holy,' they would act a wise part by giving up the subject altogether. This was a matter that could not be settled by the meeting of one evening, and another appointment being made, the crowd that came together were entertained for hours with a general discussion on the subject of infant baptism. The text in Corinthians was given up as having nothing to do with baptism, and Dr. Innes announced at the close that he could no longer baptize infants—that a Baptist church had the advantage of them, inasmuch as nobody made application to it that did not profess conversion, and was thus able to answer for himself; that during the discussion not one example or precept for infant baptism had been adduced. As much stress was laid on the Abrahamic Covenant in that controversy, Dr. Innes published a work on the subject, 'Eugenio and Epinetus, or Conversations on Infant Baptism.' which gave great satisfaction to many an inquirer."

communion. A great number of the Glasite Independents had, indeed, a number of years previously, adopted immersion, and becoming very strict in their views of communion and of church discipline, had given rise to the Scotch Baptists, who found in Archibald McLean a very able champion of their principles. It was the works of McLean that had revolutionized the views of William Jones, the author of the History of the Waldenses, who was baptized at Chester in 1786, and who was at this time (1809) presiding over the Scotch Baptist Church in London. A similar change of views in regard to baptism had occurred among a party of Independents, gathered together at Glasgow by the "Benevolent Magistrate," the father-in-law of Robert Owen—David Dale,* who had died at Glasgow

* Mr. Dale was a native of Ayrshire, and had received careful religious training in boyhood, and being thus instructed at home in the principles of Divine truth was, from his youth, noted for seriousness and piety. On quitting the paternal roof, he first became a hand-loom weaver at Paisley, where he was connected with the congregation of Dr. Wotherspoon. Manifesting great zeal in all matters connected with the interest of the gospel, he became the intimate friend of Dr. Wotherspoon, and, when the doctor removed to America, was his regular correspondent. Removing to Glasgow in 1761, he after a time established a prosperous business in the linen-yarn trade. The introduction of the cotton manufacture depriving him, at length, of this branch of trade, he became agent for Sir Richard Arkwright & Co. for the sale of cotton yarns. Soon afterward he engaged in the manufacture of yarns, first as partner and then as sole proprietor of the cotton mills at New Lanark. Here he erected neat houses, with a garden attached to each, for the workmen, and put in force regulations to promote their health and morals and secure the education of their children, and his system proved so effective that the "Lanark Mills" became an object of curiosity to travelers. Besides this, Mr. Dale became one of the magistrates of Glasgow, and in the time of the dearth in 1800 he signalized himself, as is related by his biographer, by the scheme he originated and carried into execution of importing a large cargo of foreign corn at his own expense, and selling it to the people at prime cost, and, in many instances, giving it gratis. In consequence of this public-spirited and seasonable act, he obtained the name of the "Benevolent Magistrate."

about two and a half years before Mr. Campbell took up his sojourn there. This eminent man, who, by his genius and enterprise, had accumulated great wealth, which he devoted largely to Christian enterprises, had been brought up in the Church of Scotland, but was gradually led to reject creeds and other human compositions, as possessed of any authority in matters of faith and duty, and to appeal to the Scriptures alone. He was led to this view through the influence of Mr. Barclay, a Scotch clergyman, who founded the sect of the Bereans, so called because, after the example of the

When he became an Independent, and adopted weekly communion, he, with a number of friends, hired a room in which they met for worship, there being no religious body at that time in Glasgow coinciding with them in sentiment. In 1769 one of his friends built a meeting-house, and a church was organized by the election of a number of elders, one of whom was Mr. Dale. His modest nature shrunk from so great a responsibility, and it was only after a protracted mental struggle, which seriously affected his health, that he was at length prevailed upon to undertake the duties of the office.

The successive divisions which subsequently occurred in the church greatly annoyed and grieved him, but "Mr. Dale continued," says his biographer, "unshaken in his attachment to the Independent form of church government. He prosecuted his ministry amongst the remaining members, to whom he was instant in season and out of season. His flow of worldly prosperity had no influence either in contracting the range of his benevolence or deadening the vitality of his religious affections. His charity was extensive and unostentatious; and whilst he, of course, directed his first attention to those of his poorer brethren in the church—the household of faith—he was a liberal supporter of all, and an active director in many of the philanthropic and missionary institutions of his day. During several of his later years he felt the weight of increasing infirmities, although he was not confined until within a few weeks of his death. Feeling his end approaching, he sent for some leading members of his church, whom he exhorted to remain steadfast in their Christian profession, and gave them the dying testimony of his faith in the gospel, asked their forgiveness if at any time he had given them offence, and prayed for a blessing on them; after which, as the elders of Ephesus did to Paul, they 'fell upon his neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more.' Exhausted with this parting scene, he rapidly sank, and the following day, the 17th of April, 1806, he departed, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, deeply regretted by all parties."

ancient Bereans, they professed to build their religious system on the Scriptures alone. This party first assembled as a separate society in Edinburgh, in 1773. Mr. Dale was led by his new principles to adopt Independency, and he became finally the pastor of the church thus formed at Glasgow. Contention soon after arose about points of church order and discipline; such as the regular use of the Lord's Prayer, rising to sing, the audible utterance of "amen" by the worshipers, etc. A portion of the church broke off and joined the Glasites, and Mr. Dale continued with the remainder, who advocated mutual forbearance in regard to things not clearly revealed, and who continued for some time in harmony. But differences of opinion again manifested themselves—First, In regard to the right of elders to contract second marriages, which some alleged was forbidden by Paul's precept, that the elder was to be "the husband of one wife," but which Mr. Dale regarded as merely a prohibition of polygamy; Second In respect to a community of goods, which was strenuously advocated by the poorer members, but which Mr. Dale held was only a temporary and partial practice of the primitive Church, and nowhere commanded; and, Third, Respecting infant baptism, which a large number protested against as unscriptural. These latter, among whom was Mrs. Dale, being unable, through conscientious scruples, to yield this latter point, a new secession occurred, Mr. Dale continuing with the remaining members, and devoting the remainder of his life and his great wealth to missionary and philanthropic purposes.

It may appear somewhat singular that, at this period, none of the questions connected with infant baptism and immersion which had thus caused so many divisions

in Scotland, and in regard to which Mr. Campbell became afterward so distinguished, engaged, at this time, his attention in the least. This may be accounted for, however, by the fact that immersion was not made a term of communion by the Haldanes, and was never urged upon any, being left as a matter of choice to private and individual consideration. In the next place, Mr. Ewing and his coadjutor, the amiable and accomplished Dr. Wardlaw, who had left the Burghers and was now an Independent minister, residing in Glasgow, and who was often at Mr. Ewing's, were both vehemently opposed to immersion, and earnest advocates of infant baptism, in favor of which they both subsequently wrote treatises, which were severely criticised and confuted by Mr. Ewing's former classmate at the University, Alexander Carson of Tubbermore. Under the circumstances, therefore, this particular subject was not likely to become a matter of discussion at Mr. Ewing's, in his family or among his guests, and Mr. Campbell's attention seems to have been entirely confined to the main purposes of the reformation undertaken by the Haldanes, and to those principles of Independency and church order in which Mr. Ewing was particularly interested.

Mr. Ewing frequently invited parties of students to his house along with Alexander, who was greatly impressed with his piety and learning during these interviews, as well as from hearing his lectures and discourses, which he took the opportunity of doing frequently on Sunday evenings, having to attend service in the day-time at the Seceder church. Mr. Ewing still preached in the spacious building which had been used as a circus. The pulpit was in the centre of the building, and Mr. Ewing's audience generally consisted

of from one thousand to two thousand persons, though the building would have held a much greater number. Mr. Ewing was a very fine lecturer, and very popular both as a man and as a preacher, as was also Mr. Wardlaw, who frequently officiated. Between them and the Seceder preacher, Mr. Montre, there was a considerable contrast, for the latter, though a good man, and influential and even popular in his party, was a prosy speaker. His church was large, and during his attendance, Alexander noted down various criticisms and remarks upon his delivery, with which he seems to have been by no means pleased. He therefore availed himself of all the opportunities that presented themselves for "occasional hearing," and thus heard Mr. Ewing frequently, sometimes Mr. Mitchel at Anderston, as well as Dr. Balford at George's Square, and Dr. Wall at the Salt Market, with all of whom he formed an agreeable personal acquaintance. He heard also a number of probationers in all the churches.

The opportunity which he thus enjoyed at Glasgow, of hearing preachers of different denominations, and the intimacy he enjoyed with them, tended greatly to foster his native independence of mind, and to release him from the denominational influences of his religious education—an effect which was, doubtless, facilitated by the fact that his revered father, to whose religious sentiments he was accustomed to pay the utmost deference, was now separated from him by the wide Atlantic. It was, however, by the facts relating to the Haldanes, so often recounted to him by Mr. Ewing and others, that, as formerly intimated, the change in his religious views was chiefly due. He was particularly impressed with the persistent opposition of the clergy of the various establishments to every overture for reforma-

tion; with the unscrupulous methods they often resorted to to hinder the progress of the truths they refused to admit, and the disposition they constantly manifested to exercise the power which they possessed in an arbitrary manner. He became, therefore, gradually, more and more favorable to the principles of Congregationalism entertained by Mr. Ewing, which secured an entire emancipation from the control of domineering Synods and General Assemblies, and which seemed to him much more accordant with primitive usage. At the same time, he did not feel himself at liberty to abandon rashly the cherished religious sentiments of his youth, and the Seceder Church to which his father and the family belonged, and in which he had thought it his duty to be a regular communicant.

He was in this unsettled state of mind as the semi-annual communion season of the Seceders approached, and his doubts in regard to the character of such religious establishments occasioned him no little anxiety of mind concerning the course proper for him to pursue. His conscientious misgivings as to the propriety of sanctioning any longer, by participation, a religious system which he disapproved, and, on the other hand, his sincere desire to comply with all his religious obligations, created a serious conflict in his mind, from which he found it impossible to escape. At the time of preparation, however, he concluded that he would be in the way of his duty, at least, and that he would go to the elders, and get a metallic token, which every one who wished to communicate had to obtain, and that he would use it or not, afterward, as was sometimes done. The elders asked for his credentials as a member of the Secession Church, and he informed them that his membership was in the Church in Ireland, and that

he had no letter. They replied that, in that case, it would be necessary for him to appear before the session and to be examined. He accordingly appeared before them, and being examined, received the token. The hour at which the administration of the Lord's Supper was to take place found him still undecided, and, as there were about eight hundred communicants, and some eight or nine tables to be served in succession, he concluded to wait until the last table, in hopes of being able to overcome his scruples. Failing in this, however, and unable any longer conscientiously to recognize the Seceder Church as the Church of Christ, he threw his token upon the plate handed round, and when the elements were passed along the table, declined to partake with the rest. It was at this moment that the struggle in his mind was completed, and the ring of the token, falling upon the plate, announced the instant at which he renounced Presbyterianism for ever—the leaden voucher becoming thus a token not of communion but of separation. This change, however, was as yet confined to his own heart. He was yet young, and thought it unbecoming to make known publicly his objections, and as he had fully complied with all the rules of the Church, he thought it proper to receive at his departure the usual certificate of good standing.

At the close of the University session in the month of May, as there was no prospect of obtaining for some time a suitable vessel to transport the family to America, he was urged by some of his Glasgow friends to go to Helensburgh as tutor for their families, who were to spend the summer at this agreeable watering-place. He accordingly went thither in the beginning of June, and having obtained pleasant lodgings, taught a number of families, among which were those of Mr.

Monteith, Mr. R. Burns, Mr. Wardlaw, Mr. Buchannon and others. Helensburgh seemed to him a very beautiful, healthful place, and a fine seaport. It lies in Dumbartonshire, nearly opposite Greenock, on the north shore of the Clyde, which here forms an estuary some six miles in width. The most of his acquaintances here were ladies, the male members of these families being occupied in Glasgow during the greater part of the week. Here, freed from the routine and confinement of the college course, he spent some time very delightfully in the midst of a highly cultivated and refined society, and in instructing the young ladies and others who were his pupils.* His only regret was, that, from the demands made upon his time in teaching, as well as by necessary social calls and the evening walks of parties of ladies, for whom the escort of the youthful tutor was constantly in requisition in order to visit the shady groves and to enjoy the fine prospects from various points in the neighborhood of the village, he had but little time for the reading he desired to accomplish. He by no means, however, neglected his religious improvement, as various pious reflections and annotations upon passages of Scripture, written down during this period, evince. His naturally lively temperament, tempered by religious sobriety, his fine powers of conversation, and his agreeable manners rendered him a pleasant companion to all; and the happy associations which he enjoyed at Helensburgh, for a brief period, seem to have thrown over this portion of his life a charm which he felt quite reluctant to dissolve, when, after a five weeks' residence, a favorable opportunity of emigrating, in a ship from Green-

* Among his young lady pupils are mentioned the names of the Misses Hutton, Buchannon, Keltin, Mitchel, Montusha and Burns.

ock, presented itself, and he had to return to Glasgow in order to make preparations for the voyage. Before leaving Helensburgh, however, being requested by one of his friends, a Mr. K——g, to write something for him as a memento, he endeavored to express his feelings in the following lines:

"*On a beautiful vale adjacent to the seaport village where I often spent the evening hours.*

"Where, gently pointing to the eastern skies,
Grove-clad Camcascan hills high-tow'ring rise,
Thence, from a spring, Drummora gently flows,
And, as it wends its way, still larger grows,
Till in a murmuring brook it swiftly glides
And hides its treasures in the ceaseless tides.
Along its winding course a valley lies,
Where, all around, in gay luxuriance rise
The spreading trees, the lowly plant and flower;
The hazel copse, the shrub, and woodbine bower—
There, in its golden beauty, smiles the broom,
And, close beside, the myrtle in full bloom.
There the young elm and beech, in shady rows,
With other shrubs, entwine their pliant boughs,
And form the cool retreat, the sweet alcove,
The seats of pleasure and the haunts of love;
And there how oft at even have I seen
The fair ones sporting through their alleys green!
And heard them sweet address each herb and flower;
Tell this one's beauties, that one's genial power;
With deep botanic skill on every leaf descant,
And all their virtues in poetic numbers chant!
How, at their coming, did the grove rejoice!
The birds, to charm them, strain their mellow voice!
The flowers, to please them, with each other vie!
The trees, to shade them, lift their heads on high!
How did the hills return their accents sweet
And in soft echoes all their joy repeat!
How did the brook that murmured harsh below,
Now change its movement and more gently flow!
Thus would they sit, near yon translucid spring,
Tell their glad tales and then alternate sing.
Here cheerful sport, till evening dews were feared,
And moonbeams trembling in the brook appeared;

Then would they homeward bend their winding way,
And through the groves in many a gambol play.
Fair spot! and wilt thou not like me soon change?
And in thy bowers the fair ones cease to range?
Will not thy flowers, that with each other vie
Beneath thy shades, soon droop their heads and die?
For me, no more I'll wander through thy glades,
Seek thy close coverts, and thy cooling shades.
No more within thy shady bowers
I'll spend my lonely evening hours;
And now, you groves and vales and lucid well,
And all you beauteous seats of mirth, farewell!"

These lines afford a fair specimen of his skill in versification, and while they betray the absence of that delicacy of ear which readily detects redundant or defective measure, they, at the same time, exhibit poetic fancy and feeling.

It required about a fortnight in Glasgow to make the necessary preparation for the voyage, and then a further delay was occasioned because the ship in which he had taken passage conditionally, the Latonia, Captain McCray, master, from New York and bound there, was, with all other vessels in part, detained by an order from government, until a warlike expedition then fitting out, the destination of which was to be kept secret, should have time to leave the coast. At length, on the 31st of July, with much regret, he took leave of his many warm friends at Glasgow, whose memory he continued to cherish through life, especially that of Mr. and Mrs. Ewing, with whom he was most intimate. He regarded Mrs. Ewing as a very pious and excellent Christian lady, and in after years often spoke with much sympathy of the sad accident by which, in 1828, she was suddenly deprived of life.* Passing down to

* In the summer of the year referred to, Mr. and Mrs. Ewing, with a party of friends, had gone to visit the falls of Clyde. Their carriage being over-

Greenock by the Flyboat with his mother and the family, they arrived there so late at night that it was with some difficulty they could find lodgings; but having at length succeeded, two days more were spent at Greenock in completing their preparations, and at length, everything being on board, the vessel weighed anchor on the 3d August, 1809, and they prepared to bid adieu to Scotland, in which, from the time of the shipwreck, they had spent just three hundred days.

turned, they were all precipitated down a steep declivity, and Mrs. Ewing sustained so much injury that she survived only a few days. Mr. Ewing never wholly recovered from the shock of this bereavement, which was soon followed by other severe afflictions. Not long after, a stroke of paralysis deprived him of his physical though not of his mental powers, and in a few days "he fell asleep" so gently that, in the words of Dr. Wardlaw, who preached the funeral sermon, "it could hardly be called death—it was the imperceptible cessation of life, a breathing out of his spirit, delightful emblem of his entering into peace."

CHAPTER XII.

Departure—Incidents at Sea—The Ocean—The New World—Dr. Mason—Journey over the Mountains—Reunion.

THE Frith of Clyde is, in many respects, ill adapted for the purposes of navigation, especially as it regards vessels depending on sails. Its channel is narrow; it is exposed to squalls; rendered dangerous by shallows, and can be safely navigated only when the wind blows from certain directions. The ship Latonia, however, after stopping till next day, August 4, 1809, at the bank below Greenock, weighed anchor for the last time, and although the wind was by no means the most favorable, being from the N. W., managed to get out of the Clyde, and into the Channel. It was not until Saturday, the 5th, that a fair and gentle breeze from the right quarter carried the vessel, in a few hours, out of the North Channel, and past the dimly-seen northern coast of Ireland, so that on the following day, which was Sunday, about twelve o'clock, they were fairly out of sight of land on the bosom of the Atlantic.

Alexander was now for three days confined by sea-sickness, and had no sooner recovered sufficiently to appear again on deck than he learned to his surprise that the ship had sprung a leak. The sailors were greatly dismayed and depressed, believing that it would be with great difficulty and much extra labor that they would be able to make land again, and fearing that, as

there were only eight hands on board, beside the mate, the cook and the cabin boy, they would be unable to manage the vessel. Under these circumstances, Alexander went down into the cabin and entreated the captain, who was at this time unwell, to give orders to put back, but the latter, too well aware of the uncertainty of the wind and the perils of the Scottish coast, determined to continue the voyage. The pumps accordingly were set to work, with great difficulty, owing to the tar which had found its way into them from the previous cargo, and earnest efforts were made to counteract the leak. On the following day, Monday, the 7th, there was a very heavy gale, and the sea ran so high that, amidst the tossings of the ship, the leak was almost forgotten, and the passengers retired at night, uncertain as to what might be their fate before morning. About midnight, however, the wind fell, and Alexander, together with the other male passengers, went to work to assist the sailors at the pumps, when he found by experiment that it would require ten minutes out of every hour, or four hours of hard work out of the twenty-four, to keep the water from gaining.

During the following week the wind proved very favorable, blowing gently from the N. and N. E., and as the vessel sped along its way, Alexander took great interest in observing the denizens of the mighty deep, which frequently appeared around the vessel. Efforts were made to catch the black-fish by means of small harpoons, but without success. On one occasion the captain, while leaning over a rope to strike at a porpoise, was so unlucky as to drop his watch into the sea. This week they spoke a vessel bound from Trinidad to Dublin, and on Saturday, August 19, found themselves in long. 34° lat. 42°. They spoke also a vessel out

fifteen days from Boston, bound to Liverpool. On the Tuesday of the following week they had a very severe gale with the wind from N. N. E., accompanied with sudden squalls, one of which, about eleven o'clock, carried away the foretopmast. The ship ran before the wind all day, rolling heavily for want of the foresail; but the wind then subsiding, the sailors were employed for two days in fitting up a mast in the room of the one lost. From this time until the 26th their progress was delayed by head-winds and calms. On the Sunday during this period Alexander witnessed, to him, the novel sight of a burial at sea. As the parents of the deceased, a child of one Andrew McDonald, a passenger on board, had desired a coffin, contrary to the custom of interment at sea, and sufficient weight had not been placed in it to sink it when committed to the deep, it floated off astern, and was painfully watched for a considerable time while it remained in view.

Toward the close of this week the weather became again rough. "On Friday night," he says in his journal, "a dreadful storm arose, and the lightning flashed from pole to pole. We were very apprehensive of danger, but He who rules all things made the wind cease about twelve o'clock." Again he records: "Saturday night, 26th. An awful lightning continued for a considerable time, although accompanied with no noise of thunder. The glare would continue sometimes for a quarter of an hour without intermission. This appeared to us very ominous, but on Sabbath morning, 27th, the wind began to rise in a fearful manner from the south, and immediately the most terrific squall ever seen by any individual on board ensued. A thick, small rain accompanied it, and the spray blew over the

vessel to such a degree that one could not discern another at half the ship's length." The fury of the storm continued to increase until every one on board apprehended certain destruction, and the most experienced seamen said they thought every moment would be their last. The mizzenmast was ordered to be cut down, but it was found impossible to effect it. The sails that had not been furled were all torn to pieces; the foretopmast was again carried off, and the maintopmast would probably have shared the same fate had they not succeeded in taking it down. Soon after, the quarter-railing was broken off by a heavy sea, and the tiller-rope having given way, the ship became unmanageable for a time, until they succeeded in replacing it. After nine o'clock, to the great joy of all, the storm began to abate, the wind veering to N. W.; the sea, however, continued to run for a long while "mountain high." They were happy to find that the hull of the ship had sustained no material damage, though the bowsprit was cracked half way through at its thickest part. "Such," he adds, "was that dreadful storm, and such its effects, but thanks be to that God who raises the winds and quells the tumults of the seas, that it did not prove fatal to us all; and may He out of His great mercy, bless it as a fatherly reproof to us all, and instruct us by it to be in a habitual preparation for death when He calls for us." In view of his deliverance on this occasion, he renewed his vows of fealty to His service, and again solemnly consecrated his life to the ministry of the gospel.

On the following morning about eight o'clock, the sea still running high, they discerned a ship to the northward, steering toward the west. Observing the wrecked appearance of the Latonia, she soon came

alongside to offer assistance. She proved to be the Francis, Captain Taylor, who, happening to be an acquaintance of Captain McCray, kindly gave him a spare foresail, which was greatly needed. Soon after, the Francis passed out of sight, the Latonia being unable, for want of canvas, to keep her company. For several days afterward they had unpleasant weather, with occasional squalls and head-winds. At length, on the 4th of September, the wind became fair, and the ship was borne along at the rate of from six to eight miles an hour for several days.

During this period, Alexander was much interested in the various aquatic animals, which now presented themselves in greater numbers. On one occasion, he was surprised with the appearance of a number of whales some thirty feet long, spouting up the water to a considerable height. He was delighted with the beautiful dolphins which appeared around the ship, and was greatly entertained in seeing them frequently pursue the flying-fish, and sometimes with so much eagerness as to leap a considerable distance out of the water in order to seize them. These flying-fish he found to be from six to twelve inches in length, of a light color and furnished with pectoral fins, nearly as long as the body, by means of which they could project themselves from the water to a considerable distance, often striking against the sails and sides of the ship. The porpoises, who were almost constant attendants, he found to vary from three to seven feet in length, having a tapering snout and a comparatively small mouth. On some occasions, he amused himself in fishing, and with hook and line succeeded in catching a large dolphin, but in attempting to get it on board, the line broke and he failed to secure his prize. The captain, who was also

fond of the sport, struck a porpoise with a small harpoon, which, however, by the rapid movement of the vessel, soon lost its hold, and was drawn in, bent like a piece of wire.

On Tuesday, 12th September, they were hailed by an English vessel of twenty guns, from St. Croix to London. On Friday, 15th, they spoke the Brutus from New York, thirteen days out, and about this time got out of the Gulf Stream, in which they had been sailing for some days, and whose temperature Alexander was surprised to find so much higher than that of the surrounding ocean. On Tuesday, 19th, they spoke the ship Venice, bound from New York to Lisbon, and were informed that a non-intercourse bill had been passed, and that the English Ambassador had arrived at New York. Continuing their course with occasionally light winds, they judged from the change in the color of the water from a bluish to a greenish hue, and from floating masses of rockweed and eelgrass, that they were not very far from land; but, upon sounding, found no bottom at one hundred and twenty fathoms. On Saturday, 23d, a river bird, the kingfisher, appeared and flew, with weary wing, around the vessel, attempting to alight upon the rigging. This evidence of nearing land was hailed with great joy by the passengers and crew; and was compared by Alexander in his journal to the "soul-reviving return of the dove to Noah's ark with the olive branch plucked off;" to the "return of spring;" to "good news from a distant land;" to the "dawn of day to the benighted traveler," and to the "cheering sound of liberty to the captive slave," so irksome his long confinement upon shipboard had become to his active temperament. On Monday, 25th of September, they were delayed by head-winds,

and upon sounding, found bottom at sixty fathoms. The captain to-day succeeded in harpooning a porpoise, which was brought on board. Alexander, ever observant and curious in the investigation of facts, found it to be four feet long and sixteen inches through, and that the fat parts of it, when boiled, produced about one gallon of oil. He also found that the liver and some of the fleshy parts were tender and palatable when cooked, and not much unlike fresh pork. Toward evening, Black Island and No Man's Land became visible from the mast head, and upon sounding they found twenty-eight fathoms, when they wore ship, and sailed S. S. W. On Monday, they found themselves off Sandy Hook, but the wind being unfavorable, it was not until Tuesday morning, September 26th, that they were enabled to approach the coast, when, for the first time for fifty-one days, they obtained from the deck a distinct view of the land and of the trees upon the distant hills, a most joyful sight to the weary and storm-tossed voyagers.

Notwithstanding, however, all the perils and discomforts to which he had been subjected during the voyage, Alexander had found many sources of enjoyment. He had pursued his private studies and his usual readings and religious exercises with the family, as regularly as the circumstances would permit. He sought every opportunity of gaining information from the officers and passengers on the ship, and, when not thus engaged on deck, was never weary of contemplating the grandeur of the ocean. Filled with the loftiest conceptions of the Divine Majesty, he contemplated with awe the sublime displays of power exhibited in its boundless extent, its innumerable tenantry, its mighty waves and howling tempests, and, in the midst of his novel ex-

periences, gave expression to his feelings in the following poem, under date of August 16, which he entitled

"*The Ocean.*"

"Ere yet, in brightness, had the radiant sun
In Eastern skies the course of day begun,
Ere yet the stars in dazzling beauty shone,
Or yet, from Chaos dark, old earth was won;
When darkness o'er the deep extended lay,
And night still reigned, unbounded yet by day;
When awful stillness filled the boundless space,
And wild confusion sat on Nature's face,
Old Ocean then in silent youth did stray,
And countless atoms on its bosom lay.
Th' Almighty spoke; its waters trembling fear'd
They yawned; and straight in haste dry land appear'd.
The land he bounds; and to the waters said,
Here, Ocean, let thy haughty waves be stayed.
They swelled; and angry at their bounds, they roar,
And pour their rage against the peaceful shore.
See Ocean's varied face, its wat'ry fields;
The dreadful terrors which it constant yields;
See liquid valleys sink, and mountains rise,
Behold them, angry, tow'ring to the skies;
In pride they rear their hoary heads, and rage,
And soon they sink, like man's declining age.
See yonder azure wave, in beauteous trim,
Rise from the mighty deep, and slowly swim;
From gay green youth to hoary age it tends,
Then to the depths below it quick descends;
And where, ere while, it reared its lofty head
The spot's unknown, another's in its stead.
Next look where skies and seas converging tend;
See waters joined to waters without end;
See next thyself, borne on the mighty flood,
Supported on the floating fragile wood.
Behold thyself, the central point, and learn
The Almighty's power and goodness to discern.
Think on the depths, unfathomed yet below,
Where living myriads wander to and fro;
In liquid caves their young ones sport and play,
And through cerulean waves they wanton stray.
Think of the countless species there that roam,

The diff'rence scant, and yet each knows its own.
But as on earth they practice right and wrong,
In seas, the weak fall victims to the strong;
And thus 'tis ordered through the scaly brood,
That they by strength should win their daily food.
Swift from the depths then let thy thoughts ascend,
O'er Ocean's rolling waves thine eyes extend,
When night comes on, and darkness veils the skies;
When black'ning clouds, and howling storms arise:
When dismal horror broods upon the deep,
And awful terrors wake the mind from sleep,
See, from the poles, the forked lightnings fly,
And paint in solemn glares the black'ning sky:
Then, from the south, begin the dreadful blasts,
Hark! how they roar amidst the groaning masts:
See hemp and canvas to their force give way,
And through the air in shreds and fragments stray.
Lo! expectation, wit, and judgment fail,
Man's counsel and his arm no more avail,
Despair and horror fill the aching breast,
No time to think, and for the soul no rest.
But while man, trembling, waits his dreadful fate
And thinks what unknown scenes him soon await,
At His command, who bids the tempest fly,
The storm subsides, hope gladdens every eye;
The clouds clear off, and tranquil calm pervades,
Save where the wat'ry mountains rear their heads;
But soon they sink when angry tempests cease,
And all is changed to gentle, joyous peace.
Now joy fills every breast and every eye,
Speaks in each look, and dispels every sigh.
Then, at th' approach of beauteous smiling morn,
The sun's glad beams the sky and sea adorn,
In heaven's high arch, tipp'd with the morning ray,
The checker'd clouds smile at th' approach of day;
The radiant sun then lifts his glad'ning face,
Unnumbered charms attend him in his race,
The trembling waves reflect his golden rays,
And, in the deep, what dazzling beauties blaze!
And see, when in the western wave he hides,
In heaven's grand vault, the moon in beauty rides,
All o'er the deep her silver radiance sheds,
And in her light the stars soon hide their heads.
Fair daughter of the lonely silent night!
Thou climb'st thy course alone, in radiance bright.

Thy diff'rent forms, thy varied face, how few
On Ocean wide, thy dazzling beauties view!
And for that few, dost thou still wander here,
Through the long night, their friendless souls to cheer?
Thy face recalls the mem'ry of the past,
In visions sweet, too pleasing far to last.
Thou paint'st in lovely forms, in beauteous mien,
Each happy hour we spent, each lovely scene,
Whose sweet remembrance wakes the soul to joys,
While fancy free the vacant heart decoys.
Thus while we wander through the mighty deep
Some foreign clime, some distant shore to seek,
These mighty scenes our wand'ring minds engage,
Too great to tell, or for th' historic page.
But let us still that Power, that Goodness love,
That rules o'er all below and all above;
Each of His creatures move at His command
In the great sea, or on the spacious land."

Soon after they had first obtained a clear view of the American coast, the wind fell, and the vessel could make no progress; but at two o'clock on Wednesday morning a fine breeze from the N. sprung up, and carried them along the southern shore of Long Island at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. About daylight the Highlands of Neversink became visible, and soon after the Light House. Taking in a pilot off Sandy Hook, they passed through the Narrows, and reached the Quarantine ground about eight o'clock, where they cast anchor. Next morning, Thursday, September 28, the vessel was boarded by the health officer, and was required to remain but one day, which was spent on shore in washing and cleaning up, in company with the passengers of the ship Protection, Captain Bairnes, amongst whom Alexander recognized several of those who had been shipwrecked with him in the Hibernia the year before. In the evening, they returned on board, and on the following morning at ten o'clock cleared out of Quarantine, and in the afternoon

of Friday, September 29, 1809, cast anchor in the harbor of New York. Next day (Saturday) Alexander spent in searching for lodgings, but did not succeed in obtaining any that were suitable. On the Lord's Day, he went into the city again, in order to hear Dr. Mason preach in the forenoon.*

The next day, October 2, and the two succeeding days, Alexander spent in viewing the city, with whose commercial enterprise and activity he was much impressed, and in making the necessary arrangements for departure. On Thursday morning, October 5, he started with the family for Philadelphia, and arrived there on Saturday morning, October 7. With the fine buildings, regular streets and clean appearance of

* This Dr. John M. Mason was the son of the eminent Dr. John Mason who had been sent in 1761 by the Anti-Burgher Secession Synod as a missionary to America. He died in New York in 1792, and was succeeded by his distinguished son, Dr. John M. Mason, who was an eloquent and popular preacher, and a man of rich and varied scholarship. He became somewhat distinguished as a theological writer. His first work, which was on the more frequent observance of the Lord's Supper, excited considerable interest. The Scottish churches had been accustomed to observe the Lord's Supper not more than twice a year, and in some cases only once. Connected with its observance there were so many additional services—as the preparation sermon; the fast on the preceding Thursday, and the thanksgiving day on the following Monday, etc., often occupying an entire week—that frequent communion was quite impracticable. The eminent John Erskine, in 1749, had called the attention of the Church of Scotland to this evil, in his "Essay to promote the more frequent dispensation of the Lord's Supper;" but the movement he initiated resulted only in diminishing slightly the number of sermons delivered at communion seasons. Renewing the effort, Dr. Mason endeavored to induce the Church to cease the observance of extra days and services, to which they had become so much attached that they regarded it as almost a profanation of the Lord's Supper to celebrate it without them. Dr. Mason's "Letters" on the subject had the effect of producing the desired change in many congregations, and as his views on this and various other subjects harmonized with those of Alexander and his father Thomas Campbell, they both entertained towards him warm feelings of regard and sympathy. Alexander, therefore, saw and heard him now for the first time with great interest.

this city he was much pleased. But little time, however, was allowed him for observation, for having made arrangements with a wagoner, John Hunter, to convey the family to Washington, on Monday at four o'clock they resumed their journey westward—an undertaking at that time, of no small magnitude, the distance to Washington being about three hundred and fifty miles, over a rough road crossing the various lofty ridges of the Allegheny mountains.

Proceeding accordingly, sometimes riding in the wagon which conveyed also their luggage, and sometimes walking by way of change, the travelers pursued their way, observing the various novel objects along the road with an interest constantly renewed. The first portion of the road being tolerably good and level, they progressed the first day about thirty miles, and finally reached a tavern, where, as evening was approaching, they concluded to rest for the night. Adjacent to the tavern was an extensive, unbroken forest, which particularly excited Alexander's interest by its magnificence and its novelty, for Ireland is almost destitute of woods, and thus far in America their way had led them through, comparatively, a cleared and cultivated portion of the country. After all had supped, and arrangements were made for the night, Alexander concluded to take a ramble through the woods, which were already assuming here and there their autumnal tints.

As, in former years, he had bathed in the bright streams of his native isle, oppressed then with a consciousness of the civil and religious misrule and discord, the hatred, the bigotry, superstition and revenge which brooded over the land, he now in the country of his adoption, for the first time, with new feelings of delight and an indescribable sense of relief, plunged

into the depths of an American forest. In the exaltation of his youthful feelings he seemed to have reached a land of enchantment. The moon, already high in heaven and nearly at the full, seemed to mingle its silvery beams with the sun's golden radiance reflected from the western sky. The mighty trees, in all their wild luxuriance, stood around him, forming aloft, as it were, a new heaven of verdure; while, beneath, he trod upon the soil of a new world—the land of liberty and of Washington, whose liberal institutions had long been the object of his admiration. All nature around him seemed to sympathize with his emotions. The balmy air, fresh from the wild mountain slopes, the new varieties of birds, which from almost every tree seemed, to his fancy, to chant their evening song in praise of the freedom of their native woods, the approaching shades of evening, veiling the distant landscape in a gentle haze,—all seemed to speak of liberty, security and peace. He was far from being an enthusiast, but, on this occasion, all the bright hopes and glowing fancies of his youthful nature seem to have been aroused. Keenly susceptible as he was to impressions of grandeur, and tending still, in the habitual workings of his mind, to religious thought, as he ranged through the deep, untrodden glades, or paused beneath the canopy of verdure which the wild vine had woven as the woof upon the spreading warp of branching oaks, his heart overflowed with gratitude and reverence.

There is, indeed, something amidst the deep forest, as yet untracked by human footsteps, that is well calculated to arouse such feelings, as has been remarked even in ancient times. Hence the forests of oak became the temples of the Druids, and it is Seneca who says to his friend Lucilius:

"If you come to a grove, thick planted with ancient trees which have outgrown the usual altitude, and which shut out the view of the heaven with their interwoven boughs, the vast height of the wood, and the retired secresy of the place, and the wonder and awe inspired by so dense and unbroken a gloom, in the midst of the open day, inspire you with the conviction of a present Deity."*

Whether or not this effect be due to the causes suggested by the Roman moralist, or to others yet undefined, may indeed be questioned. It may be that the mind, comparing unconsciously the gigantic growths around with the lowly herbage of the cultivated fields, receives a strong impression of Divine power. Or it may be that, gazing down the natural vistas, where tree succeeds tree in the distant perspective, ending in the faint and reduced images of others still more remote, there is created an impression of the Infinite in the seeming fact of unlimited distance. For the idea of this seems to be most strikingly conveyed when gradually retreating parts of some vast, complex object are contemplated. Out at sea, the view of a shoreless ocean does not so much impress the mind with the sense of vastness as it confounds the perceptions by deceitful appearances. The line of the horizon does not seem to be very far away. The whole watery waste is comprehended in a single view, and what is seen seems to have no tendency to suggest that which reflection teaches must be yet unseen. It is when, amidst a group of islands, the surface is meted out in distances, or when, nearing the coast, its headlands become visible, that a better idea is formed of the vastness of the ocean, and that the shores which bound it to the eye serve only to enlarge it to the mind. It is

* Seneca, Epist. 41.

so, likewise, when we view the heavens. By day, the whole expanse above is seen at a glance, as one overarching vault of ether. It is at night, when star behind star glitters in the firmament, and the still more distant clusters tax the vision to separate star from star, and the yet more remote nebulæ lead the mind back still farther into the infinite regions of space, that it can form a much more pleasing and forcible conception of the illimitable. As the ladder of the patriarch's vision afforded, by its successive steps, the means of ascending to the heavens, so nature seems in her various provinces to furnish to the mind those gradations by which it is enabled to reach the higher realms of the unseen, and commune with congenial themes connected with eternity and futurity. But, however those feelings may be accounted for which arise in the sensitive mind amidst the grandeur and the solitude of the forest, it is certain that the youthful emigrant manifested on this occasion the marked impressibility of his nature; and, reveling in the thronging fancies of his expanding and far-reaching mind, became so engrossed with his own thoughts that he was unconscious of the lapse of time, and discovered to his surprise, when the effervescence of his feelings had somewhat abated, that it was quite late, and that the night had long since closed its curtains around him.

Returning to the hotel, he found that all its inmates had retired to rest, a light having been left for him upon the table. Upon attempting to fasten the door, he was surprised to find it without lock or bolt, and with nothing but a latch, as he perceived was also the case with the door of his sleeping apartment. Coming direct from the Old World, where nocturnal outrages were frequent, and every house had its bolts and bars,

he was much impressed with such a token of fearless security, and congratulated himself still more in having reached a country where the fabled golden age seemed to be restored, and where robbery and injustice appeared to be undreaded and unknown. In attempting to account for this, to him, unwonted security, his experience in the Old World led him to refer it, in a large measure, to the absence of Catholicism; and, after his devotions, he gradually fell into slumber amidst grateful reflections upon the goodness of Providence in bringing him to a land under the benign influence of the free institutions, the equal rights, the educational advantages, and the moral and religious elevation secured to all in a purely Protestant community.

He had, indeed, long been convinced that life, property, character, as well as religious liberty, were all in greater jeopardy in Papal than in Protestant states, and had been wont to regard the Protestant North of Ireland and the Papal South of the same island as truthful and unambiguous exponents of the fruits and tendencies of the two respective religious systems. The tree of liberty, he thought, could only flourish in Protestant soil and in a Protestant atmosphere; and subsequently, as he passed along through the interior, and found all houses and places in the same happy state of security, and every door opening merely with a latch, like the wicket of Goldsmith's hermit, he became more and more confirmed in his opinions. He found, however, after a while, when his judgment became more mature, and he had opportunity for more extended observation, that the best human government fails to secure immunity from private wrongs, and that the nocturnal pilfering, which in Ireland he had been accustomed to hear charged upon the lower orders of

the Catholic population, might sometimes occur even in Protestant America. He soon learned too, by personal experience, that sectarian bigotry and clerical intolerance had changed their climate, and not their spirit, in crossing the Atlantic, and that no government or party or people is exempt from those errors and moral delinquencies which belong to a common humanity.

Setting off again early next morning, they pursued their way, and found the country to become more broken and uncultivated. Full of youthful spirits, and interested or amused by everything he saw, Alexander cheered up his mother and sisters with his genial pleasantry, and endeavored to lighten the fatigues of travel. Entering at last the mountainous region which occupies the central part of Pennsylvania, they were delighted with the grandeur of the views which it afforded, and the wild and romantic character of the country. For hours, the road led them through deep forests, and up the steep mountain sides, which were covered with various species of oak, and with the birch, the chestnut and the beech; or, here and there upon the rocky cliffs, with clumps of pine and cedar. Occasionally, they passed by clearings, even upon the very summits of the mountain ridges, where they found the soil to produce abundant pasture beneath the dead timber, which, having been simply girdled, stretched its bare and decaying branches like gigantic and imploring arms toward the heavens. Upon the skirts of these clearings they admired the rich undergrowth of the surrounding woods, amidst which the mountain-ash displayed its magnificent corymbs of scarlet berries; or again, descending the western slopes, they found the undergrowth to consist chiefly of the broad-leafed laurel, with its beautiful dark evergreen foliage, sheltering the

lowly mountain-tea and other plants of new and various forms. Or again, they traversed extensive districts more rugged and barren, and poorly timbered with dwarfed and stunted black-oak or the tall and gloomy hemlock.

Nothing, however, was fitted to afford more delight, especially to the females of the party, than the rich colors with which autumn had tinged many of the forest trees. Here the bright golden hue of the hickory, and the beautiful orange tints of the maple, were contrasted with the dark green of the unchanging pine. Here the scarlet oak (*Quercus coccinea*) and the brilliantly tinted tupelo, shone resplendent amidst surrounding verdure, and the ampelopsis, or American ivy, covered closely with its digitate leaves of crimson the lofty trunks of decaying trees. Thus their slow and toilsome progress over the numerous and lofty ridges of the Alleghanies and across the intervening valleys was cheered and enlivened by the strangeness and the beauty of the objects which presented themselves along the route. Birds of gay and varied plumage, which had been unknown amidst the solitude and silence of the primeval forest, flitted from tree to tree along the borders of the cultivated districts. The active squirrel mounted to the topmost branches in quest of nuts; various wild animals were suddenly started from the thickets along the way; and sometimes, amid the deeper recesses of the mountains, might still be seen in the distance a few timid deer, hastening to the security of their accustomed haunts.

Reaching sometimes the summit of one of the mountains early in the morning, they would see these vast parallel and unbroken ridges trending toward the S. W. as far as the eye could reach, and forming, upon all sides, the distant horizon with their dark uplifted sum-

mits, dimly seen through the bluish haze, which, at this season of the year, usually prevails. Beneath, the deep valley into which the road seemed about to descend, would be in its lower part concealed by the thick mist which had formed during the night, and which lay sleeping on its bosom like accumulated masses of the purest snow. Sometimes, upon descending, they would find a wide and rich valley of undulating land interposing itself for many miles between the mountain chains, and divided into cultivated farms, with here and there a thriving town or village. As the hotels along the route were usually located in the valleys, they would frequently, in the arrangement for the day's travel, reach the top of one of the mountains in the afternoon, when, the mists having been long since dissipated, the deep and rugged gorges winding amongst the mountains became visible to a great distance, occasionally opening into a cleared and fertile cove, where the sunlight would be seen occasionally flashing from a pure and rapid stream of water, and where, sheltered in a quiet nook, by the side of the road, they would find the inn which was to be their resting-place for the night.

These inns, at this period, along the chief thoroughfares of travel between the East and West, were, many of them, very spacious and comfortable buildings, and abundantly provided with all necessary comforts for the traveler. They were sometimes frame buildings, with long, capacious porches in front and rear. Others were built with a species of blue limestone, which, contrasting with the white mortar between the blocks, and the white window frames and green Venetian shutters, produced a pleasing effect, and formed solid and substantial structures. On the opposite side of the road were

usually placed the spacious stables, sheds, and other outbuildings required for the accommodation of teamsters; and, near at hand, was the immense wooden trough, into which poured constantly, from a hydrant, a stream of pure water, carried under the ground in wooden pipes from a spring upon the side of the neighboring hill. As the hotel stood back some distance from the road, abundant room was left, in the wide recess, thus formed for the wagons and other vehicles, from which the horses were disengaged. The interior of the hotel itself was usually plain, but commodious—a bar-room, connected with a dining-room, and this with the kitchen, on one side of a wide hall; and, upon the other, the parlors for the better sort of guests. These were sometimes entirely covered with carpeting of domestic manufacture. At other times, only the middle portions were thus covered, the rest of the floor being strewed with white sand, arranged in curving lines and forming various patterns, according to the taste of the tidy hostess. In some cases, the white sand was used as an entire substitute for carpeting, and gritted unpleasantly beneath the feet. Above stairs were usually the comfortable sleeping apartments. At this period, hotels of this character could be found every ten or twenty miles, but since the establishment of railroads and the tunneling of the mountains, their glory has departed, and they are now "few and far between," and doing but little business, since passengers can travel at their ease, seated on the soft plush or velvet cushions of luxurious cars, and over as great a distance in an hour as could be accomplished by the old road-wagon in a day.

It was the evening of about the tenth day of their journey when, the Campbell family had stopped to rest

for the night at such an inn as has been described. At a similar inn, some fifteen miles westward, and at the same hour, there was seen to alight a tall young man, dressed in black, who, having attended to the wants of his jaded horse, entered the hotel, and took his seat in the parlor with some other travelers who had previously arrived. He was considerably above the medium height, erect and graceful. His face was somewhat round, with delicate features, a fair complexion and an ample forehead, with clustering locks of brown hair. He was scarcely seated, when there was another arrival of two rather elderly men, also from the West, who had with them a couple of led horses equipped as for females. One of the men was tall, broad-shouldered and athletic, with black hair, piercing eyes and bushy eyebrows. The other was about the middle stature, fair, and of an exceedingly engaging countenance and manner. Entering the parlor, the latter gracefully saluted the company, and courteously begged to inquire if any of them had come from the eastward, and had passed, during the day, a wagon containing a family of emigrants. He informed them, with the greatest frankness, that his name was Thomas Campbell, and that he was from Washington, Pennsylvania, on his way to meet his family, who had recently arrived at New York from Scotland, and were now on their way from Philadelphia, and from whom he had been separated about two years. His friend, Mr. John McElroy, had been so kind as to accompany him with led horses, as a means of relief to his wife and daughters from the confinement of the wagon. His appearance and courteous bearing at once secured marked respect, and he received from some of those present such information as led him to hope that he would, in all probability,

meet his family during the course of the next day. The tall young man who had previously entered was particularly struck with Thomas Campbell's dignified appearance and demeanor. He noted the intelligence that beamed in his countenance, and perceived by his conversation that he was a person of superior education and refinement.

When the company were called in to supper, they found that the landlady, who was addicted to the use of spirituous liquor, had become intoxicated. She had decked off her table fantastically with flowers, and was evidently disposed to be very annoying to her guests by her impertinence and garrulity. These were, however, delighted to witness the readiness with which Mr. Campbell comprehended the situation of affairs, and the grace and dignity with which he repressed the demonstrations of ebriety on the part of the hostess. Advancing to the table, he said, "With your leave, gentlemen, I will give thanks for these blessings;" which he proceeded to do in grave and solemn terms, and during the repast maintained and directed the conversation so as to reduce the landlady to a respectful silence. The tall stranger soon perceived that Mr. Campbell was a minister of the gospel; and though he was himself a minister, and felt singularly attracted toward Mr. Campbell, and desired to enter into conversation with him, he put so modest an estimate upon his own attainments that he could not summon courage to do so, and thought it best for him to remain in the background. Retiring, accordingly, soon afterward to rest, he set off upon his eastward journey early in the morning, and, after riding about ten miles, met the wagon and the family, which, from the account of the evening before, he knew to be Mr. Campbell's. As he bowed to them

and passed on, he particularly noticed Alexander, but he little thought, at the time, that with this youth and his father, whom he had thus casually met, he himself would be in a few years an earnest fellow-laborer in promoting the interests of a new and important religious reformation. Yet so it was that Providence, which often foreshadows the events of human life, had given him, as it were, a silent introduction in advance to those who were hereafter to modify greatly his religious life. For this tall stranger was no other than Adamson Bentley, a young but influential Baptist preacher of Ohio, who, being engaged also to some extent in the mercantile business, was now on his way to Philadelphia to purchase a stock of goods, and who became afterward the chief instrument of introducing the primitive gospel into the Western Reserve.

Not long after Mr. Bentley had left the inn, Thomas Campbell and Mr. McElroy resumed their journey, and, soon after Mr. Bentley had passed the wagon, they came in sight of it, and presently felt assured that it was the object of their search. Quickening their pace, they soon approached so near that Mr. Campbell was recognized by the family, to their great joy and astonishment, as they did not expect to see him until their arrival at Washington. The meeting of the mother and children with the husband and father, from whom they had been so long separated, was very affecting. With ardent love beaming in his benignant countenance, Thomas Campbell kissed and embraced them all with the utmost tenderness, remarking how much the children had grown and improved since he left them. When Jane was presented to him, so much changed in appearance by the effect of the small-pox that he would not have recognized her, he

said, in a tone of the kindest sympathy, as he took her into his arms, "And is this my little white-head?" a phrase of endearment amongst the Irish, and kissing her affectionately, gave thanks to God for her recovery, and for the kind Providence which had at length brought them all once more together.

After introducing his kind friend, John McElroy, and spending a little time in mutual inquiries and congratulations, they all proceeded on their way westward, the led horses furnishing an agreeable change occasionally from the confinement of the wagon and the fatigue of walking. It was not long until they surmounted the most western of the mountain ranges, the Chestnut Ridge, and descended into the rich plateau of undulating land which, stretching for hundreds of miles toward the west, formed the upper part of the great Valley of the Mississippi, and which is watered by the Ohio and its numerous tributaries. They were delighted to enter this fertile region, which was to be their future home, and to bid adieu to the rugged mountains which seemed to recede from them toward the east, and formed, with their dark masses, the line of the horizon, sending down at short intervals rapidly-descending spurs, like enormous buttresses, which, extending out a considerable distance into the plain, lost themselves at length in its gentle undulations. This plateau was tolerably thickly settled, and the remainder of their route led them through cultivated farms, and through groves of oak, walnut, ash and locust, and across or along the numerous smaller streams which flow into the Monongahela river. Reaching this river at length, they crossed it by the ferry at Williamsport, and entered the county of Washington, and, in the evening, found themselves near the residence of the Rev. Samuel

Ralston, a Presbyterian preacher of considerable influence, and President of the Trustees of Jefferson College at Canonsburg. Being acquainted with him, Thomas Campbell called over to see him, and to introduce his son Alexander, and they were hospitably entertained during the night by Mr. Ralston. Next day they reached the town of Washington, where, in a field adjoining, a house had been provided, in which they were once more to find a resting-place and to form an unbroken family circle.

During the three days in which they had thus been journeying along in company, Mrs. Campbell had related to her husband the various incidents which had occurred in the history of the family since his departure from Ireland; and Alexander and the other children had likewise detailed their several experiences, dangers and deliverances during their separation from him. He, in turn, gave them a particular account of what had befallen him in America, and of what he had learned of the character of the country. With the latter he expressed himself greatly delighted, both as to climate, natural resources and inhabitants, but especially as regarded the freedom of the government and the security and protection it afforded to all. He then went on to detail his religious trials and the persecutions he had undergone at the hands of the Seceder clergy, on account of his efforts to effect a reformation and to promote Christian union on the basis of the Holy Scriptures. As he described the contumely which had been heaped upon him; the slanders circulated; the determined opposition to the slightest overture in favor of relaxing the strict usages of the party; the unjust proceedings of the Presbytery and the Synod, and the evil feelings of jealousy, animosity and envy that manifestly

instigated their sectarian opposition, he expressed his sincere conviction that, had they possessed the power, he would have suffered martyrdom at their hands, or, as he expressed it, that "nothing but the law of the land had kept his head upon his shoulders." Alexander could not but feel indignant at this recital, and felt more and more the correctness of the conclusion to which he had himself already come in regard to hierarchical establishments and the rule of the clergy. He was greatly surprised, however, when informed by his father that the latter had actually dissolved his connection with the Seceders, as he could no longer feel justified in sanctioning their proceedings by remaining with them; and that he had been for some time past preaching independently to audiences made up of individuals of different parties, who were willing to listen to his overtures for Christian union upon the basis of the Bible alone. Alexander was greatly rejoiced at this announcement, and could not but admire the ways of Providence, which had thus, through a bitter experience, delivered his father from the shackles of partyism, so that, instead of fearing opposition from him to the views to which he had himself been definitely brought while in Glasgow, he found him already, though by a somewhat different method, led practically to the very same conclusions. To overcome the force of Thomas Campbell's early predilections, and his strong attachment to the people amongst whom he had so long and so faithfully labored, required, indeed, a much more potent agency than could be derived from mere observation of the practical workings of the system in regard to others. It needed that he should have himself a personal experience of the effects of that stern and tyrannous spirit of sectarianism which had concealed from him its true disposition beneath

the smile of approval, until his gradually increasing desire for Christian union led him to contravene its arbitrary decrees. It was then that he discovered to his surprise its real character, and was compelled suddenly to turn away with aversion from the religious body which he had loved and espoused. Thus it was that Providence had removed out of the way the only obstacle which could have prevented him from sympathizing fully in the liberal and independent views which his son had imbibed in Scotland, and had thus prepared the minds of both the father and the son for that important work in which they were henceforth destined to co-operate.

The train of circumstances which had given this preparation to the father, and, in divorcing him from his connection with the Seceders, had suddenly placed him in a position to give practical effect to his long-cherished views of a much-needed religious reformation, were, as has been stated, detailed to Alexander and the family along the way. This relation was necessarily given at intervals, and intermingled with various inquiries, explanations and digressions which it is unnecessary to recapitulate. As, however, a particular account of these events is essential to the purposes of these memoirs, and to a proper understanding of the circumstances in which Alexander was shortly to be placed, it will be given in a connected form in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

Spirit of Party—Failure to comprehend Christian Liberty—Persecutions—Principle of Reformation—Overtures for Christian Union.

IT has been already mentioned, in a preceding portion of the narrative, that Thomas Campbell had found the Seceder Synod in session at Philadelphia upon his landing (May, 1807), and, upon presenting his credentials, had been cordially received, and at once assigned by it to the Presbytery of Chartiers in Western Pennsylvania. Upon his arrival at Washington, he was most happy to renew his acquaintance with the amiable family of the Achesons, and with a number of old friends who had previously emigrated from Ireland. One day, a woman, learning that a preacher from the North of Ireland had come to Washington, called at the house at which he stayed to see him, and introduced herself as the wife of James Hanen. She, and her husband and family, lived in the neighborhood of the town, and had come in from Ireland in 1805, two years before. She immediately recognized Mr. Campbell, and told him that on a former occasion in Ireland she had walked six miles, from where she lived in county Down, to Newry, to attend at the communion services in the Seceder Church, and distinctly recollected having noticed him there as one of the officiating clergymen. He was much pleased with the intelligence and acuteness of his warm-hearted country-

woman, and soon afterward went out to visit her and her family, who became much attached to him, and followed him subsequently in his views of reformation, James Hanen and wife being two of the first seven immersed on a profession of the primitive faith.

In a few weeks, James Foster and Thomas Hodgens, with their families, arrived, and settled upon a farm near Mount Pleasant, sometimes called "Hickory," a small village about ten miles north of Washington. Mr. Campbell thus found himself pleasantly situated in the midst of old friends and neighbors, who knew his worth, and were hence disposed to take pleasure in attending his ministrations, and in impressing their own high estimate of Mr. Campbell's qualifications and personal character upon their neighbors and acquaintances of different religious parties. With these, Mr. Campbell soon became popular, as his many excellencies and his liberal religious spirit became generally known. The Seceder congregations, who were not very numerous, were much pleased at having so important an accession to their ministry, and as they saw more and more of Mr. Campbell's earnestness, piety and ability, they came to regard him as the most learned and talented preacher in their ranks.

He had not, however, been very long thus engaged in his regular ministrations among the churches before some suspicions began to arise in the minds of his ministerial brethren that he was disposed to relax too much the rigidness of their ecclesiastic rules, and to cherish for other denominations feelings of fraternity and respect in which they could not share. They were therefore induced, after a time, to keep a wary eye upon his movements, though it was strongly surmised by some that, as they were cast into the shade

by Mr. Campbell's greater abilities and popularity, their course was dictated less by their jealousy of their party interests than by personal feelings of *envy*—a passion which, it has been found, may dwell even in clerical bosoms. It happened that, about this time, he was deputed to visit a few scattered members of the flock who were living some distance up the Alleghany above Pittsburg, and to hold amongst them, in conjunction with a young minister, a Mr. Wilson, who accompanied him, a communion, or, as it was termed, a "sacramental" celebration. This part of the country was then thinly settled, and it was seldom that ministerial services were enjoyed by the various fragments of religious parties, which, having floated off from the Old World upon the tide of emigration, had been thrown together in the circling eddies of these new settlements. It happened that, on this occasion, Mr. Campbell's sympathies were strongly aroused in regard to the destitute condition of some in the vicinity who belonged to other branches of the Presbyterian family, and who had not, for a long time, had an opportunity of partaking of the Lord's Supper, and he felt it his duty, in the preparation sermon, to lament the existing divisions, and to suggest that all his pious hearers, who felt so disposed and duly prepared, should, without respect to party differences, enjoy the benefits of the communion season then providentially afforded them. Mr. Wilson did not, at the time, publicly oppose these overtures, but finding, from these proceedings and from his conversations and discussions with Mr. Campbell, that the latter had but little respect for the division walls which the different parties had built up with so much pains, his sectarian prejudices became fully aroused. He felt it his duty, therefore, at the next

meeting of the Presbytery, to lay the case before it in the usual form of "libel," containing various formal and specified charges, the chief of which were that Mr. Campbell had failed to inculcate strict adherence to the Church standard and usages, and had even expressed his disapproval of some things in said standard and of the uses made of them.

Under the circumstances, the Presbytery readily took up the accusation, and formally propounded various questions to Mr. Campbell, in order to elicit fully his private views. Placed thus upon the defensive, and ardently desirous of maintaining Christian good feeling and union with the people amongst whom he labored, Mr. Campbell was somewhat guarded and conciliatory in his replies. But it was not to be expected that he who had been always so much opposed to religious partyism, and who, in Ireland, and still more in the free air of America, had lifted up his voice against it, and in favor of the Bible as the only true standard of faith and practice, should, on this occasion, fail to reiterate his convictions, and to insist that, in the course he had pursued, he had violated no precept of the sacred volume. His pleadings, however, in behalf of Christian liberty and fraternity were in vain, and his appeals to the Bible were disregarded, so that, in the end, the Presbtyery found him deserving of censure for not adhering to the "Secession Testimony."

Against this decision Mr. Campbell protested, and the case was then, in due course, submitted to the Synod at its next meeting. Meanwhile, Mr. Campbell was apprised that many of his fellow-ministers had become inimical to him through the influence of those who conducted the prosecution; and knowing well that it was impossible for him, with his views of the Bible

and of duty to retrograde a single step, he clearly foresaw that if the Synod sanctioned the decision of the Presbytery, he must at once cease to be a minister in the Seceder connection. Anxious to avoid a position unfavorable to his usefulness, and calculated to produce discord and division, and cherishing still the desire to labor harmoniously with those with whom he had been so long associated, he addressed an earnest appeal to the Synod when his case came up for consideration, in which he thus defined and defended his position:

"HONORED BRETHREN: Before you come to a final issue in the present business, let me entreat you to pause a moment and seriously consider the following things: To refuse any one his just privilege, is it not to oppress and injure? In proportion to the magnitude and importance of the privilege withheld, is not the injustice done in withholding it to be estimated? If so, how great the injustice, how highly aggravated the injury will appear, to thrust out from communion a Christian brother, a fellow-minister, for saying and doing none other things than those which our Divine Lord and his holy apostles have taught and enjoined to be spoken and done by his ministering servants, and to be received and observed by all his people! Or have I, in any instance, proposed to say or do otherwise? If I have, I shall be heartily thankful to any brother that shall point it out, and upon his so doing shall as heartily and thankfully relinquish it. Let none think that, by so saying, I entertain the vain presumption of being infallible. So far am I from this, that I dare not venture to trust my own understanding so far as to take upon me to teach anything as a matter of faith or duty but what is already expressly taught and enjoined by Divine authority; and I hope it is no presumption to believe that saying and doing the very same things that are said and done before our eyes on the sacred page, is infallibly right, as well as all-sufficient for the edification of the Church, whose duty and perfection it is to be in all things conformed to the original standard. It

is, therefore, because I have no confidence, either in my own infallibility or in that of others, that I absolutely refuse, as inadmissible and schismatic, the introduction of human opinions and human inventions into the faith and worship of the Church. Is it, therefore, because I plead the cause of the scriptural and apostolic worship of the Church, in opposition to the various errors and schisms which have so awfully corrupted and divided it, that the brethren of the Union should feel it difficult to admit me as their fellow-laborer in that blessed work? I sincerely rejoice with them in what they have done in that way; but still, all is not yet done; and surely they can have no just objections to go farther. Nor do I presume to dictate to them or to others as to how they should proceed for the glorious purpose of promoting the unity and purity of the Church; but only beg leave, for my own part, to walk upon such sure and peaceable ground that I may have nothing to do with human controversy, about the right or wrong side of any opinion whatsoever, by simply acquiescing in what is written, as quite sufficient for every purpose of faith and duty; and thereby to influence as many as possible to depart from human controversy, to betake themselves to the Scriptures, and, in so doing, to the study and practice of faith, holiness and love.

"And all this without any intention on my part to judge or despise my Christian brethren who may not see with my eyes in those things which, to me, appear indispensably necessary to promote and secure the unity, peace and purity of the Church. Say, brethren, what is my offence, that I should be thrust out from the heritage of the Lord, or from serving him in that good work to which he has been graciously pleased to call me? For what error or immorality ought I to be rejected, except it be that I refuse to acknowledge as obligatory upon myself, or to impose upon others, anything as of Divine obligation for which I cannot produce a 'Thus saith the Lord?' This, I am sure, I can do, while I keep by his own word; but not quite so sure when I substitute my own meaning or opinion, or that of others, instead thereof. * * * * * *

"Surely, brethren, from my steadfast adherence to the Divine standard—my absolute and entire rejection of human authority in matters of religion—my professed and sincere willingness to walk in all good understanding, communion, and fellowship with sincere and humble Christian brethren, who may not see with me in these things—and, permit me to add, my sincere desire to unite with you in carrying forward that blessed work in which you have set out, and from which you take your name—you will do me the justice to believe, that if I did not sincerely desire a union with you, I would not have once and again made application for that purpose. A union not merely nominal, but hearty and confidential, founded upon certain and established principles; and this, if I mistake not, is firmly laid on both sides. Your standard informs me of your views of truth and duty, and my declarations give you precisely the same advantage. You are willing to be tried in all matters by your standard, according to your printed declaration; *I* am willing to be tried on all matters by *my* standard, according to my written declaration. You can labor under no difficulty about my teaching and practising whatever is expressly taught and enjoined in the Divine standard, as generally defined in my 'Declaration,' and although I have not the same clearness about everything contained in your standard, yet where I cannot see, believing you to be sincere and conscientious servants of the same great and gracious Master who freely pardons his willing and obedient servants their ten thousand talents of shortcomings, I am, therefore, through his grace, ready to forbear with you; at the same time, hoping that you possess the same gracious spirit, and therefore will not reject me for the lack of those fifty forms which might probably bring me up to your measure, and to which, if necessary, I also, through grace, may yet attain, for I have not set myself down as perfect.

"May the Lord direct you in all things. Amen.

"THOMAS CAMPBELL.

"To the Associate Synod of North America."

After the reading of this document, and the hearing of the case before the Synod, it was decided that "there were such informalities in the proceedings of the Presbytery in the trial of the case as to afford sufficient reason to the Synod to set aside their judgment and decision, and to release the protester from the censure inflicted by the Presbytery;" which they accordingly did. After this, the charges which had been before the Presbytery, with all the documents pertaining to the trial, were referred to a committee, which finally reported as follows:

"Upon the whole, the committee are of opinion that Mr. Campbell's answer to the two first articles of charge are so evasive and unsatisfactory, and highly equivocal upon great and important articles of revealed religion, as to give ground to conclude that he has expressed sentiments very different upon these articles, and from the sentiments held and professed by this Church, and are sufficient grounds to infer censure."

From his extreme reluctance to separate from the Seceders, for many of whom, both preachers and people, he continued to cherish sentiments of Christian regard, Mr. Campbell was induced to submit to this decision, handing in at the same time a declaration "that his submission should be understood to mean no more, on his part, than an act of deference to the judgment of the court, that, by so doing, he might not give offence to his brethren by manifesting a refractory spirit." After this concession, Mr. Campbell fondly hoped that the amicable relations formerly existing between him and the Presbytery of Chartiers would be restored, and that he would be permitted to prosecute his labors in peace. In this, however, he soon found himself mistaken, and discovered, with much

regret, that the hostility of his opponents had been only intensified by the issue of the trial, and was more undisguised than ever. Misrepresentation and calumny were employed to detract from his influence; a constant watch was placed over his proceedings, and he discovered that even spies were employed to attend his meetings and take notes of his discourses, in order, if possible, to obtain fresh grounds of accusation against him. Such, indeed, was the bitter, unrelenting and vindictive spirit manifested toward him, in very many ways, that he was led, at length, to believe that the spirit of sectarianism had, in the case of many of his former fellow-laborers, completely overruled that of Christianity. He became fully satisfied that nothing but their want of power prevented them from carrying out their persecution to the utmost limit; and he was led, more and more, toward the conclusion that bigotry, corruption and tyranny were qualities inherent in all clerical organizations. He came, therefore, to the conclusion, finally, that it was his duty to separate himself from all connection with a people who seemed utterly unwilling to tolerate any overtures for healing the religious dissensions of the times, and who seemed to regard their own particular "Testimony" as practically a more important rule of action than the Bible. He accordingly presented to the Synod a formal renunciation of its authority, announcing that he abandoned "all ministerial connection" with it, and would hold himself thenceforth "utterly unaffected by its decisions."

His withdrawal from the Seceders occasioned no interruption of his ministerial labors. From the great personal influence he had acquired in various portions of the counties of Washington and Alleghany, and the

novelty and force of the plea he made for Christian liberality and Christian union upon the basis of the Bible, large numbers continued to attend his ministrations wherever it was in his power to hold meetings. Sometimes the deep shade of a maple grove sheltered the assembly from the summer sun. Generally, however, the houses of his old Irish neighbors, who had settled in Washington county, were the places where he had his appointments for preaching, and where he discoursed weekly to all who chose to assemble. Finding, after a time, that his hearers (many of whom still held membership in the Seceder or Presbyterian churches) were constant in their attendance, and apparently convinced of the correctness of the principles which he taught, and desirous of the success of his efforts to form a union upon the Bible alone, he proposed to the principal persons among them that a special meeting should be held in order to confer freely upon the existing state of things, and to give, if possible, more definiteness to the movement in which they had thus far been co-operating without any formal organization or determinate arrangement. This proposition was at once gladly acceded to, and a convenient time was appointed to meet, for the purposes specified, at the house of Abraham Altars, who lived between Mount Pleasant and Washington, and who, though not a member of any church, was an earnest friend of the movement. As the results of this meeting proved to be most important, its character merits particular consideration.

Heretofore the meetings held had been merely for worship and preaching; and though it was true that the theme of discourse was often intimately connected with the peculiar circumstances in which they were

placed, and that the sufficiency of the Bible as a guide was often insisted on, there had, as yet, been no formal understanding or agreement either as to principles or as to united action. No separation from the religious parties had been contemplated—no bond of union amongst those attending the meetings had been proposed. They were held together by a vague sentiment of Christian union, and by the personal influence and character of Thomas Campbell.

Neither on his part, however, nor on that of any member, was there the slightest intention of forming a new religious party. On the contrary, the whole design of the effort was, if possible, to put an end to partyism, and to induce the different religious denominations to unite together upon the Bible as the only authorized rule of faith and practice, and to desist from their controversies about matters of mere opinion and expediency. Mr. Campbell entertained and offered no special objections to their confessions of faith or formularies of doctrine. There was scarcely anything in the Westminster Confession of Faith from which he himself felt inclined to dissent, except it was the chapter which gave to the clergy a position and an authority which he thought unauthorized, and which, as he had found by experience, could be readily abused. And as he was well aware that it was already conceded, in the Protestant formularies, that the Bible was the only rule of faith and practice, he felt that he had a *right* to urge upon all parties the *practical* adoption of this concession, and the pressing need there was that it should be at once cordially accepted, as the only true basis of Christian union. In this effort he was further encouraged by the fact that, upon abandoning his own sect, he had found himself at once surrounded by so large a number of pious and

intelligent persons, who, like himself, were dissatisfied with the existing religious parties, and especially with the intolerant and sectarian spirit which pervaded them, and who were disposed to confide in the Bible as the only true guide in religion.

It cannot fail to be a matter of interest to the thoughtful mind to contemplate these worthy and religious people collected from various parties, seeking anxiously for better things than could yet be attained under any existing form of Christianity; retaining still nominally their several connections with the parties to which they belonged, yet conscious of something wanting, and groping after that Christian liberty of thought and action which they felt was denied to them under the existing systems. If, indeed, religious partyism could be justified on the ground so often urged, that it affords abundant room for choice on the part of those who wish to connect themselves with some religious body, one would suppose that, from the number and variety of parties then existing, the most scrupulous conscience and the most fastidious religious taste might have been fully gratified. Yet here were individuals so unreasonable in the estimation of the religious world, that they not only refused to be content with any of the surrounding parties, but were disposed to question whether it were expedient or lawful that any of these should exist at all. Sick of the animosities and controversies between rival sects, and disgusted with the petty differences which occasioned alienation and strife amongst those who seemed to be equally pious, and who professed equally to be followers of Christ, they had been led to the conclusion that religious partyism, so far from being a benefit, was one of the greatest of evils, and one among the chief hinderances to the spread of the gospel. Thev

sought, therefore, for some common ground upon which all could unite without any sacrifice of truth; and having decided that the Scriptures alone, without note or comment, furnished such a basis, they felt it their duty to urge this truth upon the religious communities, proposing that all matters not distinctly revealed in the Bible should be held as matters of opinion and of mutual forbearance.

It is true, indeed, that the individuals who had been for some time attending Mr. Campbell's meetings were, by no means, all settled in their religious convictions, and that they differed from each other, especially in relation to a proper gospel ministry. Some there were amongst them, such as James Foster, who had been an Independent in Ireland, and some who had not belonged to any religious party, who felt quite at home in a position which was novel and even somewhat doubtful to others. For, while all were disposed to confide in the Bible as the only true guide in religion, yet there were those who, conscious that they were imperfectly acquainted with its teachings, naturally experienced some misgivings as they felt themselves slowly drifting away from the well-known shores and landmarks of their respective religious systems into the wide ocean of Divine truth, which seemed to them so boundless and as yet but imperfectly explored. Should they be so happy as to discover, in the end, a new world blooming like the Indies in the beauties of religious peace? or should unknown ocean currents or resistless gales, as feared by the followers of Columbus, carry them to a returnless distance from their ancient homes? These were questions which might be differently answered as hope, or fear, or faith prevailed. They had, indeed, every confidence in the first position they had

taken, and in the intelligence and piety of the individual to whose guidance Providence seemed to have consigned them; but they were by no means unconscious of the hazards they incurred, and realized the importance of having a clear and definite understanding as to the course they should pursue. When, therefore, Mr. Campbell proposed a special meeting, in order to elicit a clear and distinct statement of the principles they advocated, it was gladly concurred in, both by those who were doubtful of the enterprise, and, as yet, but loosely connected with it, and by those who felt themselves fully committed, and determined to proceed with a religious reformation which they conscientiously believed to be imperatively required. To the latter, indeed, as well as to the mind of Mr. Campbell himself, the basis of union had latterly become much better defined; the distinction between faith and opinion had been more clearly drawn, and the entire sufficiency of the Scriptures more fully recognized, so that they fully realized the need of some definite and formal agreement amongst themselves in the further prosecution of their undertaking.

The time appointed having arrived, there was a very general assembling at the place designated. All seemed to feel the importance of the occasion and to realize the responsibilities of their position. A deep feeling of solemnity pervaded the assembly when Thomas Campbell, having opened the meeting in the usual manner, and, in earnest prayer, specially invoked the Divine guidance, proceeded to rehearse the matter from the beginning, and to dwell with unusual force upon the manifold evils resulting from the divisions in religious society—divisions which, he urged, were as unnecessary as they were injurious, since God had pro-

vided, in his sacred Word, an infallible standard, which was all-sufficient and alone-sufficient, as a basis of union and Christian co-operation. He showed, however, that men had not been satisfied with its teachings, but had gone outside of the Bible, to frame for themselves religious theories, opinions and speculations, which were the real occasions of the unhappy controversies and strifes which had so long desolated the religious world. He, therefore, insisted with great earnestness upon a return to the simple teachings of the Scriptures, and upon the entire abandonment of everything in religion for which there could not be produced a Divine warrant. Finally, after having again and again reviewed the ground they occupied in the reformation which they felt it their duty to urge upon religious society, he went on to announce, in the most simple and emphatic terms, the great principle or rule upon which he understood they were then acting, and upon which, he trusted, they would continue to act, consistently and perseveringly to the end. "That rule, my highly respected hearers," said he in conclusion, "is this, that WHERE THE SCRIPTURES SPEAK, WE SPEAK; AND WHERE THE SCRIPTURES ARE SILENT, WE ARE SILENT."

Upon this annunciation a solemn silence pervaded the assembly. Never before had religious duty been presented to them in so simple a form. Never before had the great principle on which this religious enterprise rested been so clearly presented to their minds. It was to many of them as a new revelation, and those simple words, which embodied a rule so decisive of all religious strifes and of all distressing doubts, were for ever engraven upon their hearts. Henceforth, the plain and simple teaching of the Word of God itself was to

be their guide. God himself should speak to them, and they should receive and repeat his words alone. No remote inferences, no fanciful interpretations, no religious theories of any kind, were to be allowed to alter or pervert its obvious meaning. Having God's Word in their possession, they must speak it faithfully. There should be no contention, henceforth, in regard to the opinions of men, however wise or learned. Whatever private opinions might be entertained upon matters not clearly revealed must be retained in silence, and no effort must be made to impose them upon others. Thus the *silence* of the Bible was to be respected equally with its revelations, which were by Divine authority declared to be able to "make the man of God perfect and thoroughly furnished unto every good work." Anything more, then, must be an incumbrance. Anything less than "the whole counsel of God" would be a dangerous deficiency. Simply, reverentially, confidingly, they would speak of Bible things in Bible words, adding nothing thereto and omitting nothing given by inspiration. They had thus a clear and well-defined basis of action, and the hearts of all who were truly interested re-echoed the resolve: "*Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent.*" It was from the moment when these significant words were uttered and accepted that the more intelligent ever afterward dated the *formal and actual commencement of the Reformation* which was subsequently carried on with so much success, and which has already produced such important changes in religious society over a large portion of the world.

It was some time after Mr. Campbell sat down to afford opportunity to those present to give, as he had requested, a free and candid expression of their views,

before any one presumed to break the silence. At length, a shrewd Scotch Seceder, Andrew Munro, who was a bookseller and postmaster at Canonsburg, arose and said: "Mr Campbell, if we adopt *that* as a basis, then there is an end of infant baptism." This remark, and the conviction it seemed to carry with it, produced a profound sensation. "Of course," said Mr. Campbell, in reply, "if infant baptism be not found in Scripture, we can have nothing to do with it." Upon this, Thomas Acheson, of Washington, who was a man of warm impulses, rose, and advancing a short distance, greatly excited, exclaimed, laying his hand upon his heart: "I hope I may never see the day when my heart will renounce that blessed saying of the Scripture, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdon of heaven.'" Upon saying this he was so much affected that he burst into tears, and while a deep sympathetic feeling pervaded the entire assembly, he was about to retire to an adjoined room, when James Foster, not willing that this misapplication of Scripture should pass unchallenged, cried out, "Mr. Acheson, I would remark that in the portion of Scripture you have quoted *there is no reference, whatever, to infant baptism.*" Without offering a reply, Mr. Acheson passed out to weep alone; but this incident, while it foreshadowed some of the trials which the future had in store, failed to abate, in the least, the confidence which the majority of those present placed in the principles to which they were committed. The rule which Mr. Campbell had announced seemed to cover the whole ground, and to be so obviously just and proper, that after further discussion and conference, it was adopted with apparent unanimity, no valid objection being urged against it.

This meeting was attended with very important consequences. It seemed, for the first time, to define clearly to Mr. Campbell's hearers the exact position which they occupied; and having constantly before their minds as a guide the simple rule which many of them thought should be written in letters of gold, "*Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where these are silent, we are silent*," each one, with the Scriptures in his possession, could judge for himself as to the consequences likely to result from its practical adoption. Some there were, accordingly, of those loosely connected with the movement, who, after a time, began to fear that the conclusion so promptly reached and announced by Andrew Munro at the meeting would prove at last to be correct, and fearing to pursue any further a principle which seemed to involve to them so grave a consequence, they began to drop off one by one, and gradually to cease altogether their attendance at the usual meetings.

These defections, and the incidents which attended the important meeting described, naturally gave rise to much discussion among the members. James Foster, convinced, while in Ireland, as formerly stated, that there was no scriptural foundation for infant baptism, was very decided in the expression of his views. Mr. Campbell himself, however, was by no means prepared to admit that the principle which they had adopted would necessarily involve any direct opposition to infant baptism. He was himself still so much impressed with the plausibility of the arguments in its favor that he thought the practice might perhaps be justified, and he insisted that, in the present condition of parties, it should, at least, be made a matter of forbearance. He was very reluctant to admit that there was any need of

hastily abandoning a usage which had so long prevailed, and which was so thoroughly incorporated with religious society. He could not but confess the difficulties connected with this vexed question, and the absence of positive Scripture authority, yet he thought that, under the existing circumstances, each one might be permitted to determine for himself, both as to the validity of infant baptism and the propriety of the respective forms or actions of sprinkling, pouring and immersion, which had been adopted as baptism by different portions of the religious community. Ardently devoted as he was to the cause of Christian union, and convinced that some concessions were needed in the existing distracted state of the religious world, he continued to insist that this question, as well as certain others of a similar character, might safely be left to private judgment, and be retained for the sake of peace, as belonging to the chapter of "non-essentials," and by no means so important as the great matters of faith and righteousness. About this time, he was one day riding with James Foster, and as they traveled along he took occasion to urge these views with considerable warmth. At length James Foster, turning toward him, asked with great emphasis: "Father Campbell, how could you, in the absence of any authority in the Word of God, baptize a child in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit?" Mr. Campbell was quite confounded at this question. His face colored, he became for a moment irritated, and said in reply, in an offended tone: "Sir, you are the most intractable person I ever met." Notwithstanding, however, such differences in sentiment on some particular points, the members felt themselves cordially united in the great object of promoting Christian union and peace in the

religious world. In order to carry out this purpose more effectively, it was resolved, at a meeting held on the head-waters of Buffalo, 17th of August, 1809, that they would form themselves into a regular association, under the name of "The Christian Association of Washington." They then appointed twenty-one of their number to meet and confer together, and, with the assistance of Thomas Campbell, to determine upon the proper means to carry into effect the important ends of the Association.

As it had been found somewhat inconvenient to hold the meetings in private houses, it was thought advisable by the members to provide some regular place of meeting. The neighbors accordingly assembled, and in a short time erected a log building on the Sinclair farm, about three miles from Mount Pleasant, upon the road leading from Washington to that place, at the point where it was crossed by the road from Middletown to Canonsburg. This building was designed, also, for the purposes of a common school, which was much desired in that neighborhood. Here Thomas Campbell continued to meet his hearers regularly. Near the meeting-house was the residence of Mr. Welch, a respectable farmer, and friendly to the Association. As Mr. Campbell was accustomed after meeting to go to Mr. Welch's, a little chamber up stairs was assigned to him as his apartment. In this quiet place of retirement he spent most of the week in study and in writing, occasionally visiting Washington, which was his post-office, and which he still regarded as his general place of residence. The writing with which he was at this time engaged was a Declaration and Address, designed to set forth to the public at large, in a clear and definite manner, the object of the movement in which he and

those associated with him were engaged, it having been agreed by the committee appointed that such a publication was highly expedient. When this was finished, he called a special meeting of the chief members and read it to them for their approval and adoption. Having been unanimously agreed to, it was at once ordered to be printed, September 7, 1809.

In this document the occasion and nature of the Association were thus defined in the preamble and resolutions accepted as its constitution, under the title of "*A Declaration.*"

"From the series of events which have taken place in the Churches for many years past, especially in this western country, as well as from what we know in general of the present state of things in the Christian world, we are persuaded that it is high time for us not only to think, but also to act for ourselves; to see with our own eyes, and to take all our measures directly and immediately from the Divine standard; to this alone we feel ourselves divinely bound to be conformed, as by this alone we must be judged. We are also persuaded that as no man can be *judged* for his brother, so no man can *judge* for his brother; every man must be allowed to judge for himself, as every man must bear his own judgment—must give account of himself before God. We are also of opinion that as the Divine word is equally binding upon all, so all lie under an equal obligation to be bound by it and it alone, and not by any human interpretation of it; and that, therefore, no man has a right to judge his brother except in so far as he manifestly violates the express letter of the law—that every such judgment is an express violation of the law of Christ, a daring usurpation of his throne, and a gross intrusion upon the rights and liberties of his subjects. We are, therefore, of opinion, that we should beware of such things; that we should keep at the utmost distance from everything of this nature; and that, knowing the judgment of God against them that commit such things, we should neither do

the same ourselves nor take pleasure in them that do them. Moreover, being well aware, from sad experience, of the heinous nature and pernicious tendency of religious controversy among Christians; tired and sick of the bitter jarrings and janglings of a party spirit, we would desire to be at rest; and, were it possible, would also desire to adopt and recommend such measures as would give rest to our brethren throughout all the Churches—as would restore unity, peace and purity to the whole Church of God. This desirable rest, however, we utterly despair either to find for ourselves or to be able to recommend to our brethren by continuing amid the diversity and rancor of party contentions, the veering uncertainty and clashings of human opinions; nor, indeed, can we reasonably expect to find it anywhere but in Christ and his simple word, which is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. Our desire, therefore, for ourselves and our brethren would be, that, rejecting human opinions and the inventions of men as of any authority, or as having any place in the Church of God, we might for ever cease from further contentions about such things, returning to and holding fast by the original standard, taking the Divine word alone for our rule, the Holy Spirit for our teacher and guide to lead us into all truth, and Christ alone as exhibited in the word for our salvation; and that by so doing we may be at peace among ourselves, follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. Impressed with these sentiments, we have resolved as follows:

"I. That we form ourselves into a religious association, under the denomination of the Christian Association of Washington, for the sole purpose of promoting simple, evangelical Christianity, free from all mixture of human opinions and inventions of men.

"II. That each member, according to ability, cheerfully and liberally subscribe a specified sum, to be paid half yearly, for the purpose of raising a fund to support a pure Gospel ministry, that shall reduce to practice that whole form of doctrine, worship, discipline and government expressly revealed and

enjoined in the Word of God; and also for supplying the poor with the Holy Scriptures.

"III. That this Society consider it a duty, and shall use all proper means in its power, to encourage the formation of similar associations; and shall, for this purpose, hold itself in readiness, upon application, to correspond with and render all possible assistance to such as may desire to associate for the same desirable and important purposes.

"IV. That this Society by no means considers itself a Church, nor does, at all, assume to itself the powers peculiar to such a society; nor do the members, as such, consider themselves as standing connected in that relation; nor as at all associated for the peculiar purposes of Church association, but merely as voluntary advocates for Church reformation, and as possessing the powers common to all individuals who may please to associate, in a peaceful and orderly manner, for any lawful purpose—namely, the disposal of their time, counsel and property, as they may see cause.

"V. That this Society, formed for the sole purpose of promoting simple evangelical Christianity, shall, to the utmost of its power, countenance and support such ministers, and such only, as exhibit a manifest conformity to the original standard, in conversation and doctrine, in zeal and diligence: only such as reduce to practice that simple, original form of Christianity expressly exhibited upon the sacred page, without attempting to inculcate anything of human authority, of private opinion, or inventions of men, as having any place in the constitution, faith or worship of the Christian Church, or anything as matter of Christian faith or duty, for which there cannot be expressly produced a 'Thus saith the Lord,' either in express terms or by approved precedent."

In additional resolutions, a standing committee was appointed, consisting of twenty-one members, to superintend the interests of the Society; semi-annual meetings were fixed for the first Thursday of May and of November, and the Society pledged itself to support

such ministers as it should invite to promote the proposed reformation, expressing at the same time a willingness to receive donations for this purpose from the friends of the movement.

From the above articles, it will be seen, that the society did not at all recognize itself as a *Church*, but simply as a society for the promotion of Christian union and of "a pure evangelical reformation, by the simple preaching of the gospel, and the administration of its ordinances in exact conformity to the Divine standard." Neither Thomas Campbell himself, however, nor those associated with him, had a full conception of all that was involved in these principles. They only felt that the religious intolerance of the times had itself become intolerable, and that a reformation was imperiously demanded. There had been, indeed, a gradual amelioration in the bitterness of party rancor during the preceding thirty or forty years; but this was by no means in proportion to the development of religious truth or of the rights of man and of the human conscience.

There are few, in fact, of the present generation, who have grown up under the influence of the liberalizing institutions of the United States, and the more enlightened views of Christianity since presented, who can form a proper idea of the virulence of the party spirit which then prevailed. Each party strove for supremacy, and maintained its peculiarities with a zeal as ardent and persecuting as the laws of the land and the usages of society would permit. The distinguishing tenets of each party were constantly thundered from every pulpit, and any departure from the "traditions of the elders," was visited at once with the severest ecclesiastical censure. Covenanting, church politics,

church psalmody, hyper-Calvinistic questions, were the great topics of the day; and such was the rigid, uncompromising spirit prevailing, that the most trivial things would produce a schism, so that old members were known to break off from their congregations, simply because the clerk presumed to give out, before singing, *two* lines of a psalm instead of *one*, as had been the usual custom. Against this slavish subjection to custom, and to opinions and regulations that were merely of human origin, Mr. Campbell had long felt it his duty to protest, and knowing no remedy for the sad condition of affairs existing, except in a simple return to the plain teachings of the Bible, as alone authoritative and binding upon the conscience, he and those associated with him felt it incumbent upon them to urge this upon religious society. This they endeavored to do in a spirit of moderation and of Christian love, hoping that the overture would be accepted by the religious communities around, especially by those of the Presbyterian order, whose differences were, in themselves, so trivial.

Such were the events, undertakings and hopes which Thomas Campbell detailed to his family as he was returning with them to Washington; and he greatly desired that Alexander should read and carefully examine the "Address" which he had prepared, and which was now in the hands of the printer. In this, he had more fully stated and developed the principles of the movement, and it answered, at considerable length, the various objections which were likely to be offered.

CHAPTER XIV.

Washington and the Region round about—A permanent and cherished Home —Analysis of Declaration and Address—Disinterested Decision.

THE town of Washington, in which Thomas Campbell and his family now sojourned, was, at that time, a small place, containing only about five hundred inhabitants. Many of the dwelling-houses, like those in the country around, were built of logs, notched and fitted near the ends, the interspaces being filled in with mortar and other materials. There were some comfortable frame buildings, however, and one or two of more substantial appearance, built of stone. The town stood on a rising ground at the upper part of the valley of Chartiers. It was placed, indeed, near the sources of several streams which run in different directions—as the Chartiers Creek, which flows toward the north; Ten-mile, which pursues an eastward course, and falls into the Monongahela ten miles above Brownsville, whence its name; Buffalo, which directs its swift and clear current to the W. N. W. and empties into the Ohio, at Wellsburg, about twenty-eight miles distant. The town being thus near the summit-level of the streams, the hills around it are comparatively low, and the country gently undulating. As we follow the descending waters, the hills and upland region, which, in reality, preserve pretty much the same general level, seem gradually to become higher, so that by the time

we approach the Ohio river, their sides, growing more and more precipitous, rise to a height of four or five hundred feet. These steep declivities enclose the fertile valleys through which the larger streams wind in graceful curves. Into these wider valleys small rivulets pour their limpid waters, issuing at short intervals, upon each side, from deep ravines formed by steep hill-sides, which closely approach each other, and down which the waters of the springs, with which the upland is abundantly supplied, fall from rock to rock in miniature cascades. Upon the upland, not immediately bordering upon the streams, the country is rolling, having the same general elevation, above which, however, the summit of a hill occasionally lifts itself as though to afford to lovers of beautiful landscapes most delightful views of a country covered for many miles with rich pasturages, with grazing herds or flocks, fruitful grain-fields, orchards, gardens, and farm-houses; while, upon the steeper sides of the valleys, still remain the ancient forest growths of oak and ash, walnut, hickory and maple. Frequently, as the traveler passes along the roads upon the upland, he sees suddenly, from some dividing ridge, charming valleys stretching away for miles with their green meadows, rich fields of corn and sparkling streamlets. At other times, as he advances, he admires with delight, in the distance, the ever-varying line of the horizon, which, on all sides, is formed by the summits of remote ridges and elevations, sometimes conical in form, but mostly defined by various arcs of circles as regularly drawn as if a pair of compasses had traced the lines upon the sky. Everywhere around him he sees lands abounding in lime and all the necessary elements of fertility, and producing, upon even the highest summits, abundant crops of all

the cereal grains. To enhance the natural resources of this picturesque country, its hills conceal immense deposits of bituminous coal, which the descending streams here and there expose, and which, along the sides of the valleys within five miles of Washington, and thence to the Ohio river, are conveniently reached by level adits.

Such, for nearly two hundred miles west of the Alleghanies, is the general character of this region, especially of that portion of it lying along the Monongahela and Ohio—a region whose healthfulness is unsurpassed by that of any country in the world, and one which was always admired and loved by Alexander Campbell above all the countries he had ever seen; and to which, as his permanent home, he always returned with renewed pleasure from all the various tours and travels of his future life. At the time of his arrival at Washington, however, this region was by no means so extensively cleared and improved as at present. Thick forests then concealed the green and graceful slopes of the slow-rising hills, which, immediately below Washington, now so charmingly enclose the Valley of Chartiers, as, with its rich alluvial bottoms, it stretches away toward the north, opening into the valley of the Ohio river, three miles below Pittsburg. Even in many of the cultivated fields, the erect, decaying trunks of the girdled forest trees then deformed the landscape, while the elegant brick farm-houses, with their numerous white outbuildings, and other improvements, which now impart so much cheerfulness and beauty, were wanting. Alexander was, nevertheless, greatly delighted with the general features of the country, and rejoiced to find himself so agreeably placed, and so providentially brought to harmonize and

co-operate with his revered father in the great work he had undertaken.

While examining the proof-sheets of the "Declaration and Address," and discussing with his father the matters involved, he was greatly impressed with the importance of the principles laid down, and was at once led to make the inquiry whether, upon these, they would not have to give up infant baptism, and some other practices for which it was alleged express precept and example were wanting. This inquiry would seem to have been suggested by a conversation he had had about this time with Rev. Mr. Riddle of the Presbyterian Union Church. He had met with him accidentally, and the principles of the "Declaration and Address" were introduced and discussed. When he referred to the proposition that "nothing should be required as a matter of faith or duty for which a 'Thus saith the Lord' could not be produced either in express terms or by approved precedent," "Sir," said Mr. Riddle, "these words, however plausible in appearance, are not sound. For if you follow these out, you must become a Baptist." "Why, sir," said Alexander, "is there in the Scriptures no express precept nor precedent for infant baptism?" "Not one, sir," replied the Doctor. Alexander was startled and mortified that he could not produce one; and he immediately requested Mr. Andrew Munro, the principal bookseller of Canonsburg, to furnish him with all the treatises he had in favor of infant baptism. He inquired for no books on the other side, for at this time he had little or no acquaintance with the Baptists, and regarded them as comparatively an ignorant and uneducated people. "He had often read," he says, "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, but at this time did not know that he was a

Baptist." It seems to have been soon after this incident that he stated, as above, the same difficulty to his father; but he, to whom it had been previously presented, merely replied in substance as before, "We make our appeal to the law and to the testimony. Whatever is not found therein we must of course abandon." Alexander, however, not liking to remain in a state of incertitude upon the subject, occupied himself, for some time afterward, in examining the claims of infant baptism. He read the Pædobaptist authorities in hopes of being able to justify his predilections, which were still in favor of the practice. In despite, however, of his prejudices, the conviction that it was entirely a human invention gradually strengthened. He felt disgusted with the assumptions and fallacious reasonings of the Pædobaptist writers, and threw them aside, with a faint hope of finding something more convincing in his Greek New Testament. This, however, only made the matter worse, and upon again entering into a conversation with his father on the subject, he found him entirely willing to admit that there were neither "express terms" nor "precedent" to authorize the practice. "But" said he, "as for those who are already members of the Church and participants of the Lord's Supper, I can see no propriety, even if the scriptural evidence for infant baptism be found deficient, in their unchurching or paganizing themselves, or in putting off Christ, merely for the sake of making a new profession; thus going out of the Church merely for the sake of coming in again." He seemed disposed only to concede that they ought not to teach nor practice infant baptism without Divine authority, and that they should preach and practice the apostolic baptism in regard to all who were to make,

for the first time, a profession of their faith. Alexander, in deference to his father's views, dismissed the subject for the time, seemingly satisfied with the fallacious reasoning imposed by circumstances, which prevented his father from seeing then the real position which baptism occupies in the Christian economy, and consequently from making, in regard to it, a practical application of his own principles.

These principles, indeed, as laid down and argued in the "Declaration and Address," then under consideration, were most worthy of attention, and formed a step quite in advance of any religious reformation previously attempted. Commencing with the admitted truth that the gospel was designed to reconcile and unite men to God and to each other, the address proceeded to contemplate the sad divisions that existed, and their baleful effects in the aversions, angry contentions, enmities, excommunications and persecutions which they engendered.

"What dreary effects," it remarked, "of those accursed divisions are to be seen, even in this highly favored country, where the sword of the civil magistrate has not as yet learned to serve at the altar! Have we not seen congregations broken to pieces, neighborhoods of professing Christians first thrown into confusion by party contentions, and, in the end, entirely deprived of gospel ordinances; while, in the mean time, large settlements and tracts of country remain to this day destitute of a gospel ministry, many of them in little better than a state of heathenism, the churches being either so weakened by divisions that they cannot send them ministers, or the people so divided among themselves that they will not receive them. Several, at the same time, who live at the door of a preached gospel, dare not in conscience go to hear it, and, of course, enjoy little more advantage in that respect than if living in the midst of heathens."

After considering these divisions in various lights, as hindering the dispensation of the Lord's Supper; spiritual intercourse among Christians; ministerial labors and the effective exercise of church discipline, as well as tending to promote infidelity, an appeal is made to gospel ministers to become leaders in the endeavor to remedy these evils; and especially is this urged upon those in the United States, as "a country happily exempted from the baneful influence of a civil establishment of any peculiar form of Christianity, and from under the direct influence of an anti-Christian hierarchy." "Can the Lord expect or require," it is demanded, "anything from a people in such unhampered circumstances—from a people so liberally furnished with all means and mercies—than a thorough reformation in all things, civil and religious, according to his word?" The scanty success which, as the writer admits, had heretofore attended efforts at reformation should not, he remarks, be a discouragement. On the contrary, having learned much from the mistakes which prevented the success of others, and enjoying the benefit of the truths they taught, the religious world, he urges, was then better prepared than at any former period for the accomplishment of the desired object. "Neither," he adds, "are we to be discouraged by the greatness of the work, since the cause is the cause of Christ, and the aid and blessing of God are to be expected in the undertaking, in which he also hopes for the concurrence of all his brethren in all the churches." Addressing the latter, he says:

"Dearly beloved brethren, why should *we* deem it a thing incredible that the Church of Christ, in this highly favored country, should resume that original unity, peace and purity which belong to its constitution and constitute its glory?

Or is there anything that can be justly deemed necessary for this desirable purpose but to conform to the model and adopt the practice of the primitive Church, expressly exhibited in the New Testament? Whatever alterations this might produce in any or in all of the churches, should, we think, neither be deemed inadmissible nor ineligible. Surely such alteration would be every way for the better and not for the worse, unless we should suppose the divinely-inspired rule to be faulty or defective. Were we, then, in our Church constitution and managements, to exhibit a complete conformity to the apostolic Church, would we not be in that respect as perfect as Christ intended we should be? And should not this suffice us?

"It is, to us, a pleasing consideration that all the Churches of Christ which mutually acknowledge each other as such, are not only agreed in the great doctrines of faith and holiness, but are also materially agreed as to the positive ordinances of gospel institution, so that our differences, at most, are about the things in which the kingdom of God does not consist; that is, about matters of private opinion or human invention. What a pity that the kingdom of God should be divided about such things! Who, then, would not be the first among us to give up human inventions in the worship of God, and to cease from imposing his private opinions upon his brethren, that our breaches might *thus* be healed? Who would not willingly conform to the original pattern laid down in the New Testament for *this* happy purpose? Our dear brethren of all denominations will please to consider that we have our educational prejudices and particular customs to struggle against as well as they. But this we do sincerely declare, that there is nothing we have hitherto received as matter of faith or practice which is not expressly taught and enjoined in the Word of God, either in express terms or approved precedent, that we would not heartily relinquish, that so we might return to the original constitutional unity of the Christian Church, and in this happy unity enjoy full communion with all our brethren in peace and charity. The like

dutiful condescension we candidly expect of all that are seriously impressed with a sense of the duty they owe to God, to each other and to their perishing brethren of mankind. To this we call, we invite our dear brethren of all denominations by all the sacred motives which we have avouched as the impulsive reasons of our thus addressing them.

"You are all, dear brethren," he continues, "equally included as the objects of our esteem and love. With you all we desire to unite in the bonds of an entire Christian unity—Christ alone being the *head*, the centre; his word the *rule*, and explicit belief of and manifest conformity to it in all things, the *terms*. More than this, you will not require of us, and less we cannot require of you; nor, indeed, can you reasonably suppose any would desire it, for what good purpose would it serve? We dare neither assume nor propose the trite, indefinite distinction between essentials and non-essentials in matters of revealed truth and duty; firmly persuaded that whatever may be their comparative importance simply considered, the high obligation of the Divine authority revealing or enjoining them renders the belief or performance of them absolutely essential to us, in so far as we know them. And to be ignorant of anything God has revealed can neither be our duty nor our privilege. We humbly presume, then, dear brethren, you will have no relevant objection to meet us upon this ground. And we again beseech you, let it be known that it is the invitation of but few; by your accession we shall be many; and, whether few or many, in the first instance, it is all one with respect to the event which must ultimately await the full information and hearty concurrence of all. Besides, whatever is to be done must begin some time, somewhere; and no matter where, nor by whom, if the Lord puts his hand to the work, it must surely prosper. And has he not been graciously pleased, upon many signal occasions, to bring to pass the greatest events from very small beginnings, and even by means the most unlikely? Duty, then, is ours. but events belong to God."

After this appeal he insists that the time was appro

priate for the undertaking; that Christian union could be accomplished only in one of two ways—either in and through the truth and upon principle, or by compromise and accommodation. In any case, he urges that the effort shall be made, and earnestly entreats ministers to "put their hands to the work, and, like Moses, encourage the people to go forward 'upon the firm ground of obvious truth to unite in the bonds of entire Christian unity.'"

"To you," said he, "it peculiarly belongs, as the professed and acknowledged leaders of the people, to go before them in this good work, to remove human opinions and the inventions of men out of the way, by carefully separating this chaff from the pure wheat of primary and authentic revelation, casting out that assumed authority, that enacting and decreeing power by which these things have been imposed and established."

Addressing himself to both ministers and people, he affectionately entreats their concurrence, and advises the formation of societies or associations for consultation in regard to the matter; and again urges all to "resume that precious, dear-bought liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free—liberty from subjection to any authority but his own in matters of religion." He announces that the Christian Association had been formed to promote this end, and to invite others to do the same, and, as the first fruits of its efforts in this direction, he presents for consideration thirteen propositions, which he prefaces with the following very remarkable utterances:

"Let none imagine that the subjoined propositions are at all intended as an overture toward a new creed or standard for the Church, or as in anywise designed to be made a term

of communion; nothing can be further from our intention. They are merely designed to open up the way, that we may come fairly and firmly to original ground upon clear and certain premises, and take up things just as the apostles left them, that thus, disentangled from the accruing embarrassments of intervening ages, we may stand with evidence upon the same ground on which the Church stood at the beginning."

Here it was distinctly stated that the object was to "*come firmly and fairly to original ground, and take up things just as the apostles left them.*" In this way, "becoming *disentangled from the accruing embarrassments of intervening ages*, "they could" stand with evidence upon the *same ground on which the Church stood at the beginning.*" Never before had any reformer taken distinctly such ground as this. Never before had any one presumed to pass over so lightly the authorities and usages and decisions of so many intervening centuries. Here, indeed, was the startling proposition to *begin anew*—to begin at the *beginning;* to ascend at once to the pure fountain of truth, and to neglect and disregard, as though they had never been, the decrees of Popes, Councils, Synods and Assemblies, and all the traditions and corruptions of an apostate Church. Here was an effort not so much for the reformation of the Church, as was that of Luther and of Calvin, and to a certain extent even that of the Haldanes, but for its complete *restoration* at once to its pristine purity and perfection. By coming at once to the primitive model and rejecting all human imitations; by submitting implicitly to the Divine authority as plainly expressed in the Scriptures, and by disregarding all the assumptions and dictations of fallible men, it was proposed to form a union upon a basis to which no valid

objection could possibly be offered. By this summary method, the Church was to be at once released from the controversies of eighteen centuries, and from the conflicting claims of all pretenders to apostolic thrones, and the primitive gospel of salvation was to be disentangled and disembarrassed from all those corruptions and perversions which had heretofore delayed or arrested its progress.

The propositions submitted, as embodying the general truths or principles which were to direct and govern this radical and sweeping change in religious affairs, were as follows:

"Prop. 1. That the Church of Christ upon earth is essentially, intentionally and constitutionally one; consisting of all those in every place that profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures, and that manifest the same by their tempers and conduct; and of none else, as none else can be truly and properly called Christians.

"2. That, although the Church of Christ upon earth must necessarily exist in particular and distinct societies, locally separate one from another, yet there ought to be no schisms, no uncharitable divisions among them. They ought to receive each other, as Christ Jesus hath also received them, to the glory of God. And, for this purpose, they ought all to walk by the same rule; to mind and speak the same things, and to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.

"3. That, in order to do this, nothing ought to be inculcated upon Christians as articles of faith, nor required of them as terms of communion, but what is expressly taught and enjoined upon them in the Word of God. Nor ought anything to be admitted as of Divine obligation in their Church constitution and managements, but what is expressly enjoined by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles

upon the New Testament Church, either in express terms or by approved precedent.

"4. That although the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are inseparably connected, making together but one perfect and entire revelation of the Divine will for the edification and salvation of the Church, and, therefore, in that respect cannot be separated; yet, as to what directly and properly belongs to their immediate object, the New Testament is as perfect a constitution for the worship, discipline and government of the New Testament Church, and as perfect a rule for the particular duties of its members, as the Old Testament was for the worship, discipline and government of the Old Testament Church and the particular duties of its members.

"5. That with respect to commands and ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, where the Scriptures are silent as to the express time or manner of performance, if any such there be, no human authority has power to interfere in order to supply the supposed deficiency by making laws for the Church, nor can anything more be required of Christians in such cases but only that they *so* observe these commands and ordinances as will evidently answer the declared and obvious ends of their institution. Much less has any human authority power to impose new commands or ordinances upon the Church, which our Lord Jesus Christ has not enjoined. Nothing ought to be received into the faith or worship of the Church, or be made a term of communion among Christians, that is not as old as the New Testament.

"6. That although inferences and deductions from Scripture premises, when fairly inferred, may be truly called the doctrine of God's holy word, yet are they not formally binding upon the consciences of Christians further than they perceive the connection, and evidently see that they are so, for their faith must not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power and veracity of God. Therefore no such deductions can be made terms of communion, but do properly belong to the after and progressive edification of the Church. Hence

it is evident that no such deductions or inferential truths ought to have any place in the Church's confession.

"7. That although doctrinal exhibitions of the great system of Divine truths, and defensive testimonies, in opposition to prevailing errors, be highly expedient, and the more full and explicit they be for those purposes the better; yet, as these must be, in a great measure, the effect of human reasoning, and of course must contain many inferential truths, they ought not to be made terms of Christian communion, unless we suppose, what is contrary to fact, that none have a right to the communion of the Church, but such as possess a very clear and decisive judgment, or are come to a very high degree of doctrinal information; whereas the Church from the beginning did, and ever will, consist of little children and young men, as well as fathers.

"8. That as it is not necessary that persons should have a particular knowledge or distinct apprehension of all Divinely-revealed truths, in order to entitle them to a place in the Church; neither should they, for this purpose, be required to make a profession more extensive than their knowledge; but that, on the contrary, their having a due measure of scriptural self-knowledge respecting their lost and perishing condition by nature and practice, and of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, accompanied with a profession of their faith in and obedience to him in all things, according to his word, is all that is absolutely necessary to qualify them for admission into his Church.

"9. That all that are enabled through grace to make such a profession, and to manifest the reality of it in their tempers and conduct, should consider each other as the precious saints of God, should love each other as brethren, children of the same family and Father, temples of the same Spirit, members of the same body, subjects of the same grace, objects of the same Divine love, bought with the same price, and joint-heirs of the same inheritance. Whom God hath thus joined together, no man should dare to put asunder.

"10. That division among Christians is a horrid evil,

fraught with many evils. It is antichristian, as it destroys the visible unity of the body of Christ, as if he were divided against himself, excluding and excommunicating a part of himself. It is antiscriptural, as being strictly prohibited by his sovereign authority, a direct violation of his express command. It is antinatural, as it excites Christians to contemn, to hate and oppose one another, who are bound by the highest and most endearing obligations to love each other as brethren, even as Christ has loved them. In a word, it is productive of confusion and of every evil work.

"11. That (in some instances) a partial neglect of the expressly revealed will of God, and (in others) an assumed authority for making the approbation of human opinions and human inventions a term of communion, by introducing them into the constitution, faith, or worship of the Church, are, and have been, the immediate, obvious and universally-acknowledged causes of all the corruptions and divisions that ever have taken place in the Church of God.

"12. That all that is necessary to the highest state of perfection and purity of the Church upon earth is, first, that none be received as members but such as, having that due measure of scriptural self-knowledge described above, do profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures; nor, secondly, that any be retained in her communion longer than they continue to manifest the reality of their profession by their temper and conduct. Thirdly, that her ministers, duly and scripturally qualified, inculcate none other things than those very articles of faith and holiness expressly revealed and enjoined in the word of God. Lastly, that in all their administrations they keep close by the observance of all Divine ordinances, after the example of the primitive Church, exhibited in the New Testament, without any additions whatsoever of human opinions or inventions of men.

"13. Lastly. That if any circumstantials indispensably necessary to the observance of Divine ordinances be not found upon the page of express revelation, such, and such

only, as are absolutely necessary for this purpose, should be adopted under the title of human expedients, without any pretense to a more sacred origin, so that any subsequent alteration or difference in the observance of these things might produce no contention or division in the Church."

After having thus laid down these propositions, their object is declared to be "to prepare the way for a permanen scriptural unity among Christians, by calling up to their consideration fundamental truths, directing their attention to first principles, clearing the way before them, by removing the stumbling-blocks—the rubbish of ages, which has been thrown upon it, and fencing it on each side, that, in advancing toward the desired object, they may not miss the way through mistake or inadvertency, by turning aside to the right hand or to the left."

It is then left to the religious community to decide how far these propositions go toward answering the avowed intention. If found defective, they are declared to be open to correction and amendment.

"If we have mistaken the way," it is said, "we shall be glad to be set right; but, if in the mean time, we have been happily led to suggest obvious and undeniable truths which, if adopted and acted upon, would infallibly lead to the desired unity, and secure it when obtained, we hope it will be no objection that they have not proceeded from a General Council. * * * * We by no means claim the approbation of our brethren as to anything we have suggested for promoting the sacred cause of Christian unity, further than it carries its own evidence along with it; but we humbly claim a fair investigation of the subject, and solicit the assistance of our brethren for carrying into effect what we have thus weakly attempted. It is our consolation, in the mean time, that the desired event, as certain as it will be happy and glorious, admits of no dispute, however we may hesitate or differ about the proper means of promoting it. All we shall venture to say as to this is, that we trust we have taken the

proper ground. At least, if we have not, we despair of finding it elsewhere. For, if holding fast in profession and practice whatever is expressly revealed and enjoined in the Divine standard, does not, under the promised influence of the Divine Spirit, prove an adequate basis for promoting and maintaining unity, peace and purity, we utterly despair of attaining those invaluable privileges by adopting the standard of any party." Admitting that to maintain unity and purity was the plausible pretence of the compilers of human systems, these, it is truly affirmed, have answered no such purpose, but "instead of unity and purity we are presented with a catalogue of sects and sectarian systems—each binding its respective party by the most sacred and solemn engagements to continue as it is to the end of the world."

It would be absurd, therefore, it is alleged, to advocate the cause of unity and at the same time to espouse the interests of any party. The Address concludes with an earnest petition that the Lord might soon open the eyes of his people to see things in the true light, and excite them to come up out of their sectarian confusion, and attain to that unity for which the Saviour prayed, and which could be found in Christ alone.

This remarkable address was signed by Thomas Campbell and Thomas Acheson, and to it was added a considerable appendix, in which the various points made in the Address were further argued and enforced, and many things were added in order to prevent mistakes and to anticipate misrepresentations. Thus, lest any should suppose that the Christian Association intended to interfere with the peace and order of the settled Churches, or to make inroads upon them, all such intentions were disavowed.

"We have no nostrum," it is stated, "no peculiar discovery of our own, to propose to fellow-Christians, for the

fancied importance of which they should become followers of us. We propose to patronize nothing but the inculcation of the express Word of God, either as to matter of faith or practice; but every one that has a Bible, and can read it, can read this for himself. Therefore, we have nothing new. Neither do we pretend to acknowledge persons to be ministers of Christ, and, at the same time, consider it our duty to forbid or discourage people to go to hear them, merely because they may hold some things disagreeable to us, much less to encourage their people to leave them on that account."

In regard to what was said in the "Declaration" or constitution of the Society, in respect to the support of uch ministers as would conform to the original standard, and reduce to practice the simple, original form of Christianity, it is explained that the principal and proper design with respect to such ministerial assistants was to direct their attention to those places where there was manifest need of their labor, thus disavowing any design of interfering with any existing ministry, established in particular places.

To prevent any alarm at the adoption of a sweeping principle which rendered all creeds and confessions absolutely nugatory, it was stated:

"As to creeds and confessions, although we may appear to our brethren to oppose them, yet this is to be understood only in *so far* as they oppose the unity of the Church by containing sentiments not expressly revealed in the Word of God, or, by the way of using them, become the instruments of a human or implicit faith, or oppress the weak of God's heritage. When they are liable to none of these objections we have nothing against them. It is the *abuse* and not the lawful use of such compilations that we oppose. See Proposition 7. Our intention, therefore, with respect to all the Churches of Christ is perfectly amicable. We heartily wish their reformation, but by no means their hurt or confusion."

In regard to the charge of an intention to make a new party, it is said:

"If the Divine word be not the standard of a party, then are we not a party, for we have adopted no other. If to maintain its alone-sufficiency be not a party principle, then we are not a party. If to justify this principle by our practice in making a rule of it, and of it *alone*, and not of our own opinions, nor of those of others, be not a party principle, then we are not a party. If to propose and practice neither more nor less than it expressly reveals and enjoins be not a partial business, then we are not a party. These are the very sentiments we have approved and recommended, as a Society formed for the express purpose of promoting Christian unity in opposition to a party spirit."

Not controverting at all the fact that human reason must be exercised in comprehending the Scriptures, the effort is made to draw a distinction between faith and opinion, between an express scriptural declaration and inferences which may be deduced from it. By the latter, were meant such conclusions as were not *necessarily involved* in the Scripture premises, and which were to be regarded as private opinions and not to be made a rule of faith or duty to any one. In order to obtain the true meaning of Scripture, "the whole revelation was to be taken together, or in its due connection upon every article, and not any detached sentence."

If, in consequence of allowing thus full freedom of opinion, any should bring forward the charge of latitudinarianism, they are requested to consider whether this charge does not lie against those who add their opinions to the Word of God, rather than against those who insist upon returning to the profession and practice of the primitive Church. A return to the Bible, it is insisted, is the only way to get rid of existing evils.

"Should it still be urged," it is added, "that this would open a wide door of latitudinarianism, seeing all that profess Christianity profess to receive the Holy Scriptures, and yet differ so widely in their religious sentiments, we say, let them profess what they will, their differences in religious profession and practice originate in their departure from what is expressly revealed and enjoined, and not in their strict and faithful conformity to it, which is the thing we humbly advise for putting an end to these differences. But you may say, Do they not already all agree to the letter, though differing so far in sentiment? However this may be, have they all agreed to make the letter their rule, or, rather, to make it the subject-matter of their profession and practice? Surely not, or else they would all profess and practise the same thing. Is it not as evident as the shining light, that the Scriptures exhibit but one and the selfsame subject-matter of profession and practice at all times and in all places, and that, therefore, to say as it declares and to do as it prescribes in all its holy precepts, its approved and imitable examples, would unite the Christian Church in a holy sameness of profession and practice throughout the whole world? By the Christian Church throughout the world, we mean the aggregate of such professors as we have described in Props. 1 and 8, even all that mutually acknowledge each other as Christians upon the manifest evidence of their faith, holiness and charity. It is such only we intend when we urge the necessity of Christian unity. Had only such been all along recognized as the genuine subjects of our holy religion, there would not, in all probability, have been so much apparent need for human formulas to preserve an external formality of professional unity and soundness in the faith; but artificial and superficial characters need artificial means to train and unite them. A manifest attachment to our Lord Jesus Christ in faith, holiness and charity, was the original criterion of Christian character; the distinguishing badge of our holy profession; the foundation and cement of Christian unity. But now, alas! and long since, an external name, a mere educational formality of sameness in the pro-

fession of a certain standard or formula of human fabric, with a very moderate degree of what is called morality, forms the bond and foundation, the root and reason of ecclesiastical unity. Take away from such the technicalities of their profession, the shibboleth of party, and what have they more? What have they left to distinguish and hold them together? As to the Bible, they are little beholden to it; they have learned little from it, they know little about it, and therefore depend as little upon it. Nay, they will even tell you it would be of no use to them without their formula; they could not know a Papist from a Protestant by *it;* that merely by *it* they could neither keep the Church nor themselves right for a single week. You might preach to them what you please, they could not distinguish truth from error. Poor people! it is no wonder they are so fond of their formula. Therefore they that exercise authority upon them, and tell them what they are to believe and what they are to do, are called benefactors. These are the reverend and right reverend authors, upon whom they *can* and *do* place a more implicit confidence than upon the holy apostles and prophets. These plain, honest, unassuming men, who would never venture to say or do anything in the name of the Lord without an express revelation from heaven, and, therefore, were never distinguished by the venerable title of "Rabbi" or "Reverend," but just simply Paul, John, Thomas, etc.—*these* were but servants. They did not assume to legislate, and therefore, neither assumed nor received any honorary titles among men, but merely such as were descriptive of their office. And how, we beseech you, shall this gross and prevalent corruption be purged out of the visible professing Church but by a radical reform, but by a returning to the original simplicity, the primitive purity of the Christian institution, and, of course, taking up things just as we find them upon the sacred page? And who is there that knows anything of the present state of the Church who does not perceive that it is greatly overrun with the aforesaid evils? Or who, that reads his Bible, and receives the impressions it must necessarily produce upon the recep-

tive mind by the statements it exhibits, does not perceive that such a state of things is as distinct from genuine Christianity as oil is from water?"

Should any object that this proposed literal conformity to the Scripture alone would not secure complete unanimity of sentiment, this is freely admitted; but it is answered that entire unanimity in opinion is neither possible nor desirable in this imperfect state, nor was it indeed ever contemplated by the Author of Christianity, as the exhortations to mutual forbearance in the Scriptures themselves attest. The same objection would lie equally against any creed or human expedient that has been or can be devised, as is abundantly proved by the fact that no such unanimity has ever existed amongst professors of the same creed. But to hold fast that "form of sound words" given in the Divine standard, while it could never result in those destructive consequences which have attended human expedients, would be amply sufficient to "produce all the unity of sentiment necessary to a life of faith and holiness, as well as to preserve the faith and worship of the Church as pure from mixture and error as the Lord intended, or as the present imperfect state of his people can possibly admit." Not at all asserting that human standards are *intentionally* set up in competition with the Bible or in opposition to it, but considering them as human expedients designed to secure that unity and purity which the Bible alone was supposed insufficient to effect, it is urged that creeds have not prevented divisions, and that, so far from having any tendency to heal, they only serve to perpetuate them. And as to securing purity of doctrine, history attests that Arians, Socinians, Arminians, Calvinists, Antinomians have all existed under the Westminster Confession,

the Athanasian Creed or the Articles of the Church of England.

"Will any one say," it is asked, "that a person might not with equal ease, honesty and consistency, be an Arian or a Socinian in his heart while subscribing the Westminster Confession or the Athanasian Creed, as while making his unqualified profession to believe everything that the Scriptures declare concerning Christ?—to put all that confidence in him, and to ascribe all that glory, honor, thanksgiving and praise to him professed and ascribed to him in the Divine word? If you say not, it follows, of undeniable consequence, that the wisdom of men, in those compilations, has effected what the Divine wisdom either could not, would not, or did not do in that all-perfect and glorious revelation of his will contained in the Holy Scriptures. Happy emendation! Blessed expedient! Happy indeed, for the Church that Athanasius arose in the fourth century to perfect what the holy apostles and prophets had left in such a crude and unfinished state! But if, after all, the Divine wisdom did not think proper to do anything more, or anything else, than is already done in the sacred oracles, to settle and determine those important points, who can say that he determined such a thing should be done afterward? Or has he any where given us any intimation of such an intention?"

Lest any should suppose that it was designed to undervalue or reject the writings of great and good men upon the subject of religion, occasion is taken to confine the question to human standards as "designed to be subscribed or solemnly acknowledged for the preservation of unity and purity," and to say that "it by no means applies to the many excellent performances for the elucidation of Scripture and the defence of divinely-revealed truths. These, we hope, according to their respective merit, we as highly esteem and as thankfully receive as our brethren." In this con-

nection, the following striking and characteristic passage occurs:

"Is it not worthy of remark that of whatever use other books may be to direct and lead us to the Bible, or to prepare and assist us to understand it, yet the Bible never directs us to any book but itself? When we come forward, then, as Christians, to be received by the Church, which, properly speaking, has but one book, "for to it were committed the oracles of God," let us hear of none else. Is it not upon the credible profession of our faith in and obedience to its Divine contents, that the Church is bound to receive applicants for admission? And does not the profession of our faith and obedience necessarily presuppose a knowledge of the dictates we profess to believe and obey? * * * * In the case then before us, that is, examination for church membership, let the question no longer be, What does any human system say of the primitive or present state of man? Of the person, offices and relations of Christ, etc., etc.? Or of this, that, and the other duty? But, What says the Bible? Were this mode of procedure adopted, how much better acquainted with their Bibles would Christians be! What an important alteration would it also make in the education of youth! Would it not lay all candidates for admission into the Church under the happy necessity of becoming particularly acquainted with the Holy Scriptures? Whereas, according to the present practice, thousands know little about them. One thing still remains that may appear matter of difficulty or objection to some, namely, that such a close adherence to the express letter of the Divine Word, as we seem to propose for the restoration and maintenance of Christian unity, would not only interfere with the free communication of our sentiments one to another upon religious subjects, but must, of course, also necessarily interfere with the public preaching and expounding of the Scriptures for the edification of the Church. Such as feel disposed to make this objection should justly consider that one of a similar nature, and quite as plausible,

might be made to the adoption of human standards, especially when made, as some of them confessedly are, the standard for all matters of doctrine, worship, discipline and government. In such a case it might, with as much justice, at least, be objected to the adopters: You have now no more use for the Bible; you have got another book, which you have adopted as a standard for all religious purposes; you have no further use for explaining the Scriptures, either as to matters of faith or duty, for this you have confessedly done already in your standard, wherein you have determined all matters of this nature. You also profess to hold fast the form of sound words, which you have thus adopted, and therefore you must never open your mouth upon any subject in any other terms than those of your standard. In the mean time, would any one of the parties, which has thus adopted its respective standard, consider any of these charges just? If not, let them do as they would be done by. We must confess, however, that for our part, we cannot see how, with any shadow of consistency, some of them can clear themselves, especially of the first; that is to say, if words have any determinate meaning; for certainly it would appear almost, if not altogether incontrovertible, that a book adopted by any party as its standard for all matters of doctrine, worship, discipline and government, must be considered as the Bible of that party. And after all that can be said in favor of such a performance, be it called Bible, standard, or what it may, it is neither anything more nor better than the judgment or opinion of the party composing or adopting it, and, therefore, wants the sanction of a Divine authority, except in the opinion of the party which has thus adopted it. But can the opinion of any party, be it ever so respectable, give the stamp of a Divine authority to its judgments? If not, then every human standard is deficient in this leading, all-important and indispensable property of a rule or standard for the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the Church of God."

Against the anticipated charge of substituting a vague and indefinite approbation of the Scriptures "for a strictly

defined creed," it is urged that "a union in truth is all that is desired, and that truth unquestionably is something certain and definite, and already made sufficiently clear in the word of God, the way of salvation being a plain way, very far remote from logical subtleties and metaphysical speculations. An intelligent profession of faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures, manifested in a temper and conduct conformed thereto, are to be the criteria of Christian character, and all such persons are to receive each other as brethren, and carefully to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

Finally, in closing these explanations and argumentations, the regret is expressed for "the necessity of approaching so near the borders of controversy, in briefly attempting to answer objections which we plainly foresaw would, through mistake or prejudice, be made against our proceedings, controversy making no part of our intended plan. But such objections and surmises having already reached our ears from different quarters, we thought it necessary to attend to them, that, by so doing, we might not only prevent mistakes, but also save our friends from entering into verbal disputes to remove them, and thus prevent as much as possible that most unhappy of all practices sanctioned by the plausible pretence of zeal for the truth—religious controversy among professors. We would, therefore, humbly advise our friends to concur with us in our professed and sincere intention to avoid this evil practice."

The pamphlet then concludes with a few extracts from authors of standing in relation to the sad effects of divisions.

Such is a brief analysis of this remarkable document, which occupies fifty-four closely-printed pages, and which merits particular attention, not only on its own account, but because it laid the foundation for the most important and extended religious reformation of modern times. It is as remarkable for the affectionate and

Christian spirit which it manifests in an age of bitter religious controversy, as for the clearness with which the true basis of Christian union is defined, and the conclusiveness of the arguments by which it is sustained. It takes a complete survey of the whole subject, and anticipates, in its exhaustive details, every phase which the question afterward assumed during the years of discussion that ensued. So fully and so kindly was every possible objection considered and refuted, that *no attempt was ever made by the opposers of the proposed movement to controvert directly a single position which it contained.* The ministers of the different parties around, to whom copies were sent, received them apparently with silent acquiescence as to the principles laid down, not a single one of them venturing a public reply, though earnestly and repeatedly invited to consider carefully the propositions submitted, and to make any corrections or amendments which might occur to them, and assured that all objections presented in writing would be "thankfully received and seriously considered with all due attention." That a publication which boldly asserted principles necessarily involving a complete change in the whole framework of religious society, should have been allowed thus to pass unchallenged by the clergy, is certainly a remarkable circumstance, and can be explained only upon the ground either that the publication itself afforded no vulnerable point of attack, or that the affectionate manner and humble Christian spirit in which the subject was discussed disarmed resentment.

To all the propositions and reasonings of this Address Alexander Campbell gave at once his hearty approbation, as they expressed most clearly the convictions to which he had himself been brought by his experience

and observation in Scotland, and his reflections upon the state of religious society at large. Captivated by its clear and decisive presentations of duty, and the noble Christian enterprise to which it invited, he at once, though unprovided with worldly property, and aware that the proposed reformation would, in all probability, provoke the hostility of the religious parties, resolved to consecrate his life to the advocacy of the principles which it presented. Accordingly, when, soon afterward, his father took occasion to inquire as to his arrangements for the future, he at once informed him that he had determined to devote himself to the dissemination and support of the principles and views presented in the "Declaration and Address." So impressed was he with a conscientious sense of duty in regard to the choice he had thus made, that when, about this time, very soon after his arrival at Washington, Lawyer Mountain, of Pittsburg, who had formed his acquaintance and was much impressed with his attainments and abilities, urged him to take charge of an academy of which he was a principal trustee, offering him $1000 a year, which was at that time a large salary, and laying before him various other inducements both present and prospective,* he declined the flattering offer, giving as his reason that as he felt himself conscientiously bound to do everything in his power, through the Divine

* Pittsburg was, at this time, rapidly rising into importance; the opening was an extremely favorable one, and there could be no doubt of eminent success. The following enumeration from the census of Pittsburg in 1810, taken by William B. Irish, Deputy Marshal, may interest the reader if compared with the subsequent growth of this important city:

Whole number of stone dwelling-houses	11
Whole number of brick dwelling-houses	283
Whole number of frame and log dwelling-houses	473
Total	767

assistance, to promote the proposed reformation, and could not accomplish both objects, he must decline taking charge of the seminary. His father, greatly delighted with the pious zeal and resolution of his son, immediately desired him to "divest himself of all earthly concerns, to retire to his chamber, to take up the Divine Book, and to make it the subject of his study for at least six months." When his son further informed him that in devoting himself to the ministry he had firmly resolved never to receive any compensation for his labors, his father remarked, "Upon these principles, my dear son, I fear you will have to wear many a ragged coat." With all his parental partiality, he had as yet a very imperfect conception of that indomitable energy, and that remarkable ability in the management of affairs which enabled the son, while laboring incessantly in his ministerial calling, not only to maintain himself in independent circumstances, but to provide for his revered father during the years of his decline, the abundant comforts of a happy home.

Free White Males.

Under ten years of age	751
Of ten years and under sixteen	333
Of sixteen and under twenty-six, including heads of families	614
Of twenty-six and under forty-five, including heads of families	513
Of forty-five and upward, including heads of families	213
Total	2424

Free White Females.

Under ten years of age	699
Of ten and under sixteeen	353
Of sixteen and under twenty-six, including heads of families	501
Of twenty-six and under forty-five, including heads of families	421
Of forty-five and upward, including heads of families	756
All other free persons, except Indians not taxed	784
Total number of souls	4740

At this time (1867) the population of Pittsburg and its environs cannot be less than 130,000.

CHAPTER XV.

Ministerial Preparation — Social Reform — Management of Washington College.

THE want of a fixed object in life, so often the misfortune of young men, had not fallen to the lot of Alexander Campbell. Early destined to the ministerial profession, he had afterward, as formerly related, earnestly adopted it as his proper vocation, and his thoughts and studies had accordingly been regulated and directed with constant reference to the duties he expected to discharge. His dissatisfaction with the divided and distracted condition of religious society, and with the aversion manifested by the clergy to much-needed reforms had, indeed, heretofore, created great dubiety in his mind as to his possible future relations to any existing party. Now, however, that a complete and radical reformation was proposed, and by one, too, whose judgment and piety it had become almost his nature to revere, all the difficulties of his position disappeared. A new and unexpected field of action was opened before him, precisely suited to his bold and independent spirit, and in perfect harmony with his convictions of religious duty. The paramount claims of the Bible were to be asserted and defended; the intolerant bigotry of sectarism was to be exposed; the people of God were to be delivered from the yoke of clerical domination, and primitive Christianity, in all its original

purity and perfection, was to be restored to the world. His efforts to prepare himself for the work before him received hence a fresh and powerful impulse, and he devoted himself, with renewed assiduity, to the appropriate course of reading and investigation, suggested by his father or approved by his own judgment.

The enterprise in which he thus so earnestly engaged was, it must be confessed, a most noble one, and one differing, by the space of the whole heavens, from that which a young man preparing for the ministry in a religious *party* usually proposes to himself. *His* object, it is evident, is too often little more than to make himself popular with his party, and to this end he is careful to foster party feeling; to flatter party pride, to magnify differences, and strive, by dint of partisan jealousies and hopes, to elevate himself to a position of honor and emolument. But it is a mean ambition which seeks thus rather to reign in a sect than to serve in the kingdom of heaven, and the greatness and lofty impulses of Alexander Campbell were never more strikingly manifested than when, rejecting all the solicitations he received to become the advocate of a party, and all the ready opportunities of distinction which such a course afforded, he determined, amidst the contumely and opposition of the world, both religious and secular, to devote himself to the public advocacy of the Word of God and of the primitive and simple apostolic Gospel.

About this time, two others also, James Foster and Abraham Altars, members of the Christian Association, anxious to promote the important work in which they had engaged, commenced a course of study with a view to the ministry of the word, under the direction of Thomas Campbell; and James Foster, already inti-

mately acquainted with the Bible, and remarkable for the fullness and accuracy with which he could quote and apply its language, soon began to take a public part in the meetings held, his pious instructions, exhortations and prayers being always most acceptable and edifying. As much of Thomas Campbell's time, however, was occupied in visiting the scattered families connected with the Association, and in endeavoring to promote the cause of union amongst the people, he was necessarily much absent from home. He could, therefore, direct merely the general course of study, leaving the details of the practical instruction to Alexander. In addition to this charge, it devolved likewise upon the latter to teach his brothers and sisters regularly; for no one could possibly be more methodical or more economical of time than Thomas Campbell, and it was his rule to see that every member of his family was constantly and regularly employed in something useful. This disposition Alexander had, in the fullest degree, inherited, and, as has been seen at Glasgow with what earnest assiduity he devoted every moment to improvement, so he now entered at once, on his arrival at Washington, upon a no less severe course of labor and a no less careful use of every fleeting moment. This may be seen from the apportionment he made of the hours of each day, written down as follows for his guidance:

"*Arrangement for studies for winter of* 1810.

"One hour to read Greek—from 8 to 9 in the morning.

"One hour to read Latin—from 11 to 12 in the morning.

"One half hour to Hebrew—between 12 and 1 P. M.

"Commit ten verses of the Scriptures to memory each day, and read the same in the original languages, with Henry and Scott's notes and practical observations. For this exercise

we shall allow two hours. These exercises, being intended for every day, will not be dispensed with. Other reading and studies as occasion may serve. These studies in all require four and a half hours. Church history, and divers other studies, are intended to constitute the principal part of my other literary pursuits.

"*Regulations for Abraham Altars.*

"1st. Read to me in the morning, from 7 to 8, in Scott's Family Bible. Say one lesson every day in Greek Grammar. One lesson also in Latin, and one in Rhetoric. Two days of the week to recite in English Grammar and parse. To prepare a theme each week, which is to be corrected and to be written clear and fair in a book.

"Abraham and the children, from ten to eleven, will read a Scripture lesson.

"These attentions will occupy three hours of my time every day.

"Dorry, Nancy and Jane say English Grammar and parse with Abraham Altars—the Mondays appointed for this purpose. Thomas is to prepare a lesson every day in Latin Grammar. One hour for writing, and half an hour to hear any particular lessons from D., N. and J.

"The whole time spent thus will be nine hours."

His own preparation for future public labor consisted at this time, mainly, in the daily study of the Scriptures—a duty to which he had again solemnly consecrated himself, as appears from his recorded resolutions on the last day of the previous year. In these he resolves, by the Divine assistance, to read for half an hour every day in the Scriptures, for the purpose of understanding them, looking for all the marginal references, and beginning at the first chapter of Genesis. Also to read a chapter in the Old and one in the New Testament, with Scott's Notes and practical observations. In addition to this, was the memorizing of portions of

Scripture daily. At the close of these resolves, he adds:

"May God in his great mercy afford me time, ability and inclination to attend to these intentions, and to his name may all the glory and honor redound through Jesus Christ. Amen. Alexander Campbell, Sunday, 31st December, 1809."

While thus engaged, and while the fall and winter months were passing away, he was not unobservant of the novel circumstances and the new conditions of society by which he was surrounded in the New World. Being himself a youth and of a lively disposition, he soon became acquainted with the young people in Washington and its vicinity, and was invited frequently to their social parties. Accustomed to the educated and refined society of the North of Ireland, where parental care enforced upon the young a strict attention to the rules of decorum, and where the deferential and delicate consideration shown to females was met, on their part, by a confiding frankness and affability which gave a peculiar charm to social intercourse, he was far from being pleased with the rudeness and unwonted freedoms tolerated in many social gatherings, and was struck with the want of education and culture manifested by the youthful portion of the community.

The pioneers of the West had been, at first, too busy in clearing away the forests and in subduing the ruggedness of a wild, uncultivated region to devote much time to intellectual improvement or to the amenities of social life. An incessant warfare with the gigantic trees which usurped the fertile soil; fierce and frequent encounters with savage beasts and still more savage men of the native Indian tribes, and a necessary restriction to the simplest modes of life, gave, indeed, a bold

and self-reliant spirit, but tended to impart roughness as well as awkwardness to manners. The unchecked wildness of nature and the rudeness of art infected society. Incessant physical toil was demanded of every member of the farmer's household in order to secure the lately-purchased farm or to extend its limits. The men and boys labored in the roughly-cultivated fields, just won from the ancient forest; the matron and her daughters were occupied at home in domestic cares, which then included the manufacture of clothing for the entire family. All were engaged in the preparation of flax and wool, and the hum of the busy wheel and the sound of the loom could be heard in almost every dwelling. At certain seasons, the females assisted even in the labors of the field. There was little time for reading and few books to be read. In the country, schools were opened only for a brief period during the winter season; and even the poor instruction they afforded was enjoyed to but a limited extent by farmers' daughters, for, at that time, their education was almost wholly neglected. There were then no female seminaries, and views so defective were entertained with regard to the education of females that a girl who could simply read and write a little was regarded as having attained all the learning necessary in order to the accomplishment of woman's mission. Social intercourse itself was greatly restricted, except in towns and amongst the few to whom wealth gave some degree of leisure. In the country at large, it was usually excessive labor that could alone secure brief recreation; and it was hence when the young men of the neighborhood were collected by appointment at a farmer's house, for what was called a "husking frolic," or for some other pressing farm labor; or the young women had

been, in like manner, assembled during a busy day of "quilting," "apple-paring," or other work appertaining to their department, that, in the evening, in each case, a troop of guests of the opposite sex were wont to arrive, when a few hours would be stolen from the night to be devoted to rude and boisterous merriment.

That laborious industry and economy which, with the pioneers, had been a necessity, became at length a habit with them and with their children and descendants; and even the attainment of a comfortable independence at a later period failed to relieve families from the incessant drudgery of their occupations, which were now pursued mainly from the desire of amassing wealth. The social customs with which many who were foreigners had been familiar in their youth, were in a good degree lost by long disuse; families became isolated upon their farms; matrimonial alliances were sought rather from motives of gain than of affection; and, as a consequence, an unusual number of both sexes remained unmarried. Exceptions there were, indeed, both in town and country—but especially in the towns—of those who had enjoyed superior advantages and who were highly cultivated; but even in the towns, where there was a much greater degree of sociality, wealth and fashion had already begun to produce their usual effects of dividing society into castes and creating various hinderances to true social enjoyment. Young men of position were disposed to be dissipated and foppish, and young ladies of wealth or beauty aspired to be leaders of the public taste, and to establish the reign of coquetry and caprice.

Under these circumstances, while, with the great mass of the community, there was a commendable degree of plainness and simplicity and a high degree

of friendly feeling, the manners and customs prevailing, especially amongst the young, were so different from those to which Alexander had been accustomed that he felt strongly disposed to urge the need of a social as well as of a religious reformation. Having formed an agreeable acquaintance with Mr. William Sample, who had established a weekly paper in Washington called the *Reporter*, in August, 1808, and being requested by him to furnish some original essays, he agreed to do so, and concluded to take up and expose, in a series of articles, the social evils he had observed. Adopting the manner of the *Spectator*, in which the essayist personates different characters and sexes, most of the articles in the series assumed to be written by a young female who signs herself "Clarinda," and who desires to offer some friendly admonitions, both to her own and to the opposite sex, in relation to various foibles which she desires to see corrected. As it may interest the reader to have some specimens of his style of composition at this period, some extracts are here given from these essays; and as a particular interest attaches to the first one, as being the very earliest production of his pen designed for publication, it is here given entire:

"ORIGINAL ESSAYS, No. 1.

"It is generally expected and understood that every one who writes for the public eye writes for the public good; and as the necessities, desires, imperfections and frailties of our nature are manifold and diversified, so are the means numerous and diverse by which we may contribute to the welfare and happiness of our fellow-creatures. The salutary aid of friendly admonition and the gentle voice of familiar reproof are no less useful in certain circumstances, no less duties that we owe one another, than to alleviate the sorrows of the distressed, to soothe the comfortless, to cheer the melancholy, to

succor the helpless and forlorn; to relieve the wants of the needy, or to heal the diseases of the infirm. But that the public may know what my motives are; what is the good which I intend, and who are the public for whom it is intended, I deem it necessary to make a few preliminary remarks.

"Owing to my youth and comparative inexperience, I presume not to dictate to my superiors in wisdom or years; neither do the foibles which I desire removed belong to the fathers and mothers of the present age: it is the sons and daughters, my equals and contemporaries, to whom I particularly address myself; and, therefore, I would request of you, my venerable parents, not to accuse me of presumption in attempting to point out some of the frailties and foibles of my young friends of either sex, with a design of amelioration, not for my good or yours alone, but for the sake of the individuals to whom I address myself.

"In consequence of that modesty which is the glory and dignity of my sex, I presume not to dictate to the youth of the other sex, only in so far as I may have occasion to speak of their conduct in relation to my sex. Therefore, gentlemen, be not angry though a female should, for once, attempt to ameliorate certain traits in your character in relation to us. I believe the gentlemen in general are so indulgent to us that they take in good part whatever we say respecting them, and are more inclined to draw the veil of forgetfulness over our imperfections and to extenuate our errors than to make them more conspicuous or revive their memory. I can only assure you, young gentlemen, that anything I may in future say respecting you, shall be said with the best of motives and for the most philanthropic intentions, with a design of promoting our mutual advantage and felicity.

"And as to you, my young female friends, who have not yet entered into the connubial state, for whose sake particularly I undertake this laborious, and, what some no doubt may think, censurable task, I know many of you are more able to act this part than I am; but as your long silence respecting

these things has caused me to despair of your ever contributing in this kind of way to redress those grievances of which you have been long complaining, I am moved, with the utmost deference, diffidence and timidity, to attempt what some of you have long wished to have done. Believe me, I say, it is particularly for your own sake that I dare to intrude on the public, and attempt to reform the general conduct of our and the other sex, in what particularly relates to the forming of connections for life. I beg that you will not think I am turned traitor to my sex, if I may happen to expose some of their foibles, which, perhaps, are not so generally known to the gentlemen as to ourselves. If I have to say anything of this kind, it will be done in as delicate a manner as circumstances will possibly admit, and for no other purpose than to prevail on the gentlemen to be more candid in giving up any practices which may be injurious to their or our felicity, for what makes us happy will never make them unhappy; what adds to our felicity will not diminish theirs; what is for our good is for theirs also.

"But it may be inquired, What do you see amiss? what do you see improper in our general conduct? what do you wish to ameliorate? I would only answer, in the mean time, that, upon a strict survey of the deportment of the youths of both sexes in relation to one another, in the forming of particular and intimate connections with one another, I perceive many things which, in my judgment, stand in need of an amelioration; and not in my judgment only, but in the judgment of many far more judicious and intelligent than I. To state what these things are, and what this reformation should be, would be to anticipate what is designed for a few subsequent essays, wherein these foibles and their improvement will be discussed to more advantage. It is universally agreed that no person is free from foibles: he or she, then, must be the best character who has the fewest failings; and as all imperfections injure our happiness, that must be the happiest individual who has the fewest imperfections. It may also be asked, Has not everything been said on these subjects that can

be said. I answer, that, as to original matter, there has been enough said to make us as happy and as perfect as our state will admit, if put in practice; but, although much has been said on these subjects in general, and almost all that can be said, yet the difference of characters, times, situations and places may require modifications of many things that may have been said in substance or in part; and another reason is, that what has been said on these subjects is not in the hands of many who may require instruction of this kind.

"As to my own character and qualifications, I have, for a few years past, been a close observer of the customs, manners, morals and fashions of the age and country in which I live, in as far as my acquaintance could extend, either by books or by intercourse with society. And although I owe a good deal of my information to books, as many of my female friends do, yet I have been still endeavoring to

'Catch the living manners as they rise,'

to consider the polite, moral and religious deportment of my contemporaries, constantly noting those traits of character and action which have been generally admired and esteemed by the judicious and well-informed part of both sexes; and also to mark with abhorrence and detestation those things which the good, the wise, and polite part of society hated. I dare not say anything particular respecting myself, lest in a village so small I might discover myself, and if my own foibles were known (which I wish to correct), it might injure my usefulness to others. I only request my friends to weigh what I say, and if their understanding approve, I am persuaded their good sense will lead them to practice what may appear most conducive to their real and lasting felicity.

"If anything I should say respecting foibles or vices might seem applicable to any individuals (at least be thought so by themselves), let me assure them that it is not my intention to hurt the feelings of any individual, or even to say anything about vices and imperfections that belong not to the character of a number of individuals. As to the manner of communication, I have chosen the *Reporter*, not from political motives,

as politics do not belong to ladies, but as it is a paper of the most general circulation and popularity. As no person can say I have mercenary views in thus communicating my ideas upon the subjects mentioned, I hope they will consider my intentions as good, and be fully persuaded that I design nothing but what will be conducive to the general felicity. I have only to request the better-informed part of both sexes that they will spread the veil of oblivion over any imperfections they may see in my compositions: not being accustomed to write for the public eye, and not receiving that liberal education which gentlemen receive, and which is rarely the lot of any of my sex, it may not be thought strange that I should sometimes disgust my more learned and refined readers. CLARINDA."

The above essay appears on the 14th of May, 1810. In the next one, remarks are made upon the origin and history of convivial meetings, and a notice is taken of the different species of parties, whether of the unmarried alone, or of the married, or of both together; some observations being made also upon the specific design of each. Confining the attention finally to parties of young unmarried persons, the attempt is made to determine the peculiar purpose of such parties. After considering several of the reasons commonly given for these assemblages, as, for instance, "because it is fashionable and polite," or "that it is to promote friendship and sociality," etc., no one of which is found to be the real object, this is then asserted to be to promote love between the sexes. This is argued, first, from the prevailing topics of conversation on such occasions, and secondly, from the character of the amusements adopted:

"These," it is said, "are also calculated to inspire love, and are generally the *dernier* resort when sentiment, wit and conversation fail to produce the desired effect.

"How often is recourse had to children's toys and juvenile amusements, adapted to manhood and womanhood by certain modifications of laws respecting forfeits, fines and penalties, for every transgression of the laws of the play! I say, how often is recourse had to those puerile trifles, genteel bawbles —genteel refinements—to afford pleasure and amusement!!! Sorry resources! beneath the dignity of rational immortals! pitiful return for the loss of a few *precious hours* which not India's wealth could purchase! Is this friendship and civility? Is this honor? Is there virtue in this? It may indeed be genteel, fashionable and polite; I do not question this!!! But let me consider the forfeits and penalties of these amusive plays. The forfeits are in general of so amiable and natural a kind that he or she is the happiest individual who lies under the heaviest sentence and is doomed to the greatest punishment; and the reason is, because the punishments are so conducive to produce that gratification that is so congenial to our nature; so palatable to gross and unrefined passions; so delightful to a wanton imagination. I need not inform my readers that the common punishments inflicted on the unhappy victims who may have the good fortune to transgress, are the sweet embrace—the gentle, amorous whisper—the open confession of an inward flame—the expression of a gentle wish—and some such like, that have a tendency to opiate the understanding, but indeed to the generality of individuals produce what are called gentle—soothing—charming—killing effects—'effects whose very agonies delight.' Need we any other proof that the very end and intention of these parties is to create love—to excite amorous intentions; to captivate the youthful heart by delusive charms in the glittering snare—to bind the juvenile affections with the silver wreaths of soft persuasion—with the silken strings of affability—and to catch the imagination with the golden chain of artful address? Such is the intention of these parties, else looks and words and actions deceive—else smiles and sighs have no meaning—else the very thing itself is a mere farce—a senseless thing, a mere contingency.

"As I pointed out the evils of the other alleged designs in my last essay, I intend here to point out the evils of this design, which I think is sufficiently proved to be the true one. The topics of conversation, and the whole conversation itself, are vain at the best, sometimes wanton, and often bordering on the unchaste; it is empty and uninteresting; every one seems to be in labor for something to say; and sometimes the imagination and invention of the whole party is so barren that there will not be a word spoken for five or ten minutes together, every one watching another's lips to see when they will move; at length, although nothing fanciful or interesting occurs, yet some person, provoked at the silence, will speak, if they should say nonsense, and that you may know, in the future, when one of those chasms occurs in conversation, when invention is on the rack for something new, you will observe that the person who speaks begins by telling you (as if you did not know) something about the weather.

* * * * *

"You will also observe that when one has broken silence in this kind of a way, there arises a general chatter among the rest, as when one goose of a flock chatters all the rest begin, and by and by you'll have them all chattering at once. When I am a spectator at one of these gabbling matches, the Turkish maxim comes into my mind, namely, that 'women have no souls,' and although this sentiment shocks me and causes me to search my own breast, yet frequently, I must confess, if I were to judge from the frivolity of the conversation and the levity of the sentiment at these parties, I must conclude that female minds are not capacious; but if I were to form a judgment of the gentlemen from their conduct and conversation in these companies, I would find it extremely difficult to form an idea of a rational soul, allowing that women have none; for I find that they can condescend to all the frivolities and weaknesses of which we are capable. But, indeed, upon the whole, it seems as if they who attend these parties could find no pleasure at home when they come here to seek it. Is there rational enjoyment in the entertainment? Is there

pleasure in the conversation? Is there substantial good in the amusements? If there be to any soul, I must exclaim, Oh, vitiated taste! unchaste imagination! unhappy age!!! Will four hours spent in this insipid way afford you ten minutes' pleasure in reflection, in contemplation, in retrospect? Will it afford you comfort in the hour of affliction when you are grappling with the King of terrors? Will it be comfortable for you to say, when you are bidding an eternal adieu to the world, I have spent many a *precious evening* in a genteel party, many an hour in giddy dissipation, in thoughtless mirth, in needless festivity? At some distant, far distant point in eternity, will you remember with joy or with sorrow that you spent an evening once a week, or once a month, for, it may be, ten, twenty, or thirty years, in one of these parties which you now so much like? Ah! my female friends, did you but consider the value and dignity of your nature, you would not thus degrade it; did you but remember the seeds of immortality that are within you, that must either blossom or languish for ever, you would not thus spend one precious evening, that when you come to die, ten thousand thousand worlds could not purchase or recall. Did you but consider that your nature is of so dignified a kind that it may converse with holy spirits, angels, archangels, and with God for ever, you would not lavish your evenings in such vain conversation and thoughtless amusements. Believe me, my young female friends, that such is the nature of these pleasing amusements, that they are like poison that is sweet to the taste, but, when swallowed, brings nature to dissolution; and such, alas! is the delusive nature of folly, that the pleasure of committing is instantaneously past, but the guilt contracted is immortal and eternal.

"I have now mentioned a good many disadvantages accruing from these parties, but no advantages. Let me plainly tell you I can mention no advantages arising from them; only one, which is, that they have a tendency to civilize mankind; but I leave you to determine if this advantage is important enough to preponderate all that I have put in the other

balance. You will say now, I disapprove of social parties; no, my dear friends, far from that. I should wish to be a member of a social party an evening or two every week, but with this simple amelioration, that they should meet in a plain, decent manner, with minds replete with either important subjects for communication to instruct others, or with a desire to be instructed by others in things worthy of our nature—things conducive to our eternal interests; not respecting beauty or dress, which shall soon turn to corruption; but let our conversation be about our *far better*, and what should be *our far dearer* part, our immortal souls—

> "'Which shall flourish in immortal youth;
> Unhurt amidst the war of elements,
> The wreck of matter and the crush of worlds.'
> * * * * * *
>
> "CLARINDA.

"*May* 24, 1810."

The next essay gives a satirical and amusing account of various sorts of beaux—as lovers of riches, of beauty, or of virtue, with appropriate comments, and is dated June 1. The succeeding one, dated June 8, presents Clarinda's opinion of old bachelors, whom she defines as "drones," and says: "An old bachelor is a forlorn mortal insulated in society, who is an object of universal ridicule, hated by his own sex, cursed by the other, and, worse than all, blamed by himself; he is like a dry tree standing in the forest, that prevents the vegetation of others, merely an encumberer of the ground which every one wishes to see hewn down, etc." She speaks also of their alleged or supposed reasons for preferring celibacy. In the sixth essay, the writer is addressed by Observator, offering some criticisms, and approving the remarks upon social parties. To this a reply is given June 16, and the subject is continued in reference to the evil practice of some, in paying addresses to

several young ladies at the same time. The next, number seven, is occupied with a letter from J. C., exposing the practice of certain fops who were in the habit of wearing dirks in their bosoms, and this visibly even in the company of ladies; and also censuring their habits of profane swearing, from which the following is an extract:

"When I am addressing you on this subject, I would also make a few observations on another more fashionable vice among our young fops (I cannot call them gentlemen), who are guilty of this horrid vice—I mean, swearing in company with ladies and persons of a moral deportment, to whom this vice is most offensive and abominable. I say, I cannot call swearers gentlemen, however else qualified; for, says a judicious writer, with whom I precisely agree in this sentiment, 'Those who addict themselves to swearing and interlard their discourse with oaths; can never be considered as gentlemen; they are generally persons of low education and are unwelcome in what is called good company. It is a vice that has no temptation to plead, but is, in every respect, as vulgar as it is wicked.' Of all the vices which have ever disgraced human nature; of all the extremes of madness and folly to which mankind has ever run; of all the irreverent, irreligious deeds which have ever blackened human character, there is none more horrid, flagrant or profane; none so presumptuous, arrogant and irreverent, as carelessly, heedlessly and impiously to invoke the sacred name of Him whom angels worship, saints adore, and before whom devils and wicked men shall tremble with horror, anguish and dismay—to invoke the sacred majesty of heaven on every light, frivolous and wicked occasion—to call God to witness every lewd, base, mean or trivial action they perform or perpetrate; and, still worse, to supplicate that pure and righteous Being to damn, curse or punish a fellow-creature, a fellow-immortal, or, it may be, some brute or inanimate thing. And what renders this vice most oppressive to them who are provoked

at it is, that our profligate, immoral beaux make it a point to swear the harder if there be any pious persons or ladies in company, thinking to mortify the former and expecting to commend their gallantry to the latter. Be assured, ye detestable wretches, that this vice is as degrading to yourselves as it is hateful to others; and there is not a lady who possesses a spark of virtue but will shun and detest your company. Besides, to call God to witness the truth of what you say, implies that you suppose the person whom you address believes you a liar, and will not, without a volley of oaths, put confidence in what you say. If you wish to be believed, your understanding is horribly misguided if you expect to induce a belief by crowning your assertion with an oath: this certainly creates a suspicion in the mind of the person whom you address that the thing is untrue. In short, I know no reason for or temptation to this vice, above all the vices prevalent in the world. Ask a man why he swears, he tells you it is a bad custom he has learned—he cannot quit it. Experience sufficiently proves that it is in the power of any person who makes the attempt to give it over, only let him be determined and watchful."

Essay number eight, contains a letter from "Eusebia Anxious," addressed to "Clarinda *Philogamia*," approving the censure inflicted on the bachelors, and giving a reason for their increase which she received from her grandfather, viz.: that it was owing to the government allowing speculators to buy up large tracts of land, thus depriving young farmers of the opportunity of obtaining farms at reasonable rates, and preventing them from venturing into matrimony. To this a reply is given, offering condolence and complimenting Eusebia for her courage in daring to appear in print for the benefit of society, and passing into a meditation on the evil effects produced by the fear of being singular; after which occurs the following apostrophe to Fashion:

"O Fashion, thou deity whom fops, empty fops and gaudy belles adore! Thou first-born of Volatility, and full-descended child of Vanity; thou parent of ills, of woes unheard, untold, unsung; thou scourge of pride and lash of fools; O grim-visaged tyrant! thou swayest thy oppressive sceptre over s aves incalculable; thou taxest thy oppressed subjects with burdens insupportable; thine iron fangs oppress the poor and crush the needy. Thou grand foe to liberty, inappeasable enemy to independence; thy despotic countenance thunders terrors through the souls of thy victims, and fills the minds of thy dupes with pride, envy, malice, and a thousand evil passions that distract and perplex their aching hearts. In thy domain and uncircumscribed territories are heard naught but sighs and groans, but frowns and curses echoing through thy hills and resounding through thy dales. O Fashion! thou hast slain thy thousands and murdered thy tens of thousands. Thou hast led mankind away from itself, and, *ignis-fatuus-like*, deceived them. Thou hast taught the female, the tender, inexperienced female, who unhappily was born thy slave and nursed in thy empire, to borrow all her dignity, all her importance from the veering figure of thy countenance; to look for all her honor, all her consequence, all her happiness from thy extrinsic airs. In thy school, she learned to value herself from the patches and daubs of art, that in vain strive to add beauty to the master-piece of Nature: as well mightst thou burnish the sun, paint the lily, or perfume the rose, as attempt to add beauty to the strokes of Nature. O Fashion! thou hast taught thy daughters to value a companion from the plumage of her garb, from the perfume of her locks, her well-set hair, her sparkling comb, her glittering ring, her rosy cheek that owns the borrowed blushes of an artful dye; from the thousand gew-gaws and trifles that are the niggardly refinements of thy modern hue. Thy maxim is, Value the casket, and despise the jewels it contains; admire the shadow and neglect the substance; appreciate the glare and tinsel, and depreciate the pearls of great value; adorn the outside, leave the mind a barren wild,

an uncultivated desert, where weeds poisonous luxuriantly grow. These, O inexorable Fashion! are but the species of ills that complete thy train and compose thy retinue."

This series of essays closed with the tenth number, of July 23d. The subjects treated, to many may appear trivial; but at the time, and under the circumstances, these articles excited no small degree of interest. To treat such subjects with so much freedom in the newspaper of a small town, where the author could scarcely expect to remain unknown, required, at least, considerable intrepidity; and it is believed that the essays of "Clarinda" contributed to produce, in the manners of those who were thus exposed to public censure, some degree of what the writer terms "amelioration." Sundry poetical pieces also, and other articles on various topics, were contributed by him to the *Reporter*, under anonymous signatures, during this period.

While throwing off these light productions, however, he was not inattentive to the more serious interests of the community in which he had, for the present, found a home. Much concerned for the cause of education his attention was particularly engaged with the literary institution which, four years previously (in 1806), had been organized in the town under the title of "Washington College." Although a similar institution, "Jefferson College," under the direction of the same Presbyterian party, had been established some four years earlier at Canonsburg, only seven miles distant, in the same county, the one at Washington had received considerable patronage, so that, at the third session, it had as many as fifty students—quite a large number at that period, even when taking into view the small tuition-fee required, and the low price of boarding, which was only a dollar and a half per

week in the town, and much lower in the country. Much, however, was due to the personal influence and energy of Rev. Matthew Brown, the principal of the college, and pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in the town, with whom Alexander had formed some acquaintance, but with whose management of the college he was not very well pleased. Being thrown into constant communication with the students, and having ample opportunity for observation, he noticed many defects in the system of education adopted, and in the order and discipline of the institution. It was to be expected, indeed, that, coming from an old and extensive university like that of Glasgow, he would find many things apparently strange and rude in an infant college of the Western World. He seems to have been a silent spectator of the commencement exercises of the winter session, which took place on Friday, 27th of April. At the close of the summer session, however, Thursday, 27th of September, 1810, the character of the exercises was such that he could no longer forbear offering some animadversions through the newspaper. It appears that a very great degree of license was allowed the students in regard to the performances. Pieces were spoken caricaturing certain peculiarities of the Scotch and Irish. A mock trial at the bar was presented. There was also an exhibition of fencing and of boxing for the amusement of the audience; and certain profane expressions were allowed in some of the dialogues. Some verses composed by an Irishman upon his wife were recited; some tunes upon a fiddle were given by one of the students; and some scenes from Smollet's comedy of the "Reprisals" were enacted by the students.

In the next number of the *Reporter*, published 1st

October, 1810, there appeared the following notice of these exercises, which was probably written by a member of the Faculty.

"WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

"The summer session of this Seminary was closed on Thursday 27th inst., with the usual public exercises. The students repaired, at the appointed hour, to the college. A very numerous assembly of the most respectable citizens, from town and country convened in the college yard, where seats were prepared for their accommodation. A rich variety of entertainments, suited to the various tastes of the audience, was then presented. The gay and the grave, the young and the old, wise men and fools, had each a portion meted out unto them, in well-composed pieces, original and selected; the vices and follies of the times were gently exposed in many ways. The drunkard, the duelist, the gambler, the swearer, the fop, and the fool respectively groaned under the lash of satire. To amuse themselves as well as entertain the audience, the young gentlemen availed themselves of the liberties of speech sanctioned by universal and immemorial custom. The different callings and professions were truly noticed in their turns; but the *lawyers* received a Benjamin's portion; also in touching the peculiar language or manners of nations some freedom was indulged. But it was evident from the whole of the exercises, the object was to please, not to offend."

It seems, however, that the exhibition, though designed to please everybody, created a considerable amount of dissatisfaction. In the same paper, appears a note from the faculty of the college, denying that there was any intention of casting any reflections upon the Irish people in one of the addresses delivered; and giving to the public, by way of a *per contra*, another of the addresses highly commending the Irish character. Immediately after this, comes what purports to

be a "Correct Compendious Account of the late Exhibition of Washington College," in a letter to a friend, dated at Washington, September 28, 1810. The writer, in an ironical vein, refers to a sentiment which he had formerly expressed to his friend, that the real nature and benevolent intention of the Christian religion, when correctly understood, was to render mankind happy here, and thus, of course, to give them a taste and relish for happiness hereafter.

"Upon this topic," he continues, "my friend will remember, we used to differ, though with our usual good nature and reciprocal esteem. I always told you that your views on this important subject were by far too precise and severe. You used to boast of the evidence in your favor on this side of the mountains, where you used to tell me that the genuine effects were experienced to a degree somewhat adequate to the nature of the subject, especially in the late revivals which had taken place. To these effects you used to appeal to strengthen your arguments, wishing that I were here to see the effects produced in consequence upon the inhabitants of this side of the Alleghany, and therefore congratulated me on my intended purpose of becoming a resider in the Western country."

Appealing then to the exhibition of the day before as a convincing evidence of the correctness of his more liberal view, he thus proceeds:

"The unexpected occurrence of yesterday has contributed more to my satisfaction, upon the whole result, than the simple residence of years would otherwise have done. It afforded me an opportunity of contemplating the effects of the combined influence of all means and privileges, civil and religious, literary and moral; not upon a solitary individual or a few, but upon a large aggregate of individuals of all ranks and orders in the community. The day was fine, the

assembly numerous and respectable; composed of reverend clergymen, lawyers, merchants, farmers, and a great variety of elegant ladies, young and old, married and single. The thing intended and to be exhibited for the entertainment of this elegant assembly, was an exhibition of the attainments of the students of Washington College in their various departments; and all this under the superintendence and direction of some of the most sacred characters of which enlightened society can boast. The names of some of them were, as I was informed, the Rev. Mr. Brown, president of the college, Rev. Mr. Russel, and Mr. Reed, professor of mathematics; teachers in the academy, Rev. Messrs. Guinn and Dodd, besides many other venerable characters on the board."

He then proceeds to give an account of the various parts of the entertainment, among them enumerating as follows:

"4. *Fencing*. This, I think, is well taught here. I saw two young men, in the characters of officers, handle the broadsword most dextrously. You and I differed formerly upon this part of education; you said it was inconsistent with the pure and benevolent disposition of the Christian religion; I thought it was requisite to complete a gentleman, and you see my opinion is confirmed by the practice of this truly reformed and Christian neighborhood.

"5. Boxing with the fist, or, as they call it in their technical college terms, pugilism, or, in the terms of the learned gentlemen, *argumentum bacculinum*. You said this was a diabolical practice, but I never could see it so; it is necessary for the preservation of one's life, as well as the use of the sword, to maintain one's honor. I saw one or two rounds well fought.

"6. Polite swearing, such as by J——, and O God! and other decent oaths, which you used to say were incompatible with a Christian, for they were breaches of the third commandment; I am sure they were not; the clergymen must

have approved of them, for they were giving smiles of approbation at the scenes in which they were uttered. Some kind of oaths would no doubt be offensive where malice and anger are the cause, but innocent, harmless oaths are, by no means, inconsistent with true morality.

"7. Music, vocal and instrumental. I heard some handsome Scotch airs well sung, with a good bass voice; also at every interlude a brisk tune upon the fiddle, with an occasional brattle of the drum and fife. Indeed, I think the proficiency of the youth in the science of music is very extensive, and bespeaks the credit of their instructors. Now you may remember when you and I were talking about playing the fiddle, you told me that on the western side of the mountains, since the late revivals in religion among the Presbyterians, a fiddle was scarcely to be heard in any assembly—that it was not admitted even at a wedding. One instance you gave me of the minister actually interfering, and was about leaving the house when the young people struck up a tune upon the fiddle; so you see that in many things you have been misinformed, and have imbibed quite wrong ideas respecting the Christian religion.

"8. Stage-playing. I saw a scene or two acted which gave general satisfaction to everybody; and I am more favorable to stage-playing than ever before. I see the absurdity of your quotation from the Westminster Divines, when you were arguing with me upon the impropriety of stage-playing; you said that it was expressly prohibited in the Confession of Faith, page 288, quest. 139. 'Dancing, stage-plays are forbidden by this command.' This is only to be understood of the stage-plays in large cities."

Having noticed one or two other points, the article thus concludes:

"Having spent the day thus happily among a liberal and enlightened people, who all seemed as pleased and happy as myself at the truly delightful and entertaining specimens of the very flattering progress of their youth in the various

branches—composition, elocution, pleading at the bar, fencing, boxing, polite swearing, music, both vocal and instrumental, stage-playing, polite blackguarding, and many other less important though elegant accomplishments—I left the sacred spot amidst the approving group, with the following reflections: Happy people! at once the wonder and envy of the world! May I long enjoy the happiness of your pleasing society! May I imbibe your liberal principles, improve by your virtuous example in all the various departments of a truly polite and refined education; free from the vicious extremes of a morose philosophy, of a too rigid morality, and of an austere and squeamish scrupulosity, so unbecoming the benevolent genius of the Christian religion—all which have a native tendency to freeze the genial current of the soul and spoil the social vivacity and mirth of mankind! Auspicious omen for the progressive amelioration of society, far and near, by the diffusive influence of the salutiferous example of many well-taught youths returning to intermingle with the various circles of private life; and, by-and-by, as chance or choice may direct, to fill all the important offices in Church and State. But time would fail me to enumerate all the pleasing and happifying prospects which such an *extensive* and *liberal* education is calculated to produce upon society; wishing you to come and live with us in this truly happy and agreeable part of the country. I am, etc.,

"Bonus Homo."

As some persons not connected with the college had previously proposed to establish a race-course in the vicinity, the following postscript is added to the above letter:

"P. S. I was at a loss to inform you whether or not your information was true about the horse-races: I was in town in the evening and inquired after them. I heard that previous to that day it was thought they would not succeed; they were strenuously opposed; but the happy effects of the exhibition upon the minds of the citizens that day turned the

public opinion, and I heard one gentleman say (who was till then vehemently opposed to horse-racing) that he would now give five dollars to support the races. Such, you see, is the genuine effect of true religion."

This exposure created, as might be expected, great indignation on the part of the faculty and some of the friends of the college. Various anonymous articles immediately appeared in defence of the exhibition, and against the aspersions of Bonus Homo. The first of these is from Sarah Hastings, disavowing the authorship of Bonus Homo, which she says had been imputed to her on account of her being a stranger lately arrived in Washington, and denouncing the article as an "indirect attempt to crush the rising honor of the infant college, destroy the influence of the respectable faculty —subvert the interests of vital piety—pour contempt on the late revivals of religion, and cast the odium due to this contumacious conduct upon an inoffensive, unprotected and unassuming stranger ! ! !"

In the same paper a long article from "A Friend to Truth" endeavors to defend the exhibition on the ground "that it is usual in Western seminaries of learning thus to indulge the students and amuse their audience; that the pieces delivered on these occasions are generally the selections of the young men themselves, and that at such times the students, 'freed from college rules and commonplace-book reason,' feel an elasticity of spirit that laughs at the gravity of discipline, and frequently introduce in the arrangements of those days things which serious propriety would perhaps have omitted." The writer then makes several efforts to repel the ironical compliments of Bonus Homo, admitting that he was himself offended at the speech in ridicule of the Irish, and concludes by threatening to "in-

trude" more of his remarks upon the public if Bonus Homo should still persist in his attempts to injure the institution at Washington by his misstatements and false colorings.

In the next paper, 15th October, Bonus Homo replies to Mrs. Hastings, releasing her from the charge of authorship, insisting upon the correctness of his report, and exposing the futility of her attempt to defend the exhibition. In the *Reporter* of the 22d, Bonus Homo replies to "A Friend to Truth," showing that the latter really admits the facts stated, and differs from Bonus Homo only in thinking them justifiable. He denies that he is an enemy to literary institutions or to a liberal education, and declares himself an advocate for a reform in the present mode of academic education. With regard to the excuse offered by "A Friend to Truth," that "the pieces, dialogues, etc., on these occasions are generally the selections of the young men themselves, and meet with merely a hasty, cursory examination by the faculty," he thus speaks:

"What a stab this, at the institution!!! To declare that the boys are left to do as they please; to follow the dictates of juvenile fancy—of puerile folly, unrestrained, unchecked by the salutiferous admonition of prudent, experienced age—that they are permitted to expose themselves and the faculty, through the indolence of the faculty!!! Name it not! I am persuaded the faculty do not act so indiscreetly. They must examine, approve and regulate both the matter and the manner of the exhibition, else it would be a scene of confusion, an exhibition of all the possible *irregularities* and *eccentricities* of human nature."

In the conclusion he offers to enter into discussion with "A Friend to Truth" on certain conditions, and engages to show "the impropriety, inconsistency and

pernicious tendency of the *major part* of the ***matter and manner*** of such exhibitions, and the *great default* in the present *mode of education*. He also proposes to point out what, in his judgment, and in the judgment of the *greatest, wisest and best of men*, would be more desirable, more useful and more beneficial to individuals and the community at large." To this article he appends a long descriptive poem, setting forth, satirically, the distinguishing features of the exhibition.

In the next paper, 29th October, the discussion is continued with a weak rejoinder from Sarah Hastings, consisting of mere invective, and with a puerile squib from a new correspondent, who signs himself Bonus Puer. In the issue of the 5th of November, we have a badly-spelled article by a student, dated at Canonsburg, in favor of the exhibition, and also the reply of Bonus Homo to Mrs. Hastings. On the 12th November, "A Friend to Truth" appears again upon the stage in an article of two columns, full of abuse and feeble attempts at sarcasm, and declining the discussion offered by Bonus Homo. In the next week's issue, Bonus Homo renews his onslaught. Quoting the announcement of the exercises given in the beginning, he adopts it as his text, and shows that proceeding, as it doubtless did, from the faculty or some friend of the college, it really admitted everything that he had charged upon the exhibition. Referring to what is said in this notice that "a rich variety of entertainment, suited to the varied tastes of the audience, was presented—the gay and the grave, the young and the old, wise men and fools had each a portion meted out to them"—he thus comments:

"What a comprehensive ingenuity, what a prudent foresight, what a large assortment of materials does it require to

suit an exhibition to the 'varied tastes' of such a motley audience! What a wonderful exhibition was it, when the old, the young, the gay, the grave, the wise man, the fool, the drunkard, the duelist, the gambler, the swearer and the fop, all found something *suited* to their respective tastes! The gay had a pleasant tune and a merry tale *suited* to their *gay* taste; the wise men had but a small portion *suited* to their taste. I don't remember what it was, except to gather experimental knowledge from the exhibition of folly. The fool had a vast portion *suited* to his taste. The drunkard had the flowing bowl set before him to tantalize his taste, and a jovial drunken song *suited* to his bacchanalian taste. A duel was fought to gratify the dueler's taste. The gambler groaned under the lash of satire; and the swearer had some good round oaths suited to his taste. But, in one word, the faculty assures us there was something '*suited* to their *varied tastes*.' * * * * It only remains for me to prove that these things are actually taught at the academy, as there is no person who will dare to contradict the honorable faculty, and say these things were not exhibited.

"And here let it be carefully noted that Bonus Homo did not say that these were the *only* things taught in the academy, but that these things *were* taught; and it is as certain that they were the *only* specimens of education which were exhibited that day. On this head, the faculty say that the various portions meted out consisted of well-composed pieces, original and selected.' Which of the pieces presented were original or selected, is not my business to determine. It is certain, however, that the pieces were composed and selected either at the direction and discretion of the faculty, or else the young men were left entirely to follow the dictates of juvenile fancy; but is it possible to imagine that the learned faculty would invite the public to witness an exhibition of the performance of the youths under their care, which would consist in specimens in the selection and preparation of which they would be understood to have had no hand, or which did not meet with their previous approbation? It is also as certain

that sufficient time must have been allowed for the purpose of committing the pieces to memory and for preparatory rehearsals, which could not be done without the tuition of the faculty. Who will then venture to assert, in manifest opposition to the indispensable duties and just claims of the faculty and to the dictates of common sense, that these things were not taught in the college which furnished the matter of a collegiate exhibition? Having thus *plainly*, fully and incontrovertibly established my compendious account of the far-famed exhibition from the public declaration of the faculty themselves, it therefore follows that whosoever shall hereafter endeavor to subvert my statements in one single item, must also subvert the faculty's publication, as we both substantially declare the same things."

The end to this amusing discussion is found in the *Reporter* of 3d of December, 1810, where Bonus Homo gives the finishing stroke to the champion of the faculty, "A Friend to Truth," exposing his personal scurrilities and lampoons, and his misrepresentations of facts and want of critical acumen. Among other things, he notices an imputation of ingratitude by this writer, who had said:

"I must add abhorrence to that wretched ingratitude which would raise his hand to destroy his benefactor." To this Bonus Homo replies, "I imagine he here means the president. There is to me something mysterious in this allegation, for, in the next sentence, he considers me a person scarcely an inhabitant of the country. Now, I can assure you, sir, and the public, that, till my arrival at Washington, I did not know that such a person existed, so narrow were the bounds of his fame, or so weak was the voice of the hundred-tongued damsel (or perhaps she had been asleep), that his name did never greet my ears. And I can certainly avow that, since my arrival here, I am not conscious of receiving the smallest favor from that gentleman. How then recognize him as my

benefactor? for surely if he be such to me, it must have been previous to my arrival here, and of course without my knowledge; and if so, unless he has entirely forfeited my gratitude, I hold myself still his grateful beneficiary. But I again aver I never recognized him then, nor, although better acquainted with him now, do I consider him in the light of a benefactor. But even if I had considered him as such, still I hold myself entirely innocent of having acted toward him in any respect that should render me justly liable to the charge of ingratitude. For certainly gratitude itself does not oblige one to acquiesce in the faults and errors of a benefactor, nor tie up the hands from opposing him in a public station when he acts improperly. I should here distinguish with the famous Roman of old, and say with him, 'As he was my friend, I loved him; as he was honorable, I revered him; but as he acted improperly, I blamed him!' Here, then, was gratitude for his benefaction, respect for his dignity, and reproof for his misconduct."

He finally closed by renewing his challenge to discuss the subject with any gentleman who would come forward in the proper manner. To this no reply was made, and Bonus Homo remained the undisputed master of the field.

It is said of Samson that, when a lad, the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times to exercise his gift of physical prowess, "in the camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol." Thus, by a natural impulse, was Alexander Campbell in his youth, led to exercise those remarkable powers of mind for which he became afterward so distinguished, and in this victory over the faculty of the college he enjoyed a foretaste of his future triumphs. For it was not possible in a small town like Washington, that the authorship of Bonus Homo could remain long in doubt, and the pieces, by common consent, were attributed to the young Irishman

who had arrived, some months before, from Glasgow University. One morning, he happened to be standing in one of the stores, when Mr. Brown, the principal of the college, came in. "Well, Mr. Bonus Homo," said he, "I hope you are well this morning." At this abrupt greeting, Alexander blushed deeply, for he was at this time of a very fair complexion, but he managed, in respectfully returning the salutation, to evade the matter without acknowledging himself the author; which, indeed, was quite unnecessary.

As to the effect of the exposure made, it was undoubtedly beneficial to the cause of good order and correct education; and remained long in remembrance through that region of country as a warning against similar improprieties. Even conceding that the matters involved were of minor importance, the incidents related in this chapter show that Alexander had, as has been well said of Luther, "an inflexible reliance on the conclusions of his own understanding and on the energy of his own will," which striking traits in his character, already thus developed, will be found constantly to display themselves in his future history.

In closing this episode in his life, it is pleasing to relate, in connection with it, the following incident: More than thirty years after these occurrences, when Mr. Campbell had attained a high distinction as a writer and a public speaker, he was invited by one of the literary societies of Washington College, to deliver an address. Soon after his arrival at Washington for the purpose, Rev. Mr. Brown, now quite advanced in years, called upon him at his hotel, and after a very cordial greeting and some pleasant conversation, said to him with a smile, and laying his hand upon his knee in his pleasant familiar way, "Mr. Campbell, do you

remember Bonus Homo?" "Yes," replied Mr. Campbell, laughing, "I remember him." "Well," continued Mr. Brown, "Mr. Campbell, you were entirely right in your strictures. There is no doubt that you were perfectly right. I must admit that we were wrong, and the only excuse I have to offer is, that the circumstances and manners of the time seemed then to us to authorize a degree of license which would not at present be tolerated. There were then many defects in our system; but it seemed impossible to do otherwise. The country was new, and the people unprepared for strict scholastic discipline, so that many things had to be left imperfect, and you were well justified in all your criticisms." This was a very pleasant interview to Mr. Campbell, who always cherished a high esteem for Mr. Brown, on account of his many excellent personal qualities and his remarkable zeal in behalf of the interests of education, to which he was incessantly devoted. He was a warm friend to young men, ever solicitous for their advancement, and an ever-active guardian of their interests; so that the memory of President Brown is held in affectionate regard by many in the West, who enjoyed the benefit of his labors, both at Washington and at Canonsburg, where he was subsequently for a long time president of Jefferson College.

While the matters above recorded were transpiring, various overtures were made both to Thomas Campbell and to Alexander to induce them to unite with the religious bodies around them. Flattering inducements were held out to Alexander particularly, to enter the ministry among them, and devote his talents to denominational interests. Various proposals were also made to them in regard to the establishment of seminaries. All these offers and earnest solicitations were, however,

at once declined. Both father and son were unalterably devoted to the great work they had undertaken—to break down the barriers of religious partyism, and to restore the Church to its pristine unity—and could not think of abandoning these cherished objects. Alexander had said in one of his replies to "A Friend to Truth," when charged by him with seeking, by attacking the college, to prepare the way for establishing an academy at Washington: "However honorable and important, in my estimation, a collegiate department may be, I have not the least inclination of devoting myself to that business. I conceive one calling to be enough for one man: I have made my choice, and mean to abide by it. I therefore envy no man's situation, nor covet his employment." He had already consecrated his life and his abilities to the noblest of human pursuits, and in whatever he might occasionally engage as collateral or subsidiary, nothing could be permitted to interrupt the labors of his appropriate calling.

CHAPTER XVI.

First Public Attempt—Active Labors—Methodical Training—Application to Synod of Pittsburg—Controversy of Truth and Error.

THE "Christian Association," formed for the purposes specified in the "Declaration and Address," had occasioned no small stir in religious circles. Many of the people were pleased with the objects in view, and several ministers, personal friends of Thomas Campbell, expressed their approbation of the movement, but refrained from taking an active part in it until they could be more assured of its success. Others of the clergy were in doubt, or regarded the project as chimerical; but the more knowing ones among them, mindful of the effects of similar efforts to reform, began to take the alarm and to keep a watchful eye upon the progress of affairs. To propositions for Christian union so kindly offered, they could, indeed, make no direct opposition, nor could they fail to realize that a certain degree of respect was due to a society, many of whose members were conspicuous for piety, and possessed of great influence in the community. No minister stood higher, as respected ability and moral and religious worth, than Thomas Campbell. No man in the county of Washington had more influence than Thomas Acheson, whose signature was attached, along with that of Mr. Campbell, to the "Declaration and Address." He was usually called General Acheson,

being Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Twenty-second Regiment Pennsylvania Militia, and was universally esteemed and actively engaged in everything calculated to promote the public interests. Besides these, there were other influential persons and families, more or less connected with the religious communities around, whose character and standing gave a considerable degree of importance to the Association in the estimation of the religious public.

At the time of its organization (August 17, 1809), a regular semi-annual meeting of the Society had been appointed for the first Thursday of May and of November; but, as formerly stated, Thomas Campbell continued to preach, as usual, on every Lord's day, first at private houses and afterward at the meeting-house erected at the cross-roads. Alexander, after his arrival, always attended his father's meetings, and as he had already signified his determination to engage in the proposed reformation, his father, after some time, began to express the wish that he would take some public part in these meetings. From his youthfulness, however, and the fact that he was as yet unaccustomed to public speaking, this was for some time delayed, until at length, in the spring of 1810, his father being about to address a congregation at a private house (Jacob Donaldson's), told him that after preaching he would have a short intermission, and would expect him afterward to address the people. Accordingly, after the meeting was resumed, Alexander arose and spoke for a short time, chiefly, however, in the way of exhortation. His father appeared to be much pleased, and at the close of his son's remarks, said, as it were, involuntarily, but loud enough to be heard by those sitting near, "Very well," and then went on to close the

meeting. This was really Alexander's first attempt at speaking; and although his remarks were brief and not in the usual form of a regular sermon, the result inspired him with confidence, so that, upon being afterward urged to prepare and deliver a public discourse, he agreed to do so, and an appointment was made for him for the 15th of July, to address those who chose to assemble, in a grove on the farm of Major Templeton, some eight miles from Washington.

The previous labors of Thomas Campbell, and the novelty of the plea urged by the Christian Association, had excited, as before stated, considerable inquiry throughout this region of country. The interest prevailing and the expectation which had been created by rumors of the promising abilities possessed by Alexander, had drawn together in the grove quite a large assemblage to hear the first discourse of the youthful preacher. He was now in his twenty-second year, still preserving the freshness of complexion and bloom of the cheeks with which he left Ireland; but he had grown somewhat taller, and his figure was somewhat more developed. When the hour arrived, he rose up with modest dignity, in the temporary stand erected for the occasion, in front of which the audience were seated upon rough planks or upon the grass beneath the shady maples, and, the meeting being opened in the usual form, he took up the New Testament and read, from the close of the seventh chapter of Matthew, the following passage:

"Therefore, whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, who built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock. And every one

that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, I will liken unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it."

Having read thus from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-seventh verses inclusive, he went on, by way of introduction, to speak, first, of the importance of Christ's sayings; passing, secondly, to a brief notice of the Author of the sermon on the Mount, he, in the third place, called attention to the comprehensiveness of this wonderful discourse of Christ, and, fourthly, to its practical character; and thence, fifthly, to its simplicity and plainness of style, closing his introduction with some observations on Christ's method of teaching by parables. Entering, then, upon the main subject, in order to evolve the doctrine or lesson taught, he went on to describe the wise man and the foolish man; first, contrasting them with each other as to the respects in which they agreed, and, secondly, as to the respects in which they differed. He showed that they agreed in three respects: 1, in their external privileges, 2, in their employment, 3, in their trials; and likewise that they differed in three respects: 1, in their character, 2, in their manner of employment, 3, in the end or result. While treating of these particulars, he took occasion to explain the metaphorical words, house, rock, sand, wind, rain, etc., and having thus led the audience to contemplate the vivid pictures presented in the passage, he proceeded, in his application, to describe, first, the wisdom and blessedness of those who hear Christ's sayings and do them; and, secondly, the folly and misery of those who hear Christ's sayings and do them not. He then made an application of the whole to the

audience before him, closing with an eloquent and appropriate exhortation.

In the delivery of this discourse, the trepidation natural in such a case, and observable in the beginning, soon disappeared. Anxious to succeed in his first trial, he had taken the pains to write out the sermon in full and commit it to memory, so that finding, after he had fairly commenced, and as his clear, ringing voice resounded through the grove, that he could command the fixed attention of the audience, he felt encouraged, and was enabled to proceed without embarassment and with increasing animation to the close.

There was, indeed, in the matter of the discourse nothing that was startling from its novelty, as the passage and the subject were familiar. The arrangement, too, was simple, as well as the manner of delivery, which was almost wholly without gesticulation. But there was something in the reverential bearing of the speaker, in the unaffected simplicity of his manner, in the appropriateness of his expressions, and in the earnest and distinct intonations of his clear and commanding voice, that seemed to rivet the attention of all upon the thoughts and the pictures he presented. Nor did the discourse itself, in its general features, fail to indicate that quality in his mind which became afterward so marked—the power of generalization, and of taking wide and expanded views. Before entering upon the particular lesson of the passage, he must survey, with an enlarged vision, the infinite perfections and authority of the Divine Author, and take a general view of the character of his teaching, and particularly of that of the sermon on the Mount. Having thus prepared the minds of his auditors, and elevated their conceptions to his own lofty stand-point, he could now,

with the utmost facility and effect, fix their attention upon the great truths and practical lessons which were to be impressed upon them.

After the audience was dismissed, there seemed to be but one opinion as to the qualifications of the speaker. All seemed to be forcibly struck with what they had heard. The young gazed upon the youth with wondering eyes, while the older members said one to another, in subdued tones, "Why, this is a better preacher than his father!"—a decision which, in view of Thomas Campbell's reputation as a speaker, was one of the highest compliments they could bestow. Both the theme selected for the occasion, indeed, and the surrounding circumstances, seemed remarkably appropriate, and as if Providence had so arranged them in order to shadow forth the future. It was the determination of the speaker himself to hear the sayings of Christ and do them, and, in now entering upon his career as a religious reformer, to teach both by precept and example that the religious world should no longer follow the commandments and doctrines of men, which rest upon the sandy and unstable basis of opinion, but that they should secure for themselves permanent habitations, founded upon the unshaken rock of Divine authority. Nor was it less appropriate that he who was destined to call men away from human plans and systems should deliver his first discourse, not in any sectarian temple or place of worship built by human hands, but in the open air of free America and beneath the overarching trees which God had planted.

The effect of this discourse was very marked, not only upon the people, but upon the speaker himself. With the former, it at once established his reputation, and the members of the Christian Association who

were present were delighted with this powerful accession to their cause, and unanimously agreed to present to the youthful preacher a formal call to the ministry of the Word. Upon himself, the effect was not less decisive. He realized, to his great joy, that he had not mistaken his vocation. He felt that in addressing the great congregation upon themes that had impressed his heart from boyhood and brightened the visions of his youth, he was in his proper sphere, and that all the hopes and purposes of his life were destined to be happily fulfilled. From this time his services were in continual requisition, and they were, on his part, most freely rendered, as will be seen when it is stated that in the course of this, his first year, he preached no less than *one hundred and six sermons*. These were delivered at the cross-roads; at Washington, and at Buffalo—several at Middletown; some in private houses, and, toward the latter part of the period, a few in the contiguous portions of Ohio, at Steubenville, Cadiz, St. Clairsville, etc.

His first discourse, just noticed, was on July 15th. On the following Lord's day, 22d, he spoke at the cross-roads, from Gal. iii. 28, 29, upon Christian unity. In his introduction he took a grand, comprehensive view of religion from Adam to Christ; and, in the method of his discourse, went on, 1. To point out how and in what respects all believers were one in Christ Jesus; 2. To consider how their being all one in Christ makes them the seed of Abraham; 3. To make some remarks on what is implied in being heirs according to the promise; and, 4. To make some practical inferences. He then considered the particulars under each of these heads; as, the arguments made use of by the apostle to convince both Jews and Gentiles of their oneness in

every respect under the Christian dispensation, and then the similitudes made use of to represent the oneness of believers in Christ: 1. Members of the same body, 2. Branches of the same vine, 3. Stones of the same building, and, 4. As represented under the emblem of a shepherd and his fold. Having, in like manner, illustrated scripturally the second and third heads, he drew from the whole the practical inferences: "1. If all believers be one in Christ Jesus, what love, what charity, what benevolence, what forbearance ought to be manifested! 2. How shall we be honored if members of Christ's body! and, 3. How foolish, vain and absurd are all associations formed for the purpose of cementing men more closely by means of oaths!" adding an exhortation to seek this oneness in Christ; and closing with regrets for the divided state of the Church, and with a brief consideration of the motives for rejoicing in being heirs according to the promise. This sermon also was written out in full and committed to memory before delivery; and, being on a subject so appropriate to the designs of the Christian Association, was heard by the audience with great satisfaction.

On the following Lord's day, the 29th of July, he preached at Washington from Matt. xvi. 26: "For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" In the introduction he dwelt generally upon the tendency of mankind to forget their best interests and the value of their souls, and to put a false estimate upon the worth of the world. The method of the discourse was: "1. What are we to understand by the whole world, here supposed to be the object of pursuit—the thing to be gained? 2. Inquire if the gain of the world necessarily implies the loss of

the soul. 3. Inquire into the greatness of the loss sustained by him who should gain the whole world and lose his own soul. 4. Examine what is necessarily presupposed and implied in *so* loving the world that it may become the unhappy occasion of losing our souls. 5. Make an appropriate application." This discourse was also written out in full and committed to memory, and was delivered a second time at Buffalo, on the 5th of August. On the 19th of August he preached again at Washington. The minutes of this sermon are as follows:

"Revelation xx. 11: *And I saw a great white throne*, etc. INTRODUCTION, with remarks on the nature and solemnity of judgment in general.

METHOD.—I. Describe the preparations made for judgment. II. The appearance of the Judge. III. The persons to be judged. IV. The manner in which they were judged. V. The subject of trial.

The text thus divided:—(1.) "And I saw a great white throne." (2.) "And him who sat on it, from whose face the earth and heaven fled away." (3.) "And the Sea gave up the dead that were in it, and Death and Hell delivered up the dead that were in them, and I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God." (4.) "And the books were opened, and another book was opened, which was the book of life." (5.) "And they were judged, every man according to his works."

I. *Particulars under first head.*—1. The throne—how to be understood. 2. The greatness of it. 3. Its whiteness—emblem of purity and righteousness.

II. *Particulars under second head.*—The Judge described.

III. *Particulars under third head.*—What we understand by small and great—the Sea, Death and Hell giving up their dead.

IV. *Particulars under fourth head.*—1. The Book of the law of Nature. 2. The Book of the law of Moses. 3.

The Book of the law of the Gospel. 4. The Book of God's Remembrance. 5. The Book of Conscience. 6. The Book of Life.

V. *Particulars under fifth head.*—The subject of trial: the works of man.

INFERENCES:—1. The necessity of being well acquainted with the statute-book of Heaven, to know how the trial will go with us.

2. The necessity of being well acquainted with our own thoughts, words and actions.

3. A general application of the whole subject.

This discourse was also committed to memory, and was delivered a second time at Buffalo on the 26th. The subject of which it treats seems to have been a favorite one with him, and he often dwelt upon it during his subsequent public ministrations; hence, as it was among the earliest, so it was among the latest on which he spoke at the close of his protracted ministry.

On the second of September, he preached at the cross-roads, from Genesis v. 22: "And Enoch walked with God." *Introduced* by remarks on the life of Enoch.

METHOD.—I. What changes must previously take place as of indispensable necessity before the walk with God commences. II. Explain the nature and evidences of the walk with God. III. Draw some inferences.

I. *Particulars under first head.*—Man's natural state described—1. His understanding is darkened; 2. His judgment perverted; 3. His affections depraved; 4. His taste vitiated by sin; so that his desires, his views, his character, his pursuits, are quite opposite to what God requires and loves.

The change that takes place is then described.

II. *Particulars under second head.*—The walk with God described. A number of Scriptures cited where the phrase is

used. The walk with God consists in: (1.) The continual exercise of repentance and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; (2.) In an habitual realizing regard to the presence of God; (3.) In a daily dependence on his word, promises, providence and grace; (4.) In a careful attendance upon all his ordinances; (5.) In a conscientious obedience to all his commandments, without regarding the praise or the censure of men; (6.) In submission to his providential appointments, and adorning his Gospel with a becoming conversation.

III. *The advantages derived* — God — 1. Supplies his wants; 2. Interposes in his straits; 3. Meets him in his ordinances—is his guide, companion and friend, and at last receives him to abide with him for ever.

APPLICATION.—To commence this walk early and to maintain it closely.

This sermon was not committed to memory like the preceding ones; and though he occasionally afterward wrote out a sermon in full, he, from this time, abandoned the practice of committing them to memory, depending upon a few notes of the general heads or divisions of the subject. This is the common usage with extemporaneous speakers, as it leaves the mind in greater freedom, and imposes no restraints upon the imagination and the fancy. It was the custom of the eloquent Robert Hall, who used to say that he liked to have such a general outline of his subject, "*as a channel for his thoughts to flow in.*" But even this assistance, Alexander Campbell, after some time, relinquished, relying altogether on his own recollections of the arrangement of his theme, upon which he had previously meditated, or upon the methodizing power of his own mind at the time of delivery.

As many members of the Christian Association lived near Buffalo Creek, it was, about this time, resolved to erect a house of worship there. They accordingly

selected a piece of ground on the farm of William Gilchrist, in the valley of Brush Run, about two miles above its junction with Buffalo Creek, as an eligible site for the building which was to be framed. On the farm immediately adjoining there was a saw-mill, and the sons of the proprietor, David Bryant, one of whom, Joseph, was a zealous member of the Association, at once engaged in sawing out the necessary lumber. Meantime, it was agreed to erect a temporary stand near the ground chosen, and Alexander was requested to deliver the first discourse, which he did, standing beneath the shade of a spreading tree. The text he chose for the occasion was, in view of subsequent events, singularly appropriate and prophetic. It was from Job viii. 7: "*Though thy beginning was small, thy latter end should greatly increase.*" In his Introduction he illustrated the maxim from the works of nature, Providence and grace, showing how small the seeds of things, and how apparently insignificant the sources of mighty streams and the causes of the most important revolutions. His "Method" then was to treat, first, of what is meant by the *beginning;* secondly, of what is meant by the *increase;* thirdly, to consider how we ought to act that from small beginnings the end may *greatly increase*. Under the first head, the "beginning" was understood and explained of temporal, spiritual and church affairs; and under the second, the "increase" was illustrated in the augmentation of the same species, the spread of truth, etc. From the whole, rules were deduced for direction as to how we are to manage that, from small beginnings, the latter end may greatly increase. This discourse was delivered on September 16, 1810, and was often referred to in subsequent years by those who had heard it when the

rapid spread of the principles of the reformation furnished for the text a striking application.

On the following Lord's day (September 23d), four days previous to the college exhibition on which he commented in the *Reporter* (as related in the last chapter) under the pseudonym of Bonus Homo, he spoke twice in Washington—the first sermon being from Numbers xii. 10, and the second from Luke x. 41, 42. And again, on the first day of the following week (30th of September), he preached at Buffalo from Romans iii. 28. Of these discourses, according to custom, he preserved copious minutes, of which want of space here forbids the insertion, enough having been already given to show the careful training to which his mind was subjected in the preparation of sermons during the early period of his ministry. For the adoption of this strict and careful method he was much indebted to the instructions and careful criticisms of his father, who had been educated according to the strict rules of the Scotch Seceder clergy, and who could never be satisfied with a sermon unless it was composed and arranged according to rule. The rules, indeed, were very proper, being founded upon correct principles, both of logic and of rhetoric, which were already familiar to Alexander, and readily reduced to practice. It became, accordingly, almost an invariable custom with the father and the son, after having heard each other's discourses, to examine and test them upon their return home by the established rules. It was always a special point with Thomas Campbell to ascertain, first, whether or not the division of the subject had been such as to exhaust it; and, secondly, whether or not the views or doctrines delivered were truly those of the text, taken in its proper connection with what preceded and what fol-

lowed it. He would admit of no fanciful interpretations or far-fetched applications, but desired constantly that the discourse should be strictly confined within the range of the ideas presented in the passage. In regard to this point, he differed greatly from many of his fellow-ministers among the Seceders and other parties, who often wandered widely from the text, and made it rather a *motto* for some speculation of their own, than a Scripture theme to be discussed and enforced.

About this time an event occurred which had considerable influence in determining the progress of affairs. It had become for some time evident to Thomas Campbell that the reformatory movement of which, by unanimous consent, he still retained the entire direction, was not extending itself as he had hoped. The arguments and entreaties of the "Declaration and Address" seemed to have fallen upon dull ears. His overtures appeared to meet with but little response, and no effort was known to be making anywhere to form, as proposed, societies auxiliary to the Christian Association. On the other hand, the Association itself seemed to be insensibly assuming a somewhat different character from the one originally contemplated, and, under the regular ministrations of Alexander and himself, to be gradually taking the position of a distinct religious body. This was a matter which occasioned Thomas Campbell great uneasiness; though it was but a natural consequence of the antagonism which existed, of necessity, between the Society and all the religious parties, since its avowed object was to put an end to partyism. The idea that he should, after all, be the means of creating a *new* party was most abhorrent to the mind of Thomas Campbell; and as he began to realize more and more the probability of such a result, he felt the more dis-

posed to adopt any measures consistent with his principles by which it could be avoided. It was while he was contemplating the progress of affairs from this point of view, that he was very earnestly solicited, both by private members and by some of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church, to form an ecclesiastical union with them. This was urged upon him especially by Rev. Mr. Anderson, then pastor of the congregation at Upper Buffalo, who was warmly attached to Mr. Campbell personally, and who expressed his confidence that the Presbytery generally would willingly receive him and the members of the Christian Association upon the principles they advocated, as all of them professed their belief in the doctrines of the Westminster Confession. This, indeed, was true, with the exception that Thomas Campbell objected to the chapter conferring power upon the clergy; and that a few members doubted, and others denied, the validity of infant baptism, though they all seemed willing to make this a matter of forbearance. Influenced, accordingly, by these solicitations, and a strong desire to avoid even the appearance of forming a new party, Thomas Campbell finally concluded to propose at least the matter to the Presbyterian Synod which was soon to assemble at Washington.

His previous ill-treatment by the Secession Presbytery and Synod, and their refusal to tolerate the liberal views he advocated, had not discouraged him. In the exercise of that charity that "beareth all things," and "believeth all things," he also "hoped all things," trusting that his former ministerial associates would yet see their error; and, in the fullness of the convictions which rested upon his own mind as to the all-sufficiency of the Divine basis of union which he proposed, fondly thinking that the educated and intelligent ministers of

the Presbyterian Church might be induced to accept his overture, and co-operate with him in a work so desirable as that of uniting all in one common brotherhood. It could, at least, he thought, do no harm to propose the matter. As he had labored in the Old World to bring about a union between two of the branches of the Presbyterian Church, the Burghers and Anti-Burghers, he felt that now, from the higher religious stand-point to which he had attained, it would be a privilege to plead, before one of the high courts of the ecclesiastical body which in America was the representative of the mother Kirk of Scotland, the cause of a universal Christian union. In so doing, he would, at all events, deliver his own soul; relieve himself from responsibility, and prove whether the sympathy shown him by his Presbyterian friends, really proceeded from their appreciation of the justness of his cause, or merely from their sectarian hostility and rivalry in relation to the Seceders. It should be stated here, however, that Alexander, who held somewhat different views from those of his father in regard to the spirit of Presbyterianism, neither approved the measure nor anticipated any favorable results; but, under existing circumstances, he did not think it proper to make any direct opposition to his father's wishes.

It was on the second day of October that the Synod met at Washington, and the Rev. Samuel Ralston, who had been Moderator at the previous meeting, opened the session with a sermon. The Synod was termed the "Synod of Pittsburg," and was composed of the Presbyteries of Erie, Hartford, Lancaster, Redstone, Ohio, etc.* The following account of the pro-

* The representatives of the Redstone Presbytery were—Dr. James Power, Samuel Porter, Jacob Jennings, William Speare, William Swan, F. Laird,

ceedings in the case is taken from the published minutes in the records of the Synod, as approved by the General Assembly, Eliphalet Nott being Moderator, May 21, 1811. On the third day of the meeting, October 4, 1810, afternoon session, the following entry appears:

"Synod met pursuant to adjournment. Mr. Thomas Campbell, formerly a minister of the Associate Synod, now representing himself as in some relation to a Society called the 'Christian Association of Washington,' applied to the Synod to be taken into Christian and ministerial communion.

"After hearing Mr. Campbell at length, and his answers to various questions proposed to him, the Synod unanimously resolved, that however specious the plan of the Christian Association and however seducing its professions, as experience of the effects of similar projects in other parts has evinced their baleful tendency and destructive operations on the whole interests of religion by promoting divisions instead of union, by degrading the ministerial character, by providing free admission to any errors in doctrine, and to any corruptions in discipline, whilst a nominal approbation of the Scriptures as the only standard of truth may be professed, the Synod are constrained to disapprove the plan and its native effects.

"And further, for the above and many other important reasons, it was resolved, that Mr. Campbell's request to be received into ministerial and Christian communion cannot be granted.

"Mr. Campbell requested to have a copy of the Synod's decision in his case. The Synod agreed to grant his request, and the clerk was ordered to furnish him with a copy. * *

James Adams, William Wiley, James Grahame, J. Guthrie and Thomas Hunt. From the Presbytery of Ohio were present—Rev. John McMillan, James Dunlap, Joseph Patterson, James Hughs, Thomas Marquis, Boyd Mercer, Samuel Ralston, William Wood, John Anderson, Andrew Given Matthew Brown, Joseph Anderson. George Scott, etc.

"Session of Friday, October 5, at 3 o'clock P. M. Synod met agreeably to adjournment, etc.

"Mr. Thomas Campbell appeared in Synod and asked an explanation of what those 'important reasons' are, mentioned in a former minute respecting him, for which the Synod cannot receive him into Christian and ministerial communion. On motion, resolved that Mr. Campbell shall be furnished with an answer to his request before the rising of the Synod. The Synod agreed to return the following answer to Mr. Campbell's inquiry, viz.: It was not for any immorality in practice, but, in addition to the reasons before assigned, for expressing his belief that there are some opinions taught in our Confession of Faith which are not founded in the Bible, and avoiding to designate them; for declaring that the administration of baptism to infants is not authorized by scriptural precept or example, and is a matter of indifference, yet administering that ordinance while holding such an opinion; for encouraging or countenancing his son to preach the gospel without any regular authority; for opposing creeds and confessions as injurious to the interests of religion; and, also, because it is not consistent with the regulations of the Presbyterian Church that Synod should form a connection with any ministers, churches or associations; that the Synod deemed it improper to grant his request.

"On reading the above to Mr. Campbell, he denied having said that infant baptism was a matter of indifference, and declared that he admitted many truths drawn by fair induction from the Word of God; acknowledged that he opposed creeds and confessions when they contained anything not expressly contained in the Bible; that he believes there are some things in our Confession of Faith not expressly revealed in the Bible. He also declared that he felt himself quite relieved from the apprehension which he at first had with respect to his moral character."

There are several points in regard to this somewhat curious affair that deserve notice. Thomas Campbell

appears to have made the application as, impliedly at least, the representative of the Christian Association, and it seems to have been so understood by the Synod, from what is said in their reply, that "it is not consistent with the regulations of the Presbyterian Church that Synod should make a connection with any ministers, churches, or associations." It appears also that Mr. Campbell laid before the Synod a full and candid statement of the plan and purposes of the Society, as these, in their reply, constitute the principal ground of objection; and that there was no indication given of a disposition, on the part of the Society, to abandon these purposes, the proposition being in effect that the Presbyterian body would afford shelter and give its countenance and support to the proposed reformation. In his address before the Synod, Mr. Campbell was careful to define clearly the position which the Society occupied, and to state that it was not a Church, but simply a society organized for the promotion of Christian unity. He humbly and earnestly proposed to the Synod to be obedient to it in all things that the gospel and law of Christ inculcated, only desiring to be permitted to advocate that sacred unity which Christ and his apostles expressly enjoined; or, in other words, that the Synod would consent to "Christian union upon Christian principles." It was not, then, an offer on the part of Thomas Campbell or those connected with him, to unite with the Synod on *Presbyterian* principles. It was not an offer to join the Presbyterian party *as such*. Had they been willing to do this, and to become Presbyterians in a denominational sense, they would have been most gladly welcomed. But the Society had no idea of thus losing its identity or relinquishing its aims. On the contrary, it desired to continue its labors

under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, with which its members proposed to have, in the mean time, ministerial and Christian communion.

This seemed to them desirable on several accounts. For, as the Society was not a Church, having distinctly disavowed this character in the "Declaration and Address," most of its members, in attendance on the public ministrations of Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander, were deprived of various privileges which belonged to the church relation. Thomas Campbell himself belonged to no sect, having left the Seceders, though in doing so, he by no means considered himself as renouncing his ministerial character or rights. Most of those who had been in connection with the parties around, felt that this connection was virtually dissolved by their long absence from their places in the congregations; and there were some members of the Society who had never been united religiously with any party. It was hence evident that the Society must obtain admission into some regularly organized religious body, or be itself compelled to change its attitude and resolve itself into an independent Church—an alternative which Thomas Campbell particularly desired to avoid. It was this very dread of the ultimate formation of a new religious body, that caused him to overlook the absurdity of expecting that any sect would receive him and the Society he represented, on the terms proposed. For a party to have admitted into its bosom those who were avowedly bent on the destruction of partyism, would of course have been perfectly suicidal. It would have been only to repeat in another form, and with a full knowledge of the object in view, the story of the wooden horse of Troy, and to have the gates of its well-walled ecclesiastical city thrown open to its ene-

mies. It cannot reasonably be denied, therefore, that the Presbyterian Synod, in rejecting the application, manifested very much of the wisdom of the *serpent*.

From the Christian stand-point, however, its course displayed a marvelous lack, not only of the qualities of the *dove*, but of the wisdom that cometh from on high. In reality, the application of Thomas Campbell was a high compliment to the supposed liberality and the assumed purposes of the Presbyterian organization, and the candid and kind manner in which the proposition was made, as well as the excellent character of the applicant, ought to have secured, in the reply at least, some few words of courteous recognition. But the terms of the reply, in the first instance, were curt, harsh, and in one place so ambiguous that Mr. Campbell was compelled, from a sense of duty to himself, to appear again before the Synod, to ask for an explanation of the phrase "many other important reasons," by which the Synod attempted to justify its action—an expression so indefinite as obviously to *allow*, if not to *invite*, the very worst construction. And in their explanation, the Rev. Synod, in searching for these "important reasons," finds one of them in the frivolous pretext that Alexander had been allowed to exercise his gift of public speaking, as it says, "without any regular authority," or before ordination—a liberty taken by both Knox and Calvin, and one often accorded tc theological students. It condescends, also, in other alleged reasons, to misrepresent Mr. Campbell's views, and to give its sanction and authority to unfounded rumors, as if they had been admitted matters of fact. In all this, however, it was sectarianism that spoke, in the exercise of that self-sufficient, narrow and despotic spirit which seems inherent in all legislative religious bodies.

On the other hand, on the principles professed by the Synod, it does not appear how they could legitimately reject the application. The Confession of Faith of the Synod declared the Bible to be the only rule of faith and practice, and yet when a respectable body of religious persons apply for admission, they are ruled out, because they will have no other rule than the Bible! They are rejected for adhering to the "only rule" admitted to be infallible, and for presuming to doubt the infallibility of the Westminster Confession!—Rejected, not for any violation of the "only rule," but because they cannot admit that a human creed or confession is in reality the "only rule!" How completely this verified the remark made by Mr. Campbell in his "Declaration and Address," "That a book adopted by any party as its standard for all matters of doctrine, worship, discipline and government, must be considered as the Bible of that party!" And how evident it is that, in the sectarian world, there are just as many different Bibles as there are different and authoritative explanations of the Bible, called creeds and confessions! In the case of Thomas Campbell it was the "Confession," and not the Bible, that was made the standard by which one of the best of men was denied religious fellowship. No principles, however true; no individual, however pious, could be admitted, if the safety of the party would be thereby endangered. The sect, with all its machinery, must, at all hazards, be preserved. It could permit no change, it could endure no reformation, but must remain a sect to the end of time!

Before closing this notice of the proceedings of the Synod, it may be well to remark that, as the article of Bonus Homo, exposing the improprieties which had been permitted at the commencement of Washington

College, appeared in the *Reporter* on the very day of the assembling of the Synod, it might be supposed that the action of the Synod was, in part, due to feelings of irritation. If, however, such feelings could be at all supposed to influence so respectable a body of *divines*, it does not appear that the authorship of Bonus Homo was, at that time, sufficiently known to give such a direction to them as to occasion the rejection of Mr. Campbell's application. It is true, that in reversing what was the Divine rule under the Jewish institution, of visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, the Synod made Alexander's preaching, for the three months previous, one of their "important reasons" for rejecting his father's application, and in so doing might appear to have some special reason for mentioning and singling out the youth as a particular mark for censure. Still, as its action admits of satisfactory explanation upon the well-known principles that govern religious parties, it is not necessary to suppose the existence of influences merely temporary and personal.

As for Thomas Campbell, he had now gained additional insight into the mysteries of sectarianism, and could better appreciate the sagacity with which his son had anticipated the results of his application. Finding that all his overtures for Christian union were rejected, and all his efforts to induce the religious parties to accept the Bible as the only basis of union had proved abortive, he now felt himself like a waif dropped upon the surface of religious society, unsought and unclaimed. He did not, however, on this account, lose for a moment his equanimity or his confidence in the principles which he advocated; and, as according to the ancient law, all unclaimed waifs belonged to the *king*, he felt that he truly belonged to the King of kings, and that,

however his principles or his efforts might be disregarded by men, his labors were in perfect harmony with the revealed will of that glorious Being whom he delighted to serve, and that they could not fail to be, therefore, acceptable in His sight. He cherished no unkind feelings in relation to the action of the Synod in his case, and did not think it expedient to take any public notice of the allegations in the Synod's reply. He was so much opposed to religious controversy, and so much in hope that his plea for Christian union would be accepted by the religious parties without debate, that he had, in the "Declaration and Address," entirely precluded himself and the Association from engaging in any oral discussion upon the subject, merely proposing to answer, in writing, any respectful written communications.

There was one member, however, of the Society who had joined it after the adoption of the "Declaration and Address," who took a different view both of the propriety and the necessity of religious controversy, and who was not disposed to allow the aspersions and misrepresentations of the Synod of Pittsburg to pass without a suitable exposure. Alexander Campbell, though but a youth, and as yet a novice in the field of polemics, was not of a spirit tamely to submit to the proceedings of the Synod in relation to his father and the Christian Association, and he resolved to avail himself of the first favorable opportunity to review them publicly. He felt that this duty rested upon him, his father being inhibited by his published Declaration, and no other member of the Society seeming disposed to take upon him this office. Thus the youthful champion was left to meet, by himself, the formidable array of reverend clergymen and doctors of divinity that

composed the Synod of Pittsburg, as the son of Manoah was left by the Israelites to encounter alone the hosts of the Philistines.

As the semi-annual meeting of the Christian Association happened to be near at hand, he concluded to avail himself of it, as affording the most suitable public opportunity for his purpose. In this the Association acquiesced, as the course of the Synod had given rise to various misapprehensions, and it was deemed desirable to bring the nature and objects of the Society more prominently before the people. The following advertisement was accordingly inserted in the *Reporter* on the 22d and 29th of October, 1810, a few days after the meeting of the Synod:

"The Christian Association of Washington holds its semi-annual meeting at Washington on Thursday, the first of November next, at 11 o'clock. There will be delivered upon that occasion by Alexander Campbell, V. D. S.,* an appropriate discourse illustrative of the principles and design of the Association, and for the purpose of obviating certain mistakes and objections which ignorance or willful opposition has attached to the humble and well-meant attempts of the Society to promote a thorough scriptural reformation, as testified in their address to the friends and lovers of peace and truth throughout all the Churches." * * * *

At the time appointed, Alexander addressed a large assemblage from Isaiah lvii. 14, and lxii. 10. As this

* In renouncing the title "Reverend" as an improper designation for a preacher, it being applied in Scripture to the name of the Divine Being, Thomas Campbell continued for some time to annex occasionally to his name the initials V. D. M., representing the words Verbi Divini Minister, or "Minister of the Word of God," as indicating the position to which, in Divine Providence, he felt himself called. In the advertisement above, Alexander, either to attract a little more attention, or as an offset to the D.D.'s of the reverend Synod, chose to indicate his office by the initials of the words Verbi Divini Servus, "Servant of the Word of God."

discourse reveals the views which he at this time held in relation to some important points, as well as the objects then proposed, an abstract of it is here given. He introduced his subject thus:

"As the benighted traveler at midnight's dreary hour is consoled with the hope of day's return; as the husbandman, when frigid winter's icy hands congeal the plains, is cheered by the hope of spring; as the septennial captive rejoices in the expectation of the hour of freedom, so the Bible-illumined Christian, in the dismal season of Zion's tribulation, exults in the firm persuasion that the promise of her deliverance will be fulfilled, and that the happy hour will speedily arrive when God will favor her, make her 'a praise in the midst of the earth,' and shall cause her 'righteousness to go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth.' Aided by the light of Divine revelation, and encouraged by the faithfulness of God, we are enabled to expect, and with joy anticipate, a happy season, when the 'heathen' shall be given to King Jesus 'for his inheritance,' and 'the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession;' when 'the Gentiles shall see Zion's righteousness, and all kings her glory.' Even in this misty day, when the love of many waxeth cold; when vile corruptions have stained the professed Church of God; when animosities and angry controversy, discord and division have tarnished the sacred name of Christian; when the ecclesiastical hireling lifts up his voice in the sanctuary, saying, 'What will you give me?' when many shepherds have fleeced their flocks and then scattered them on the mountains,—even in this portentous day, we are warranted to expect that the Lord will soon revive his work, and are encouraged, by the kind prophecy of God, to hope that the day, is not far hence when the stumbling-block shall be removed out of the way of the people; when the Canaanite shall not be found within Jerusalem's hallowed walls; when buyers and sellers shall be scourged out of the temple, and when angry discord shall no more alienate the sons of God."

Continuing his introductory remarks, he spoke, first, of the gracious design of prophecy, and its influence upon the mind; secondly, of the design of the prediction under consideration; and, thirdly, of the things to which these predictions chiefly referred. In the fourth place, he showed that the state of the Jews and the providence of God toward them corresponded remarkably with the present state of the Church and the providence of God toward it; that, in both cases, there was to be a great revival—that the same prophecy which announced the glorious end, declared also that previously there should be fit persons raised up to maintain the Lord's cause—the cause of Zion. "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace, day nor night." Isaiah lxii. 6. "Ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence, and give him no rest till he establish and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth." In this connection, after showing how much had been done since the French Revolution to arouse the people to a true sense of civil and religious liberty, and to spread the Gospel over the world, he continues as follows:

"But time forbids us to enumerate the many noble exertions that have been made, and are at this day making, for the conversion of the heathen. Rapid progress is making in the translation of the Scriptures into every language under heaven, so that they shall soon be read in every language and in every tongue. In the mean time, the work is in its infancy. It is well, however, that it is begun, be it within or without the Church. Reformation is also begun within the Church, and the labors of those who have been engaged in this work have not been in vain. Many within these last sixteen years, both by writing and preaching, have been engaged in the arduous work; many are crying day and night, and are determined to 'give

God no rest till he make Zion a praise in the midst of the earth.' Not long since, an humble attempt has been made here, where, indeed, the enemy, the demon of divisions and delusions, raging and tearing like an impetuous flood, seemed to carry all before it. Even here has the Lord's banner been displayed in behalf of truth, in an humble and unanswerable expostulation upon the evils of division, accompanied by an irrefutable detection of their evil causes, and an overture for union in truth amongst all the friends and lovers of truth throughout the churches. (See Address, p. 19.) The reception this attempt has experienced has evinced its origin. It has met the approbation of no party as such. Had it fared otherwise, it would have evinced itself not catholic, original and pure, for no party can, with any show of decency, pretend to these properties and yet refuse to be measured by the pure, original and catholic standard of the Holy Scriptures. They will only submit to be tried by their own standards; that is, in other words, by their own opinions, as if the word had no certain, fixed or express meaning of its own, but just what they are pleased to give it."

After dwelling on these and several other introductory points, he went on to discuss the subject, first "considering the duties inculcated in the figures presented in the text; secondly, showing that the performance of these duties had been attempted under the auspices of the 'Christian Association; and, in the third place, endeavoring to obviate some feigned plausible objections that ignorance or willful opposition had made." He then makes a proper division of the text, and goes on to elucidate the different heads.

1. "Go through, go through the gates," is shown "to be spoken in reference to the situation of the persons addressed, who were in the midst of Babylon. It is necessary that they should remove hence ere they could come to Zion. Hence separation from Babylon is the first duty inculcated in the natural order of the text. Refer to 2 Cor. vi. 17; Rev. xviii." 4. He then showed "what was meant by Babylon in the New Testament sense and the indispensable necessity of removing

from it, 1. For our own sakes, in compliance with God's commands; and, 2. For the sake of others, in the work of reformation."

2. Under the second division, "Prepare the way, * * * take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people, * * * cast up the highway, gather out the stones," he went on to observe that "various figures are employed to illustrate the preparation of the way here intended, and that various things have always been necessary in preparing the way for a general, permanent reformation. Previous to the establishment of the Christian religion, a messenger was sent to say, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God; every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places smooth."

3. He then applied the expressions "cast up the highway," etc., as now "equivalent to 'disencumber the Scriptures from the traditions of men, and exhibit them in a simple and perspicuous manner,' as they are the only authorized highway from Babylon to Zion, or from this world to heaven. Of it Isaiah (xxxv. 8, 9) says, 'And a highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it, but it *shall* be for those: the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err *therein*. No lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon, it shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk *there*. And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads.'

"There have been other ways found out by men, but none of them were broad enough to hold every traveler to Zion. They were by-roads appropriated to their owners, but not like the king's high-road, that suffered every man who was a lawful, well-behaved subject to pass unmolested."

4. He then shows that "the persons who should be instrumental in making this reformation are commanded to repair this established road and direct the people to it; to stand and cry (Jer. vi. 16): 'Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways

and see and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein and ye shall find rest for your souls.' It is only by walking in this way that rest can be obtained; and what is this way? Do not the Scriptures of truth furnish the only established law or way for Christians, whether in an individual or church capacity, to walk to heaven in? To the law and to the testimony. Psalm cxix. 105: 'Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path.' It is sufficient for every purpose and for every work. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17: 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.' It is also said, Psalm xix. 7, 8, 9: 'The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes; the fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever; the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' In harmony with these teachings, the apostle commands Christians and the preachers of the gospel to hold fast the 'form of sound words, which,' says he, 'ye have heard of me.' The sects have all, in a good degree at least, held fast the substance, but none of them the form, and yet Paul commands Timothy to hold fast the form, and also 'to commit those things to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also;' and he declares that 'if any man teach otherwise and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing,' etc. All the sects have been strenuously contending for their own confessions, but none of them for the faith once delivered to the saints in the form in which it was delivered.

"5. The next figure of expression made use of for instructing us in the necessary preparation of the way is, 'take up the stumbling-block from the way of my people.' This stumbling-block and the stones that were to be gathered out

of the way are understood to denote whatever causes God's people to stumble on their way Zionward; whatever prevents them from conforming to the Word of God in all things; whatever prevents them from enjoying all the privileges of the dispensation under which we live. These hinderances are then shown to be human opinions and inventions of men, and the way in which they thus hinder is explained."

In explaining the figure, "lift up a standard for the people," it is shown, "1. That the standard is the testimony of Jesus Christ, which is the spirit of prophecy. 2. That other testimonies have in vain been lifted up for this purpose. That standards had been lifted up which narrowed the gates of Zion, so that only a few of a certain height and breadth could have admission, and there were none of them but would reject those whom God has not rejected, and deny admission to those whom God had admitted. All are defective. The apostle Paul, the angel Gabriel in human form, could not be admitted on the principles of these standards. The standard, as infallible, is made to open admission into the door of the Church as well as into the gates of heaven."

Under the second general head, he endeavored to show "that their Society had attempted to perform the duties referred to. 1. By endeavoring to remove the stumbling-block of making the private opinions of men a term of communion. 2. By gathering out of the way the stumbling-stones of human invention. 3. By pointing to the good old way, and maintaining that it is perfect, infallible, and sufficient. 4. By lifting up as our standard and maintaining that the New Testament is as perfect a constitution for the worship, discipline and government of the New Testament Church, and as perfect a rule for the particular duties of its members, as the Old Testament was for its members. We have decided, therefore, to lift it up as a standard for the Church, to open the gates of admission into the Church as wide as the gates of heaven."

He now, under the third head, goes on to obviate objections; the first one of these noticed is, "*that the principle*

and plan adopted have a tendency to increase divisions, and to terminate in a new party." This objection he obviates, "1. By reference to the express declarations, in the appendix to the Address, on this particular point. 2. By noticing the effects of the labors of the Prince of Peace, and showing that as it was in his case, so it is in ours. If our overture offend any of the brethren, the blame cannot be attached to us. 3. By referring to the proceedings of the Society heretofore, as bearing testimony to the sincerity of its professions, as all concerned well knew. He then further proceeds to show that if the various parties refuse to give up their anti-Christian practices, usurpations and administrations, separation from them becomes indispensably necessary. 'It is in their power,' he says, 'to verify their own predictions by forcing us into a party. But even then we do not become a *new* party, but only in the same sense that the primitive Christians became a new party—a sect everywhere spoken against.' He insists that they could be regarded as a party only on the ground that taking the New Testament for their constitution, or making it the only rule, or opening the door of communion as wide as the gate of heaven, could be regarded as party principles; that the primitive Church was precisely such a party, and that if such a party does not now exist, we should be happy to be such a party—such as would receive the whole household of faith upon original, catholic and pure principles. If, however, he adds, our brethren still persist to criminally impeach us with partyism and schism, we must impute it to their willful opposition.'

"The second objection is, that *it tends to degrade the ministerial character.* This, like the former, is an impeachment thrown in the very face of express declarations. See Address, resolution fifth, which says, 'That this Society, formed for the sole purpose of promoting simple, evangelical Christianity, shall, to the utmost of its power, countenance and support such ministers, and such only, as exhibit a manifest conformity to the original standard in conversation and doctrine, in zeal and diligence; only such as reduce to practice that simple

original form of Christianity expressly exhibited upon the sacred page, without attempting to inculcate anything of human authority, of private opinion or inventions of men, as having any place in the constitution, faith or worship of the Christian Church, or anything as matter of Christian faith or duty, for which there cannot be expressly produced a Thus saith the Lord, either in express terms or by approved precedent.' Does such a proposal as this, tend to degrade the ministerial character? If so, we know not how to exalt the ministerial character. What! Will the acknowledgment of only such ministers as are scripturally qualified degrade the ministerial character? What! Will the admission of such doctrines only as are expressly revealed open a door to errors and corruptions? Then surely the blame must lie on the Scriptures and not on us. That our principles would reduce hirelings, drones, idle shepherds, dumb dogs, blind guides and unfaithful watchmen to contempt, we allow.

"It is also true, that if nothing be admitted but what is expressly found in the Bible, many things that are deemed precious and important must be excluded. But none will dare to say that what is expressly revealed will be error. Therefore, unless our accusers produce relevant proof to condemn our conduct as inconsistent with our principles, we must consider them ignorant of these principles and malicious. But such proof we humbly presume they cannot exhibit, and we are determined, through grace, they never shall.

"The third objection is, *that our plan tends to open a door to corruption in discipline.* This charge is confidently exhibited in opposition to our own declaration, Prop. 7, 8, 12. The sum of all of which is, that as there is but one class which, according to the Word, can be called Christians, so none else ought to be received or retained in the Church's communion; but, if we have mistaken their character, we would be obliged to our brethren to correct our mistake, and if not, we should humbly presume that the real intention of discipline would be secured. Or do they object that we condemn or acquit by the express letter of the law?

We leave them to the law, or rather to the Author of it, and remind them that the controversy is not with us, but with the law, and that whosoever judgeth the law is not a doer of the law, but a judge.

"The fourth objection is, that *we make a nominal approbation of the Bible a satisfactory test of truth*, and that all the before-mentioned evils are attributable to this laxity of discipline. Who told them these were our intentions? Surely, we have declared the very contrary. See appendix to 'Declaration and Address.' Why, then, do our brethren impute such things to us in the open face of our express declaration to the very contrary, as they have evidently done in every item of their false impeachments? Is such conduct consistent with truth, justice or charity? Yet all these things have the Synod of Pittsburg laid to our charge. In so doing they must have judged our hearts, our secret intentions, and not our public profession nor our practice; for as to these we defy them and all men to make good a single objection.

"Having briefly answered these, we proceed to answer a few other popular objections, or rather popular clamors, excited against us by designing men, such as the following:

"V. *That your principles exclude infant baptism.*

"1. We dare not inculcate infant baptism in the name of the Lord as indispensably incumbent upon Christians, because the Lord has nowhere expressly enjoined it. If anything can be produced on this head, we should be glad to see it. Until this be done, we think it highly anti-scriptural to make it a term of communion, for to do this is to make it a term of salvation. It is as much as to say, 'Except you baptize your children you cannot be saved!'

"2. They virtually say when they make it a term of communion, 'You are excluded from the Church below, consequently from the Church above.' They have no *revealed* right to heaven above, so that unless our brethren can show us that, though excluded from the Church below, they still have a right to expect admission into heaven, we must conclude they make it a term of salvation, as much at least as

the Judaizing teachers did their beloved circumcision, in the room of which our brethren say baptism is come. While we oppose the procedure as the apostle did circumcision, we are as far from condemning the practice in existing circumstances, when not held in this important point of view, as the apostle was, in his own time, from condemning the procedure of the Jewish brethren in regard to circumcision, and would comply with the conscientious scruples of our brethren as far as the Apostle Paul did when he circumcised Timotheus with his own hand.

"3. While we declare that neither pædobaptism nor antipædobaptism availeth anything, we would consider ourselves as unjustly impeached by the objection under consideration as the apostle considered himself (Acts xxi. 21) in regard to Jewish observances, and with him would be at some pains to convince our brethren that 'those things whereof they were informed were nothing.'

"4. Upon the whole, we conclude that it should be a matter of forbearance, as it is evident circumcision was in the primitive Church, by no means considering it a matter of indifference. It can never be a light thing to mistake the will of God. We look at baptism now in nearly the same point of view in which the primitive Church looked at circumcision, and consider the cases, if not altogether yet nearly parallel; so far so, that we must either forbear or otherwise reject a great number of God's dear children without his special warrant, if not in express violation of his Divine commands: 'Him that is weak in the faith receive ye.' 'Receive ye one another as Christ has also received us to the glory of God.'

"VI. *It is objected that our plan tends to establish independent church government.*

"1. We believe that the Church of Christ is completely independent beneath the government of her glorious Head, expressly declared in the rules and ordinances of his own appointment.

"2. And that the rulers ordained of him are elders and deacons.

"3. Each church had a government within itself, to which it was subject, yet the churches were not so independent of each other but that they stood in a brotherly relation to each other.

"4. But until our brethren can show us that the churches at Corinth and Antioch and Pisidia were governed by their rulers *in conjunction with one another*, we must say that such government is not founded in the Scriptures; and still further, till they can show that they managed their affairs by vote, etc., in *superior* and *inferior* courts, we consider such conduct as a gross intrusion on the rights of conscience and the liberties of Christians. We are, therefore, *scriptural* Presbyterians.

"VII. *It is again objected that it opens a door for lay preaching.*

"1. See resolution 12. 'Our ministers should be duly and scripturally qualified.' Does this imply that we are advocates for lay preaching? Are *lay* preachers the only persons 'duly and scripturally qualified?' If they be, let us have a number of them.

"2. But what do we understand by lay preachers? It seems that if lay preachers be 'scripturally qualified,' our brethren would not like them.

"3. The *clergy* are the opposite to the *laity*. Both these terms are used in Scripture to denote God's people. Trace them to their origin and we find no difference.* We would be obliged to some person of exquisite keenness of distinction to point out and define the difference between *laical* and *clerical* preachers."

In addition to the above objections, he noticed, in

* Λαος (laos) signifies people, and is constantly applied to God's people. Κλῆρος (kleros) signifies *lot, inheritance*, and is applied to the tribe of Levi in the Old Testament. In the New, it is used of the antitype, the people of God, as in 1 Pet. v. 3, "not as lords over God's *heritage*," *clergy* or *kleros*, so that the term is here applied to the whole brotherhood, and there is not, in Scripture, the slightest ground for the distinction between clergy and laity. On the contrary, all the disciples collectively are denominated a "royal priesthood," a "peculiar people," 1 Pet. ii. 9; and in Rev. v. 10; are said to be made "kings and priests to God."—R.

concluding, one or two others, as, "that the principles of the Association would exclude females from the Lord's table," and would "abrogate the Sabbath," on which it is unnecessary now to dwell.

Such was the substance of Alexander Campbell's reply to the allegations of the Synod of Pittsburg, which seems to have paid no attention to the published declaration of the views and purposes of the "Christian Association," but to have gone out of its way to characterize these according to its own religious prejudices. Its answer to Thomas Campbell's application would have been dignified and proper, if it had simply confined itself to one of the reasons given, viz.: that "it is not consistent with the regulations of the Presbyterian Church that Synod should make a connection with any ministers, churches or associations." And it would have been still more becoming, if, after courteously admitting the candor and good intentions of Mr. Campbell, it had declined acceding to his request on the true and simple ground that it had neither the *power* nor the *inclination* to effect the proposed changes in the attitude and polity of the Presbyterian Church. But in characterizing Mr. Campbell's plan to promote Christian union as "specious" and "seducing," and classing it indefinitely with "similar projects," which were of "baleful tendency," leading to "destructive operations," "errors in doctrine," "corruptions in discipline," etc., the Synod became at once *aggressive*, and initiated a controversy, which, in various forms, was maintained for half a century, to the great detriment of the interests of the Presbyterian party. The Synod little thought, at the time, that the youth who so readily took up the gauntlet it had proudly thrown down, would, in subsequent years, overthrow the ablest

champions of their denomination in public discussions, and do more to sap the foundations and check the progress of Presbyterianism in the United States than all other causes combined.

As to the views entertained at this time by Alexander Campbell and his father, it appears, from the above discourse, 1. That they regarded the religious parties around them as possessing the *substance* of Christianity but as having failed to preserve "the form of sound words" in which it was originally presented; and that the chief object in the reformation proposed, was to persuade to the abandonment of every human system, and the adoption of "this form of sound words" as the true basis of union. 2. That they regarded each church as an independent organization, having its own internal government by bishops and deacons, yet not so absolutely independent of other churches as not to be bound to them by fraternal relations. 3. That they considered "lay preaching" as authorized, and denied the distinction between clergy and laity to be scriptural. 4. That they looked upon infant baptism as without direct scriptural authority, but were willing to leave it as a matter of forbearance, and allow the continuance of the practice in the case of those who conscientiously approved it, as Paul and James permitted circumcision for a time in deference to Jewish prejudices. 5. That they clearly anticipated the probability of being compelled, on account of the refusal of the religious parties to accept their overture, to resolve the Christian Association into a distinct Church, in order to carry out for themselves the duties and obligations enjoined on them in the Scriptures. And, 6. That in receiving nothing but what was expressly revealed, they foresaw and admitted that many things deemed precious and important

by the existing religious societies, must inevitably be excluded.

Such, then, was the progress already made by the principles of the reformation in the minds of those who promoted this religious movement. It will have been seen that, from the beginning, its object and its nature were clearly understood and distinctly defined; and that, originating in no pride of opinion, no freak of disappointed ambition, no hope of worldly honor or emolument, it was carried on with calm deliberation and with constant reference to the basis at first adopted —the Bible alone.

It will be seen, further, that the positions taken by the Christian Association at this period were almost identical with those held by the churches established by the Haldanes, with which Alexander had become familiar during his residence in Scotland. The independence of each congregation; its government by its own rulers; the Scriptures as the only authoritative guide; the practice of lay preaching, and the toleration of infant baptism, were all points of agreement. But in other respects, there were differences, due to the differing circumstances attending these efforts at reform. The Haldanean reformation spent much of its force in battling with infidelity and Socinianism in the Estab lished Church and in seeking to restore the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith in the work of Christ; and although, in making its appeal to the Scriptures, it was gradually led to the adoption, in part, of primitive Church government and order, it was essentially an effort to expose the doctrinal errors which had crept into the Church, and to give a wider range and greater efficiency to the means employed for the spread of the evangelical doctrines. On the other hand, the reform

urged by the Campbells, while it necessarily embraced these points, was much more radical and sweeping. Its aim was not so much to repair defects in modern Christianity, as to restore that which was original and pure, "both in letter and spirit, in principle and in practice." It proposed to pay no respect whatever to the doctrinal or other controversies which had existed since apostolic times, but to adopt, at once, the original basis on which the primitive Church itself rested. It proposed to build upon the first foundations, rather than to attempt to repair the breaches in the crumbling walls of modern religious systems. It trusted to the Bible, therefore, and to the Bible alone, as furnishing the entire plan and all the necessary specifications of the Divine Architect, and, though delayed and hindered by the necessity of removing often the accumulated rubbish of human speculations, it steadily pursued its original design, until it succeeded at length in developing the entire structure of primitive Christianity.

CHAPTER XVII.

Religious Speculation and Dictation—Partyism—New Acquaintances—Marriage—Church Organization—First Baptisms—Scripture Themes.

THE concealments of the Bible are as Divine as its revelations. Infinite wisdom was required as much to determine of what man should be ignorant as what man should know. Indeed, since, in regard to all matters connected with the unseen spiritual world, man is entirely dependent upon Divine revelation, the limits of that revelation must necessarily mark out also the domain of human ignorance, as the shores of a continent become the boundaries of a trackless and unfathomed ocean. Hence it is, that the silence of the Bible is to be reverenced equally with its teachings, and that to intrude into things not seen and not revealed, evinces the vanity of a fleshly mind as much as to misinterpret and pervert the express statements of the Scriptures. Unfortunately, both of these errors had prevailed in religious society, which was not content with either the reticence or the teachings of the Bible, but had presumed to supply the former by speculations upon the eternal decrees of God, the Trinity, the Divine nature, the future destiny of mankind, etc.; and to substitute for the latter, the commentaries of party leaders and the decisions of councils or other ecclesiastical tribunals. Against this latter usurpation of Divine authority, where men had assumed to regulate

the faith and practice of the Church, eminent reformers had, indeed, from age to age, remonstrated. Unfortunately, however, while endeavoring to correct this error, and to reinstate the Scripture in its proper position as an infallible and Divine revelation, too little attention was paid to the fact that this revelation had its appointed limits, and these reformers themselves presumed to transcend these boundaries, and to superadd their own opinions and speculations about questions of which the Scriptures do not treat. There was, therefore, a necessity for both the specifications in the principle which Thomas Campbell had adopted, "where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent," as it was not merely necessary to take Divine revelation as a guide, but equally so to prohibit the addition and admixture of human opinions. It was this last point particularly, viz.: that the silence of the Scriptures is to be respected equally with its teachings, that was almost peculiar to the reformation urged by Mr. Campbell, and continued to be one of its most important and characteristic traits.

As it was the distinguishing error of Romanism to presume to dictate the faith and regulate the ordinances of the Church, irrespective of the teaching of the Scriptures; so the chief mistake of Protestantism consisted in substituting for the silence of the Bible human opinions and speculative theories. The great principle urged by Thomas Campbell, which demanded implicit faith in express revelation alone, and an acknowledged or explicit ignorance in regard to all untaught questions, brought, therefore, those who adopted it into direct antagonism with the entire religious world. Accordingly, with perhaps the exception of the churches established by the Haldanes and a few other small inde-

pendent bodies of reformers, who had, in various parts of Europe and America, been led to take the Bible alone as a guide, there was not any religious denomination whatever, known to them, with which the reformers could consistently have established a real and fraternal union. Whatever confidence they might have in the faith and piety of many of the individuals composing a party, they could have none in the party itself or in the system upon which it was maintained, and could not therefore, by uniting, give their sanction to those divisive principles which it was their chief purpose to subvert. On the other hand, it is obvious that no party desiring to continue such, and comprehending the sweeping character of the great fundamental principle adopted by Thomas Campbell, could, consistently with its own security, receive the reformers into religious fellowship.

"Am I asked," said Alexander Campbell about this period (in an address after sermon at the house of Mr. Buchanan), in order to anticipate certain objections, "why I am not a party man? or why I do not join some party? I ask, in return, Which party would the Apostle Paul join if now on earth? Or, in other words, which party would *receive* him? I dare not be a party man for these reasons:

"1. Because Christ has forbidden me. He has commanded us to keep the 'unity of the spirit;' to be 'of one mind and of one judgment;' to 'love each other with a pure heart fervently,' and to 'call no man master' on earth.

"2. Because no party will receive into communion all whom God would receive into heaven. God loves his children more than our creeds, and man was not made for the Bible, but the Bible for man. But if I am

asked by a partisan, Could you not join us and let these things alone? I answer, no, because—

"3. The man that promotes the interests of a party stands next in guilt to the man that made it. The man that puts the second stone on a building is as instrumental in its erection as the man that laid the first. He that supports a party bids the party God speed; and he that bids them God speed is a partaker of their evil deeds.

"4. Because all parties oppose reformation. They all pray for it, but they will not work for it. None of them dare return to the original standard. I speak not against any denomination in particular, but against *all*. I speak not against any system of truth, but against all *except the Bible*. 'Hold fast the form of sound words' condemns them all. It is a doleful truth, that the very persons who ought to have advocated reformation, always opposed it. See the *History of the Christian Church*, and Matthew xxiii. When I consider what Paul and thousands of others suffered for a good conscience, I would do so too. I desire to fight for 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' I like the bold Christian hero."

Such, at this period, were the noble and decided utterances of Alexander Campbell in relation to partyism and to his own convictions of religious duty; and such were the feelings which he and those associated with him then entertained in reference to these sad defections from primitive precept and example. Such, too, were the views which they labored to impress upon the religious community as opportunity was afforded. Except, however, in the case of the special address delivered at Washington on November 1, in defence of the Christian Association against the aspersions of the

Synod of Pittsburg, which was delivered at a regular meeting of the Association, and the object of which had been previously announced by advertisement, Alexander Campbell and his father appear never to have made their views of reformation the particular theme of their regular discourses, which they continued to deliver in the court-house or in the seminary building at Washington; at Brush Run; the cross-roads; Middletown, and occasionally at private houses, as at Thomas McClellan's, Thomas Hodgens', Thomas Sharp's, James McElroy's, etc. These discourses were devoted to the elucidation of portions of Scripture for Christian edification and for the enforcement of the great duties of the Christian life. Both of them had too much reverence for the Lord's day and the solemnities of religious worship, to appropriate those hours to the discussion of inferior themes, or to the ungrateful subject of religious schisms, unless, indeed, this happened to be involved legitimately in the text. Thus, amongst the numerous discourses which Alexander Campbell delivered during the early years of his ministry, and of which he preserved skeletons and notes sufficient to make an interesting volume, none are to be found of a partisan or disputatious character, and none of them are directed against any existing denomination. They are from texts such as these: "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." Ecclesiastes xii. 13. "Search the Scriptures, for in them you think you have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." John v. 39. "Behold I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." Revelation iii. 20. "For in

Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love." Galatians v. 6. "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?" Hebrews ii. 3. "To be carnally-minded is death, but to be spiritually-minded is life and peace." Romans viii. 6. They are discourses upon the excellency and glory of Christ and the sufficiency of his finished work; upon the covenants and promises of God; upon the study of the Scriptures as the rule of life; upon faith, righteousness and judgment to come Confining themselves thus, according to their own principles, to Scripture themes in their public ministrations, neither father nor son had any disposition to speak, unless incidentally and briefly, and in general terms, of existing divisions. These matters they reserved for conference in private with religious persons, and for friendly discussion in the families to which they had access, and especially with ministers and persons of influence amongst the different parties. Thomas Campbell, especially, spent much of his time in visiting the families with which he was acquainted throughout this region of country, not only to promote the interests of religion, but from his affectionate attachment to the numerous friends he had formed while a Seceder minister, and from that eminently social disposition so characteristic of his countrymen, of whom he was in this respect a fair representative.

Among the various families that he occasionally visited, there was one by the name of Parkinson, living on the upland immediately bordering on the valley of Buffalo, eight miles from Charlestown. Mrs. Parkinson was a member of the Associate Reformed congregation at W. Middletown, then under the care of a Mr. Findley. She had been left a widow with a

family of children, and was a woman of intelligence and piety, much respected by Mr. Campbell. While here, he was introduced to a Mr. John Brown, who owned the farm adjoining, which extended down into the valley of the creek, and embraced a large portion of its rich alluvial bottoms. Around these the creek swept with a graceful curve, washing the base of the lofty hill on which the Parkinson farm was situated, and just here, Mr. Brown, who was a carpenter and millwright, had a grist-mill and saw-mill, which were at this time, with some adjoining acres, in the possession of a Mr. Talbot. Beyond these, at a considerable distance, on a more elevated portion of the farm, near the public road, stood Mr. Brown's comfortable and capacious dwelling, two stories high, weather-boarded, painted white, and with green venetian shutters. Mr. Brown was a Presbyterian, but somewhat independent and original in his modes of thinking; fond of investigation, and a great admirer of men of talent. He was a man of great kindness of disposition; of great piety and integrity, and had a remarkable love for simplicity and plainness in dress and mode of living, maintaining, as far as practicable, the habits of the early settlers. Thomas Campbell's acquaintance with him soon grew into a warm friendship, and they did not fail to have many agreeable discussions upon religious topics. Mr. Campbell having on a particular occasion promised Mr. Brown some books, upon his return to Washington sent them down by his son Alexander. This was the first visit Alexander had paid to this part of the country, and the acquaintance which he then formed with Mr. Brown and his family, led to important results.

Mr. Brown's family consisted at this time of his

wife, his daughter Margaret, about eighteen years of age, and his step-daughter, Miss Jane Glass, a few years older. His present wife was the widow of a Mr. Glass, who had lived on the farm immediately above, in the valley of the creek. After the death of her first husband, Mrs. Glass had married Mr. Brown, who was at that time a widower. She was considerably below the medium height, energetic, industrious and intelligent. Her first husband having been one of the early settlers, her life had been full of privations, labor and trial. During the hostilities which for a long time prevailed between the white settlers and the Indians upon their borders, she had met at one time with a very perilous adventure, an account of which is here given from Dr. Joseph Doddridge's "Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of West Pennsylvania and Virginia:"

"On the 27th day of March, 1789, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, as she was spinning in her house, her black woman, who had stepped out to gather sugar water, screamed out, 'Here are Indians.' She jumped up, ran to the window and then to the door, where she was met by one of the Indians presenting his gun. She caught hold of the muzzle and turning it aside, begged him not to kill, but take her prisoner. The other Indian, in the mean time, caught the black woman and her boy, about four years old, and brought them into the house. They then opened a chest, took out a small box and some articles of clothing, and without doing any further damage or setting fire to the house, set off with herself and her son, about two and a half years old, and the black woman and her two children, the oldest four years and the youngest one year old. After going about one and a half miles, they halted and held a consultation, as she supposed, about killing the children. This she understood to be the subject from their gestures and frequently pointing at the

children. To one of the Indians who could speak English she held out her little boy and begged him not to kill him, as he would make a fine little Indian after a while. The Indian made a motion to her to walk on with her child. The other Indian then struck the negro boy with the pipe end of his tomahawk, which knocked him down, and then despatched him by a blow with the edge across the back of the neck, and then scalped him.

"About four o'clock in the evening, they reached the river about a mile above Wellsburg, and carried a canoe, which had been thrown into some driftwood, into the river. They got into this canoe and worked it down to the mouth of Rush Run, a distance of about five miles. They pulled up the canoe into the mouth of the run as far as they could, then went up the run for about a mile and encamped for the night. The Indians gave the prisoners all their own clothes for covering, and added one of their own blankets. A while before daylight, the Indians got up and put another blanket over them.

"About sunrise they began their march up a very steep hill, and about two o'clock they halted on Short Creek, about twenty miles from the place from whence they had set out in the morning. The place where they halted had been an encampment a short time before, as well as a place of deposit for the plunder which they had recently taken from the house of a Mr. Vanmeter, whose family had been killed. The plunder was deposited in a sycamore tree. They tapped some trees when there before. Here they kindled a fire and put on a brass kettle with a turkey, which they had killed on the way, to boil in sugar water.

"Mr. Glass, the first husband of Mrs. Brown, was working in a field with a hired man, about a quarter of a mile from the house, when his wife and family were taken, but knew nothing of the event until two o'clock. After searching about the house, and going to several houses in the neighborhood in quest of his family, he went to Mr. Wells' fort, and collected ten men beside himself; and the same

night lodged in a cabin on the bottom on which the town now stands.

"Next morning they discovered the place from which the Indians had taken the canoe from the drift, and their tracks at the place of their embarkation. Mr. Glass could distinguish the track of his wife by the print of the high heel of her shoe. They crossed over the river and went down on the other side until they came near the mouth of Rush Run; but discovering no tracks of the Indians, most of the men concluded they would go to the mouth of Muskingum by water, and therefore wished to turn back. Mr. Glass begged of them to go as far as the mouth of Short Creek, which was only two or three miles farther. To this they agreed. When they got to the mouth of Rush Run, they found the canoe of the Indians. This was indentified by a proof which goes to show the presence of mind of Mrs. Brown. While going down the river one of the Indians threw into the water some papers which he had taken from Mr. Glass's trunk; some of these she picked up, and under pretence of giving them to the child, dropped them in the bottom of the boat. These left no doubt. The trail of the Indians and the prisoners up the run to their camp, and then up the river hill, was soon discovered. The trail at that time, owing to the softness of the ground and the height of the weeds, was easily followed. About an hour after the Indians had halted, Mr. Glass and his men came within sight of the smoke of their camp. The object was, then, to save the lives of the prisoners by attacking the Indians so unexpectedly as not to allow them time to kill them. With this view, they crept as slyly as they could till they got within something more than a hundred yards of the camp. Fortunately, Mrs. Brown's little son had gone to a sugar tree to get some water, and not being able to get it out of the rough trough, his mother had stepped out of the camp to get it for him. The negro woman was sitting some distance from the two Indians, who were looking attentively at a scarlet jacket they had taken some time before. On a sudden they dropped the jacket and turned their eyes toward

the men, who, supposing they were discovered, immediately discharged several guns, and rushed upon them at full speed with an Indian yell. One of the Indians, it was supposed, was wounded at the first fire, as he fell and dropped his gun and shot-pouch. After running about one hundred yards a second shot was fired after him by Major Maguire, which brought him to his hands and knees, but there was no time for pursuit, as the Indians had informed Mrs. Brown that there was another encampment close by. They therefore returned home with all speed, and reached the Beach Bottom fort that night.

"The other Indian, at the first fire, ran a little distance beyond Mrs. Brown, so that she was in a line between him and the white men: here he halted for a little to put on his shot-pouch, which Mr. Glass for a moment mistook for an attempt to kill his wife with a tomahawk.

"This artful manœuvre no doubt saved the life of the savage, as his pursuers durst not shoot at him without risking the life of Mrs. Brown."

Mrs. Glass, at the time of her marriage to Mr. Brown, had an only daughter, who, some time after Alexander's introduction to the family, married a Mr. Stevenson and settled near Pittsburg. Mr. Brown, also, had been left with an only daughter by his first wife, whose maiden name was Grimes, and whose relatives lived in Charlestown and its vicinity, one sister being married to a Major Congleton. Miss Brown was tall and slender, but graceful. She had a sweet, benignant countenance, very dark hair, regular features, full and expressive dark hazel eyes, and was already noted for her piety, industry and engaging manners. Her education had been the best which, in this region, was at that time accorded to females.

The agreeable acquaintance which Alexander had thus formed with the Brown family, induced him soon

to repeat his visit. Mr. Brown had conceived a very warm attachment to the young preacher, whose talents and acquirements he greatly admired, and with whose sprightly and agreeable conversation he was so much delighted, that he sought every opportunity of enjoying his company. On his part, Alexander entertained a very earnest regard for Mr. Brown. He loved his independent turn of thought; his simple manners; the unyielding integrity which characterized his life, and the childlike and unaffected confidence which he reposed in those he esteemed. As an instance of his fondness for investigation, it may be related that, one evening when Alexander was at his house, an eccentric Baptist preacher who occasionally traversed this part of the country, and with whom Mr. Brown was acquainted, happening to call to spend the night, he managed pretty soon to get up a discussion between him and Alexander on the subject of baptism. Greatly to his delight, the debate soon became animated. The various covenants were considered at length. The Christian and Jewish institutions were compared, and the cause of pædobaptism was argued, with more than usual dexterity, by the young disputant. Finding himself baffled, however, by the direct Scripture quotations of his opponent, he insisted that infant baptism should, at least, like circumcision in the early Church, be left as a matter of forbearance. This position was vigorously assailed by the close-communion Baptist, and the discussion became so interesting that it was prolonged until near morning, and the parties finally separated under an agreement to meet in two weeks in order to continue the subject. They met, accordingly, at the time appointed, but Alexander, whose love for truth did not permit him to feel entirely satisfied with the argu-

ments he had prepared, begged for a further adjournment, and it so happened that the discussion was not afterward resumed.

The intimacy thus established in the fall of 1810 with Mr. Brown and his family soon led to a warmer feeling than that of friendship between Alexander and the daughter, and they became finally so much attached to each other as to lead to a proposal of marriage. This being entirely agreeable to the relatives on both sides, the marriage ceremony was performed on the 12th of March, 1811, by Rev. Mr. Hughes, pastor of the Presbyterian church at the town of West Liberty, four miles distant, and of which Mr. Brown and his family were members. On the following day, according to the custom of the time, Alexander went up with his bride to Washington to receive the congratulations of his friends at his father's house. The day having been thus agreeably spent, all the members of the family assembled at the usual hour, according to their invariable custom, for worship. Each one had, as usual, a Scripture recitation to offer, and Alexander's sister Jane, now about eleven years old, who had been greatly troubled in the morning as to what portion of Scripture she should memorize for so important an occasion, and who had at last settled upon the description of the model wife contained in the last twenty-two verses of the concluding chapter of Proverbs, gave her recitation very correctly, as follows:

"Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that she shall have no need of spoil. She will do him good, and not evil, all the days of her life. She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands. She is like the merchant ships; she bringeth her food from afar. She

riseth while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens. She considereth a field, and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hand she planteth a vineyard. She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms. She perceiveth that her merchandise is good; her candle goeth not out by night. She layeth her hand to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff. She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy. She is not afraid of the snow for her household; for all her household are clothed with scarlet. She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple. Her husband is known in the gates when he sitteth among the elders of the land. She maketh fine linen and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant. Strength and honor are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come. She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her mouth is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and she eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all. Favor is deceitful, and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised. Give her of the fruits of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates."

After worship, the bride, coming to Jane, kissed her affectionately, and thanked her warmly for the beautiful passage of Scripture she had so well recited, expressing the hope that she might herself be enabled, in some measure, to practice its teachings. Her subsequent life truly showed how earnestly she sought to conform to the model she so much admired; for she became a true helpmate to her husband, sympathizing with him in all his labors, managing his domestic affairs with the utmost prudence and economy, and enduring patiently the privations consequent upon his frequent absences

from home, in order that he might accomplish the great work to which he had devoted his life.

On the 10th of March, two days before his marriage, Alexander had preached twice at Brush Run. On the following two Lord's days he preached at Washington; and on the 25th of March he went, with his wife, to live with his father-in-law. On the succeeding Lord's day, the 31st, he spoke at Samuel Guy's, who lived on the creek some miles above; and so continued his labors regularly at different points within convenient reach. He did not, however, occupy his time wholly either in fulfilling these duties and preparing for them, or in reading and study. His delight in active exercise, and the practical knowledge he had acquired of farming in his boyhood, led him at once to engage in assisting Mr. Brown in the management of the farm, in which he appears to have displayed his usual activity and energy, devoting to it all the time he could spare from his ministerial duties.

About this time, his father removed from Washington to a small farm for which he had bargained with a Mr. Hammond, situated near John McElroy's, and about a mile and a half from the village of Mount Pleasant. Here, he thought, he could live with his family more inexpensively than in town, especially as his kind friends and neighbors were ready to render him every possible assistance in the management of the farm, his own attention being almost exclusively devoted to religious interests. He had, by this time, become fully convinced that, on account of the continued hostility of the different parties, it was necessary that the Christian Association should assume the character of an independent Church, in order to the enjoyment of those privileges and the performance of those duties which belong to the Church

relation. It was with great reluctance that he finally concluded to take this step, and to separate himself from those whom he desired to recognize as brethren. Such, nevertheless, is the usual fate of reformers. Religious reformations, however they may be aided or modified by external circumstances, must always originate within the Church itself. Such was the case with the Reformation of Luther, of Calvin, of Knox, of Wesley. Luther was a monk, Calvin a Romish curé; Knox a Catholic priest, Wesley an Episcopal presbyter. The reformation urged by Thomas Campbell was no exception to the general rule. It commenced in a community claiming to be the purest portion of the Church, and, when proposed to its hierarchy, was rejected and denounced. Now, as before, the light shone in darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. Hence a separation became inevitable, and this separation appeared not less grievous to the human feelings and sympathies of Thomas Campbell, than similar ones had done to those of other reformers. "He would have liked," as D'Aubigné says of Calvin, "to see all the Church transformed, rather than set himself apart and build up a new one." Having found it impossible, however, to effect this transformation, he felt it to be his duty to organize an independent community.

At the next meeting of the Association, accordingly, the matter was duly considered and agreed to, as the attitude which the religious parties had assumed, seemed to leave no other alternative. Before entering into this sacred relation, Thomas Campbell deemed it proper that each member should give some personal and public evidence of a fitting knowledge of the way of salvation; and he proposed therefore that each should be required to give a satisfactory answer to the question:

"What is the meritorious cause of a sinner's acceptance with God?" With most of the answers to this question he was entirely satisfied, and was particularly well pleased with the views expressed on the occasion by Joseph Bryant. The answers of two of the members being unsatisfactory, their admission was postponed. Neither, however, was received, both having subsequently proved themselves unworthy. James Foster happened not to be present at the above meeting, and when, on Saturday, the 4th of May, he, with the other members, assembled at Brush Run for the purpose of organization, the question arose: "Is James Foster a member, not having been present at the time the test question was propounded?" Some seemed to think not, but Alexander, who, it would seem, was not entirely convinced that there was any authority for such a test, immediately arose and said: "Certainly, James Foster is a member, having been with us from the beginning, and his religious sentiments being perfectly well known to all." The test question, accordingly, was not propounded to him, nor to any one else afterward.

At this meeting, Thomas Campbell was appointed elder, and Alexander was licensed to preach the gospel. Four deacons were also chosen, viz.: John Dawson, George Sharp, William Gilcrist and James Foster; and amidst the prayers and solemn services of the day, they united in singing Psalm cxviii., from the thirteenth to the twenty-ninth verses, in the old metrical version, which, as Seceders, they had been in the habit of using. They felt that the position they had now assumed was one of great responsibility, and one that was destined to lead to most important results. They hoped, however, to have, in their new relation, a happy end to that painful state of suspense in which they had hitherto

been kept, in regard to the results of their religious movement. Rejected, misrepresented and contemned by the rulers of religious society, they felt, nevertheless, that they had experienced much of the Divine presence and guidance in their conscientious efforts to promote Christian unity; and they rejoiced that, all uncertainty being now at an end, they could proceed without delay or hinderance in the field of labor to which they had been called. Under these circumstances, these verses of the Psalm they sung had to them a peculiar significance:

"Thou sore hast thrust that I might fall;
But my Lord helped me—
God my salvation is become,
My strength and song is he.
The right hand of the mighty Lord
Exalted is on high;
The right hand of the mighty Lord
Doth ever valiantly.

"I shall not die, but live, and shall
The works of God discover.
The Lord hath me chastised sore,
But not to death given over.
Oh, set ye open unto me
The gates of righteousness;
Then will I enter into them,
And I the Lord will bless.

"God is the Lord, who unto us
Hath made light to arise:
Bind ye unto the altar's horns
With cords the sacrifice.
Thou art my God, I'll thee exalt;
My God, I will thee praise.
Give thanks to God, for he is good;
His mercy lasts always."

On the following day, being the Lord's day, the Church held its first communion service. Alexander

preached from John vi. 48, "I am that bread of life," and verse 58, last clause: "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." In his introduction, he showed: 1. That as sin and death came into the world by eating, so God had ordained that righteousness and life should be imparted by spiritual food. 2. That as Jesus Christ is all in all to the sinner, so he is represented to us in the Scripture under every kind of emblem that might encourage us to trust in him. 3. That the term "bread" in Scripture is not always used in its strict and literal sense, and that in these passages it is employed in its utmost latitude, as representing anything that can be conducive to the life and happiness of the creature. He then proceeded to consider, 1. The propriety and import of the expression; 2. The appropriate duty of the Christian in regard to partaking of this bread; 3. The motives to comply with this duty; and, 4. To make a proper application to the various classes of those present, expressing, to those about to partake, the hope that they were hungering after this bread of life, and remarking that, in assembling there on that occasion, they furnished an emblem of the millennial state of the Church, nay, an emblem of the *heavenly* state, when men of different nations, and known by different names, should sit down together in the kingdom of God. Afterward, his father delivered a discourse from Rom. viii. 32: "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all: how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" Thus there was formally established a distinct religious community, based solely upon the Bible, and destined, in its future history, to exhibit the entire sufficiency of the basis thus chosen. On the 8th of May, Alexander spoke at Christian Hutman's; on the 12th, at the cross-roads,

on the 15th, at William Gatwood's. Next day he set out from home on his *first* preaching tour, of which he preserved the following memoranda:

"I set out from home Thursday, May 16, 1811, and stopped first evening at Lutham Young's. Conversed upon the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. Next morning, accompanied to the river by Mr. Young, I crossed opposite Steubenville. Introduced myself to Mr. James Larimore and Dr. Slemmons, and was received with courtesy. Was introduced by Dr. Slemmons to Mr. Buchanan, lodging at the Doctor's. After dining, reasoned with Mr. Buchanan on the general state of religion, and argued the principles with him which we advocate; but he would not see. In our discourse a Mr. Boyd, of Steubenville, interrupted by vociferously taking Mr. Buchanan's side of the argument. Finished in a disorderly manner. Appointed to preach in the court-house, Sabbath day, at 12 o'clock. Proceeded to James McElroy's, where I tarried till Friday morning, hospitably entertained. On Sabbath day, I preached, according to appointment, in Steubenville. Had a crowded house, notwithstanding Messrs. Buchanan, Snodgrass, Lambdin, Powel, etc. I had a mixed audience of Presbyterians, Unionists, Methodists, etc. Mr. Lambdin, the Methodist preacher, was present. I was introduced to a Mr. Hawkins, a most respectable citizen, and a Methodist. Sabbath evening, preached at Mr. McElroy's. Had a smaller audience, among whom was Mr. McMillan, with whom I sojourned that night at Mr. Thompson's. Reasoned with him upon our principles. He granted me three things of magnitude: 1. That independent church government had as good a foundation in Scripture as the Presbyterian. 2. That the office of a ruling elder was not found clearly in the Scriptures, but was a human expediency. 3. That he did not believe that the Confession of Faith was *the system*, that is, the precise system, the whole system, or the only system of truth contained in the Bible. Preached on Monday, at Mr. McElroy's, to a respectable assembly, from Gal vi. 15, 16—On the Sabbath at Steubenville, my

text was Heb. ii. 3. In the evening, Mark xvi. 15. On Wednesday morning, left Mr. McElroy's, and arrived at Cadiz. That evening lodged at Squire McNeeley's. Thursday morning, proceeded to Dr. McFadden's; tarried with him till Sabbath morning. Preached, Sabbath day, two sermons, to a large audience—one from John v. 39, and the other from Acts xi. 26. Sabbath evening, lodged at Samuel Gilmore's. Monday evening at James Ford's. Preached at James Ford's, Tuesday, two discourses—one from Rom. viii. 32, and the other from 2 Tim. v. 13. Tuesday evening, lodged at a Methodist exhorter's. Wednesday at James Sharpe's. Preached, Thursday, at William Perry's. Stopped all night. Friday, stopped at Samuel Garret's Preached, Saturday, at Samuel Patten's, in Wheeling, from Phil. iii. 8. Lodged with him, and preached, Sabbath day, June 2, at St. Clairsville, from Rom. viii 32. and secondly, from Isa. lxvii. 14, with lxii. 10, and lodged at Mr Bell's.'

On returning, he delivered a discourse in Warren, one at the house of John Forsyth, and one in Charlestown, reaching home in time to preach, on the 16th, the first sermon delivered in the new meeting-house at Brush Run, which, though unfinished, was used from this time forward, rough seats being provided for the assembly This sermon was based upon Gal. i. 4: "Who gave himself for our sins that he might deliver us from this present evil world," and treated, after some introductory remarks, upon the evils resulting from ignorance of ourselves, of Christ and of the gospel; and then proceeded to dwell upon the glorious character of redemption, and of the deliverance which it brings, closing with an appropriate application.

It had been remarked by some of the members that Joseph Bryant and one or two others, who had given satisfactory answers to the test question proposed by Thomas Campbell, did not partake with the rest at the

Lord's Supper, which, according to the custom of the Independent churches in Scotland, was now celebrated weekly. The reason being asked, Joseph Bryant replied, that he did not consider himself authorized to partake, as he had never been baptized. Such was the case also with two other members—Margaret Fullerton, whose father had been a Baptist, and Abraham Altars, whose father had been a Deist. These cases had brought up, in a new and more practical aspect, the question of baptism, and particularly as regarded what has been called its mode, or, more correctly, the particular *action* meant by baptism; and the subject had continued to be generally discussed among the members during Alexander's absence.

While Thomas Campbell had, as formerly stated, serious scruples about baptizing those who had been already recognized as members of the Church, he had none in the present instance, as none of the candidates had received baptism at all in any of its so-called forms. Neither did he appear to have any doubt or objection in regard to immersion, but he at once acquiesced in Joseph Bryant's view that this alone was baptism. Going over with Thomas Sharp to confer with Joseph Bryant upon the subject, he at once admitted it was evident that in the primitive age they went down into the water and were buried in it. "Water," said he, "is water; and earth is earth. We certainly could not call a person buried in earth if only a little dust were sprinkled on him." He consented, therefore, to perform the ceremony, which took place on the 4th of July in a deep pool of Buffalo Creek, about two miles above the mouth of Brush Run, and on the farm of David Bryant. The pool was narrow, and so deep that the water came up to the shoulders of the candi-

dates when they entered it. Thomas Campbell, then, without going into the water, stood on a root that projected over the edge of the pool, and bent down their heads until they were buried in the liquid grave, repeating at the same time, in each case, the baptismal formula. James Foster, who was present, did not altogether approve the manner of the baptism, neither did he think it congruous that one who had not himself been immersed, should immerse others. It so happened, however, that Thomas Campbell, who had been the first to introduce the reformatory movement, became thus, on this occasion, the first to introduce immersion—a practice which subsequently became a distinguishing feature in the progress of the reformation.

By this time, many of those who had at first been identified with the Christian Association had gradually become indifferent, and many, who still sympathized with the movement, held back from entering into a church relation, while, from distance and other hinderances, others were unable to attend the meetings. Hence it was, that the church at this time could reckon only about thirty regular members,* who continued to meet alternately at the cross-roads and at Brush Run as formerly. These religious meetings were sources of great enjoyment. Warmly attached to one another for the truth's sake, and sympathizing with each other in their trials and religious experiences, they seemed to be

* Those who were then members of the Brush Run Church were Thomas and Alexander Campbell; Mrs. Jane Campbell and her daughter Dorothea; James Foster and wife; John Dawson and wife; Thomas Hodgens, Sen. and wife, and his son James Hodgens; James Hanen and wife; William Gilcrist and daughter, with his wife and her mother; George Sharp, Sen. and wife and son John; Thomas Sharp and a Mrs. Sharp, wife of George Sharp, Jun.; George Archer and wife; Abraham Altars, Margaret Fullerton, Joseph Bryant and John Donaldson.

of one heart and of one soul, and took the utmost delight in assisting one another to acquire a more complete knowledge of Divine things. The Bible was their daily study, and they came to the assembly, like bees to the hive, laden with the sweet lessons of instruction it afforded, and ready to say, in the language of the Psalm they had sung at the organization:

> "God is the Lord, who, unto us
> Hath made light to arise."

Thus increasing in scriptural knowledge, the discovery of new truths maintained that fervor of spirit which can never continue long unless the intellectual nature is supplied and cultivated as well as the feelings, but which alone can give true power and efficacy to religious exercises. They had broken the seal by which clerical authority had closed the Sacred Volume, and rejoiced that, by its guidance, they had cast off the fetters of partyism, and were enabled to pass from the dark and narrow caverns of sectarian theology toward the heavenly light, which, though yet dim and distant, finally led them into the open day.

As it may interest the reader to know the character of the religious teaching received by this little band of reformers, and the views at this time entertained by Alexander Campbell, a few extracts from the minutes of discourses which he delivered about this period are here given. Thus, two days before his marriage, in his discourse at Brush Run from Matt. xi. 27, after speaking in general terms of *authority* in religious matters, and the necessity of having a command from God for every religious duty, he speaks of the authority of Christ and of the apostles as having been fully and carefully demonstrated, and remarks that they delivered

just what they were commanded to deliver; that Paul was careful to discriminate between his own opinions and God's commands, and that he applauded those who searched the Scriptures for the truth; showing, further, that there is a curse denounced against those whose religion is taught by the precepts of men, and that Christ is given as a leader and commander to the people. He then adds:

"From the above considerations two things are strange: 1. That men should preach whole sermons and scarcely cite one Scripture text, and that hearers should suffer their faith to rest in the wisdom of men rather than in the wisdom of God. 2. That men should be afraid or unwilling to take the Word of God for their rule—afraid that what God has commanded them is not enough. But, stranger still, that they should set aside the Word of God by their traditions. A singular command in Deuteronomy is little attended to (Deut. xii. 32): 'What thing soever I command you, observe to do it. Thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish from it.'"

He then dwells upon the glory of Christ, and says:

"All things in heaven and on earth, animate and inanimate, are delivered unto Jesus Christ for the *good* of his Church on earth and for its glory in heaven. * * * * In the economy of grace for the restoration and salvation of fallen, depraved, guilty man, Jesus Christ the Son of God humbled himself, took upon himself the form of a servant and made himself of no reputation, lived on earth and died upon a cross, hated and despised; for this cause, having spoiled principalities and powers, and finished the work which the Father gave him to do, he is now exalted to the right hand of the Majesty on high. Eph. i. 20–22. And there he sits, waiting till all his enemies be made his footstool; until the end shall come, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom into the hands of his Father. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25. * * * * Observe, they who deny the divinity or personality of the Son must be ignorant of the whole mystery of the religion of godliness."

After speaking then at large of the blessings conferred through Christ upon the redeemed in the ministry of angels, the gift of the Holy Spirit and the promises of the future, he closes thus: "From this subject learn, 1. To thank God for the method of communicating grace that he has chosen. 2. Let us honor Christ as the Father hath honored him, in committing our all into his hands. 3. Let us seek that God will reveal his Son in us."

In a sermon delivered on the 7th of April of this year (1811), from Romans x. 4, he thus speaks of faith:

"Great dissertations have been in the world about faith—its nature, kinds, properties, etc. All these descriptions unable to *produce* it in the mind of a sinner. No arguments whatever can produce it. Truly of this we may say it is the finger of God. Describing the disease and its remedies will not heal the disorder.

"No description of faith is given in the Bible, but the evidences and effects of it are there clearly delineated. It is there represented to us as 'coming to Christ,' 'receiving Christ,' 'flying for refuge,' 'trusting in Christ,' etc. The simplest definition of it is, *a hearty reliance upon the Lord Jesus Christ* for that salvation which he came into the world and died upon the cross to procure for lost sinners. The sinner who, from his heart relies upon and trusts in Jesus, is a believer, and he, and none but he, shall be saved.

"5. This faith we are constantly led to understand is of the operation of God, and an effect of Almighty power and *regenerating grace*. 1 John v. 1: 'Every one that believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God.'

"Different kinds of faith are spoken of in the Scriptures, and many vague definitions of it among men. It consists in an act of the understanding and the will; but principally of the will. Illustrate, first, in the case of Rebecca's espousals. Secondly, from its being a command which can only be obeyed by *the will*.

'All the promises contained in the sacred Scriptures are addressed to the understanding, and through it to the will. They appear to the *understanding* true, to the *will* as good."

It will be apparent from this, that while he had taken a simple and just view of faith as a "trusting in Christ" —"a hearty reliance upon him for salvation," etc., he still retained at this period the opinion that this "trusting" was "from the operation of God and the effect of almighty power and regenerating grace." This view, as will be seen hereafter, was much modified in subsequent years; and though he always retained the idea of a Divine interposition, he came to regard this as a providential agency, rather than as a direct operation of the Spirit, as held by the popular parties.

His view of what have been called "the externals" of religion may be gathered from a sermon delivered while on his tour in Ohio, on the 20th May, from Gal. vi. 15, 16:

"God says neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything. The doctrines here taught seem to be three: I. That all things merely *formal* and *external* in religion, being alone, will not avail the possessors. II. That a NEW CREATURE is the only thing of value or esteem in the judgment of God, and advantageous to man. III. That this is a rule in our judgment of things spiritual that will always keep us right, and tend to promote peace and harmony in the Church." He then adds, in reference to Doctrine I.: "All things merely formal and external in religion, *being alone*, shall not avail the possessors. 1. The moral-virtuous life which some lead will not avail them one day, they not being *new creatures*. 2. The orthodox creeds and formal attendance on religious duties by men, they not being *new creatures*, will one day prove to be of no importance." In relation to Doctrine II., he then takes the position that "being a

new creature is the only thing essentially necessary to our enjoyment of God. The only thing on earth of value and importance in God's eyes, and the only thing that will avail us." He then defines a new creature as "one who is made a partaker of the Divine nature—one who is justified, sanctified, adopted and an heir of glory—one who is crucified to the world, to the flesh, and who denies himself. And this is the way we are to know him, Rom. viii. Such a one is of more value in God's eyes than the whole world. All things are yours, Rom. viii. 32." He then, in illustrating Doctrine III., closes by stating,

"That judging thus of things we shall never err:

"1. In our daily practice. 2. In our zeal for orthodoxy. 3. In this way we shall have peace for our souls. 'Peace be on them that walk by this rule.' 4. Let us walk in this way. 'O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord.'"

It will be seen from these quotations, that the views entertained by Alexander Campbell in regard to the important points of Christian doctrine discussed, did not conflict with those held by the parties denominated "Orthodox," and that the religious movement in which he was engaged had not for its object the propagation of any new opinions, or the establishment of any new party upon some particular theory of religion or of church government; but that, while it rejected no truths received by the good and pious in religious society, it sought to make its appeal always directly to the Divine testimony, and to be guided, in all its advances, by the light which this afforded.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Preaching Tours in 1811—Ordination—Change of Views in Regard to Baptism—True Basis of Union—Progress in Knowledge.

AFTER his return from his first preaching tour, in June, 1811, Alexander Campbell resumed his regular labors at the usual places of meeting in Washington county, and at the houses of friends in the vicinity. In the month of August, he revisited Ohio, preaching at Cadiz, St. Clairsville and other points. In September, he again preached at Steubenville and in its neighborhood several times, and in October, spoke once at David Carson's and six times at Cadiz, and also at Wheeling and at Newelstown. In December, he preached again at Cadiz, on the 8th and 10th of the month; at St. Clairsville on the 15th, and, on the 29th, at Smithfield, giving his last sermon for the year 1811 at Charlestown, on the 30th, from 2 Cor. v. 21. He thus extended his acquaintance and convinced many pious and excellent individuals, who afterward became advocates of the principles of the reformation.

It was his custom, at the end of every year, to devote some time to a careful review of the manner in which it had been spent, and to a serious and searching self-examination, as well as to the forming of new resolutions and arrangements for the coming year. On the 25th of December of this year (1811), after a solemn review of his past labors, he set himself to consider various important practical questions, such as the best

course of regular Scripture reading and memorizing, and the hours which he could most appropriately set apart for devotional exercises. After deciding to commit to memory, first, the epistles to Timothy and the Hebrews, he reflected upon another question which seems particularly to have pressed upon his mind at this time, and which was, whether or not it was his duty to be *ordained* to the ministry of the Word. With him, ordination implied a formal, public and irrevocable consecration of life to the preaching of the gospel, and his present circumstances seemed naturally to demand that this question, already several times decided in his own heart, amidst hours of peril and adversity, should be again debated before the bar of conscience, against the seductive but silent pleadings of a comfortable home, and the quieter and more profitable pursuits of agriculture. Eminently blest in his connubial relations, and placed in a position which opened up to one of his active temperament the most flattering prospects of worldly advancement, the time had come when his resolution was to be tried by some of the severest tests to which it could be subjected. While meditating upon the subject, he was at the pains to note down, in order, the motives which should govern his decision; and, in reconsidering the eventful past, he took occasion to review the whole question in the light of the Divine guidings and the providential dispensations he had experienced. Among the entries made on this occasion which reveal his heartfelt devotion to the service of God, and that conscientiousness which was so striking an attribute of his character, are the following:

"Special instances of Divine power which I consider to bind me under obligations to be specially devoted to Him, with my whole mind, soul and body.

"I. In being born of religious parents, and of course religiously educated.

"II. In receiving an education, in some respects, to qualify me for that office, and this education providential in the following respects: 1. In my grand design at first being, not to preach the Gospel, but to shine in literary honors and affluence. 2. In my design being frustrated, and my mind turned to desire that office. 3. In my being introduced, quite contrary to expectation, to the University of Glasgow, and the literary advantages there.

"III. In resolving, when in imminent danger at sea, to serve God in this way, on two occasions of extraordinary deliverance.

"IV. In my situation being such, upon my arrival in this country, that I could not prepare myself for any other office.

"V. In the particular persecutions that befell my father, which shut up any prospects of support in the exercise of that office, yet in my giving it the preference.

"VI. In my favorable and easy circumstances for that purpose.

"VII. In giving me a choice companion, congenial to my inclination of serving Him.

"VIII. In giving me some desire after his salvation.

"IX. In giving me some desire after the salvation and reformation of mankind.

"X. In giving me tolerably good talents for edifying others.

"XI. In giving me a call from the Church to preach the Gospel.

"XII. In my desire to suffer hardships and reproach in that good work."

These *memorabilia* of the heart are interesting and touching, showing the calm deliberation that marked Alexander Campbell's purpose, and the noble and disinterested motives that determined his choice. He must renounce the ambitious *hopes of youth* to follow

the indications of Providence, and disregarding the fascinations of wealth and fame, must yield to the impulse by which he was, as he says, "turned to desire" the humble ministerial office. He cherishes the remembrance of the special deliverances he had experienced in his past history, which, he feels, impose upon him the obligation of entire consecration to the service of God. Even the easy and happy circumstances at present surrounding him, and his natural and acquired gifts however humbly estimated, seem, in his view, intended of Heaven to facilitate the work to which he is called by the intimations of Providence and the voice of the Church. Lastly and especially, is he convinced that necessity is laid upon him to preach the gospel, by his consciousness that it has been given to him not only to be willing, but even "to *desire* to suffer hardship and reproach in that good work." It is here we find the true spirit of a reformer, who will sacrifice everything for God and truth, and who, indifferent to mere personal considerations, will yield only to the dictates of conscience and of duty.

As it respects the ceremony of ordination, it will have been perceived, from his view of "lay preaching," that he did not regard it as essential to the exercise of the functions of the ministerial office. With Greville Ewing and the Haldanes, he was fully satisfied that it was "the indispensable duty of every Christian to warn sinners to flee from the wrath to come; to point out Jesus as the way, the truth and the life," and, after the example of the first Church at Jerusalem, to "preach the word," as Providence might afford opportunity. He distinguished, however, between the simple recital of the story of the cross, as a duty incumbent on all, under proper circumstances, and the entire devotion of the

life of an individual to the particular work of preaching the gospel. In the latter case, he believed there were special and unmistakable indications afforded to the individual of his appropriate calling, and that it was his duty, in obedience to these, to consecrate himself solemnly to the work, and to be formally set apart by ordination. This he believed to be equally proper in the case of other officers or functionaries in the Church.

In a sermon which he preached about this period, from Titus i. 5, in which he takes a view of the offices, office-bearers and ordinations under the Jewish and Christian dispensations, and particularly of the pastoral office in the Church of Christ, he thus refers, under "Head II." to ordination:

"(1.) John the Baptist was sent of God especially. John i. 6. (2.) Our Lord (ἐποίησε) ordained twelve, Mark iii. 14, and that was by choosing them. John vi. 70; Luke vi. 13. (3.) The ordination of an apostle (γενέσθαι) Acts i. 22. (4.) The ordination of deacons (καταστήσομεν) Acts vi. 3. (5.) Philip preached and baptized, having nothing more than the ordination of a deacon. (6.) The ordination of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 1–4; xiv. 23, (χειροτονήσαντες), 'with lifting up of the hands had chosen them;' 2 Cor. viii. 19; Acts x. 41. Under 'Head V.,' he says: (1.) You see that ordination is not a mere unmeaning thing, but consists in the choice of the people, which must be hearty, and that it might be evidenced, the elders or rulers impose their hands. (2.) Why do we contend for uninterrupted succession in ordination, seeing it is not the persons called bishops who have the power, but the people? (3.) How comes it that we contend so much about having persons of superior authority to constitute, when inferiors have ordained superiors? Acts xiii. 1–3; 1 Cor. xii. 28. (4.) How many persons preached and baptized without ordination? Acts viii. 1–4."

The following observations which he, at this time, wrote down on the blank pages of one of his manuscript volumes of juvenile essays, will exhibit his views still more fully in regard to ordination and church government:

"*General observations on Church Government, derived from the Scriptures.*

"In the Church of Christ, at its erection, there were different officers or builders appointed, such as apostles, prophets, etc.; but in the Church, as to be regularly governed, taught and regulated to the end of the world, there are but two classes of officers, or two kinds of offices, viz.: 'Bishops and deacons.' We have the qualifications of these given separately and distinctly, but for any other office of human invention or appointment, we have not one word in the Word of God as to the qualifications.

"*Observe*, 1. That there are but two offices in the Church. See Phil. i. 1. The Greek word for bishop is *episcopos;* hence the word episcopacy. The meaning of the word '*episcopos*' is *overseer*. The Greek word for deacon is '*diakonos*' which signifies a *servant*. 2. One of these officers (the bishop) was to *superintend* the spiritual concerns of the people—to *rule* them, to teach them, to feed them. In one word, see his qualifications, 1 Tim. iii. 1–7. He was to work in his office, not like the English bishops, who only *superintend*. See verse 1, 2. He must *teach* also and rule, or take care of the Church, verses 4 and 5. 3. See the qualifications of the deacon, 1 Tim. iii. 8–14, and also Acts vi. 1–7. They were only to attend to secular things.

"*Objections answered.* 1. Have we not the office of an *elder* spoken of in the Word of God? Yes; but it is used in the Bible as equivalent to the word *bishop*. See Acts xx. 17. Paul there called the elders of the Church and gave them an advice. See verse 28: 'Take heed to the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *overseers*,' or *bishops*, as we showed the word *bishop* to mean an overseer; and it is the

same word here that is elsewhere translated 'bishop.' The apostles called themselves *elders*. See John, Second Epistle, first verse, and Third Epistle, first verse, but particularly see 1 Pet. v. 1–4. The elder's office here spoken of is the same as the bishop's, verse 2. They were to feed the flock: they were to *take the oversight or the episcopacy*, as it is still the same word which denotes the bishop's office. And, moreover, the apostles, who called themselves elders, held also the office of bishop. See Acts of the Apostles i. 20, where their office is said to be a *bishopric*. If need be, see a still more conclusive proof, Tit. i. 6, where the apostle authorizes him to ordain *elders;* and then verses 6, 7, 8, 9 give Titus the qualifications of an elder under the term *bishop*, and show him that the elder must have the qualifications of a bishop. They were called bishops on account of their office, and elders on account of the advanced period of their lives, they being generally old men. The Greek word translated elder is *presbuteros*—whence comes *presbytery*.

"As to the number of elders in the separate churches: It appears that there was a *plurality* of elders or bishops in every *church*. And we may suppose that there were more or less on account of the largeness of the church. In the Church of Christ at Philippi we read of 'bishops'—a plurality of them as well as of deacons. Acts xx. 17, we read of a plurality of elders, or, as they are called, bishops, verse 28, in the Church at Ephesus. And in Acts xiv. 23, we read that there were a plurality of elders ordained in *every church;* and James, in his General Epistle to the Churches, tells them if any one be sick, to call for the *elders* of the Church, v. 14. And in the Church at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 4, we read of elders in the Church as well as the apostles who resided there; Tit. i. 5. Thus do we prove that there was a presbytery or elders in every Church.

"*Respecting Ordination.* Acts xiv. 23, we read that two persons were employed to ordain, namely, Paul and Barnabas. Acts xiii. 3, we read that Paul and Barnabas were ordained by imposition of hands. But it is uncertain whether it was

by one or more, as the word 'their' is not in the original. Acts ix. 17, we read that Ananias only laid his hands on Paul. 1 Tim. iv. 14, we read of the laying of the hands of the presbytery on Timothy; and we read also, 2 Tim. i. 6, that Paul only had laid his hands on him: and also we learn that Timothy and Titus were authorized to ordain elders or bishops, which is sufficient for an example, as the laying on of hands in the apostles' time was to communicate peculiar gifts sometimes to the person on whose head they laid their hands, and sometimes for the purpose of setting apart to some particular office, such as that of elder or bishop. We find in the rules for governing the Church, given by the apostle to Timothy and Titus, that every minister of the gospel, regularly ordained, has power to ordain *bishops* or *elders*. See 1 Tim. v. 22; 2 Tim. ii. 2; Tit. i. 5, each of which show that Timothy and Titus had, as an example to the Church, power to ordain 'faithful men who should be able to teach others also.' But we find many ministers, many eminent preachers, preaching for a long time without any ordination at all. See Acts viii. 4, and xi. 19, 20, 21."

Such, in brief, were Mr. Campbell's views of church government, church officers and ordination in the latter part of the year 1811. A plurality of elders and deacons in every church for the administration of its affairs, and preachers of the gospel or evangelists for the spread of the truth among men, constituted the simple arrangement as to functionaries. Each church was independent, and had the exclusive authority to select its own officials, who were, when approved, to be set apart by a formal ordination. These views he continued to maintain unchanged through life. As to the *form* or ceremony of ordination, he did not regard it as conferring any authority, but as a public testimony that the persons ordained possessed the necessary authority. In other words, he conceived it to be a solemn

mode of setting persons apart, and of committing them to God in the discharge of the duties of the office to which they had already been chosen or elected by the church. Hence he utterly repudiated the claim of apostolic succession; of priestly supremacy, and the communication of any official grace by superiors to inferiors; or that the clergy had any inherent power in them as it respects ordination. In another place, in reply to the question, why do you preach without authority, he says, "Who has authority? Who gave the Presbytery authority to license men? Who gave the Presbytery authority to make laws for the Church? Who gave the Presbytery authority to decide religious matters by vote? Who gave the Presbytery authority to choose ministers?" * * * *

For these views of authority and of ordination he had abundant support, not only in the Scriptures, but in the opinions and practice of the great Reformers. Calvin, without any ordination, began to preach at Orleans, by the invitation of some of the citizens.* Knox began to preach in the Castle of St. Andrews, where the conspirators who had slain Cardinal Beatoun were besieged by the Scottish Regent. He was induced reluctantly to do this from the urgent call made upon him by the refugees there assembled. This reluctance, however, did not proceed from the fact that he had not been ordained since he had abandoned Popery.

"We must not imagine," says his biographer, Dr. McCrie, "that the reluctance which he discovered to comply with the call which he had received, proceeded from consciousness of

* D'Aubigné—"Reformation in the Time of Calvin," vol. ii. chap. xiv. p. 19.

its invalidity through the defect of certain external formalities which had been usual in the Church, or which, in ordinary cases, may be observed with propriety in the installation of persons into sacred offices. These, as far as warranted by Scripture or conducive to the preservation of order, he did not contemn; and his judgment respecting them may be learned from the early practice of the Scottish Reformed Church, in the organization of which he had so active a share. In common with all the original reformers, he rejected the order of episcopal ordination as totally unauthorized by the law of Christ; nor did he regard the imposition of the hands of presbyters as a rite essential to the validity of orders, or of necessary observance in all circumstances of the Church. The Papists, indeed, did not fail to declaim on this point, representing Knox and other reformed ministers as destitute of all lawful vocation. In the same strain did many hierarchical writers of the English Church afterward learn to talk, not scrupling, by their extravagant doctrine of the absolute necessity of ordination by the hands of a bishop, who derived his powers by uninterrupted succession from the apostles, to invalidate and nullify the orders of all the reformed Churches except their own—a doctrine which has been revived in the present enlightened age, and unblushingly avowed and defended, with the greater part of its absurd, illiberal and horrid consequences. The fathers of the English Reformation, however, were very far from entertaining such contracted and unchristian sentiments. When Knox afterward went to England, they accepted his services without the smallest hesitation. They maintained a constant correspondence with the reformed divines on the Continent, and freely owned them as brethren and fellow-laborers in the ministry. And they were not so ignorant of their principles, nor so forgetful of their character, as to prefer ordination by Popish prelates to that which was conferred by Protestant presbyters. I will not say that our reformer utterly disregarded his early ordination in the Popish Church, although, if we may credit the testimony of his adversaries, this was

his sentiment; but I have little doubt that he looked upon the charge which he received at St. Andrews, as principally constituting his call to the ministry."*

That the "authority" in religious matters rested with the congregation, was indeed the view of nearly all the early reformers; and it is curious to notice how soon, in the progress of affairs, this important truth became obscured and lost. Individual assumptions soon became precedents; precedents soon established customs, and customs soon resolved themselves into laws, to which, in the different denominations, there was exacted an obedience more strict than to those of Holy Writ. It is curious, also, to see how even good men will, when occasion serves, avail themselves of ambiguities and sophisms, in order to maintain or to extend this usurped authority. Thus Wesley, though himself but a presbyter of the Church of England, proceeded to ordain Thomas Coke a bishop, under the plea that a presbyter and a bishop had the same meaning in Scripture. This, indeed, was true, but, not according to the episcopal canon by which Dr. Coke was already a presbyter, and could not receive the higher rank and authority of bishop from one who was merely a co-ordinate. Yet this excellent man, Dr. Coke, so remarkable for his zeal and his abundant labors, assumed really the functions exercised by an Episcopal bishop, in ruling over many churches, and in consecrating Francis Asbury as bishop in America, through whom the official grace is supposed to have passed to others in succession. It is thus in religious as in civil affairs, that assumed power becomes at length confirmed authority; that the rights of the many are gradually

* Life of John Knox, p. 48.

usurped by the few, and that mankind become at length ruled by priests and kings, whose authority it is made heresy or treason to dispute. Hence it was, that nothing excited so much enmity toward Alexander Campbell as the views he proposed touching the authority and the doings of the clergy. It was, in fact, his continued opposition to their claims, and his earnest effort to restore the Church to its primitive position of freedom, that brought upon him, in his future life, his most bitter persecutions. From the moment, indeed, that he presumed to question their authority to legislate for the Church, they continued to wage, against him and his principles, a continual war of misrepresentation and invective. In despite of their efforts, however, his future labors in regard to this question were crowned with remarkable success, so that no man probably ever accomplished more in emancipating mankind from their thraldom to religious leaders and the assumptions of priestly power.

After having thus maturely and carefully considered the question of ordination, as was his wont in relation to all subjects of practical importance, he decided that it was his duty to be ordained, and he was accordingly solemnly set apart to the office of the ministry, with the usual forms, on the first day of the new year, 1812. Of this fact the following certificate was presented in court, when, toward the close of the year, it became necessary for him to apply for legal authority to perform the marriage ceremony:

"We do hereby certify that Alexander Campbell, after a due course of trials preparatory to the work of the holy ministry, was, according to the principles of this Church regularly chosen and ordained a minister thereof, upon the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

"Given under our hands at our church meeting held at John Dawson's, this 1st day of September, 1812.

"THOMAS CAMPBELL,

"*Senior minister of the First Church of the Christian Association of Washington, meeting at Cross-roads and Brush Run, Washington county, Pennsylvania.*

"GEORGE SHARP, WILLIAM GILCRIST, JAMES FOSTER, JOHN DAWSON.

"*Deacons of the said Church.*

"Brooke county, December Term, 1812.

"The foregoing was produced in court, and ordered to be recorded on page 122 of deed book F. Teste

"JOHN CONNELL, Clerk B. C. C."

Having acted in a ministerial capacity heretofore in entire harmony with his principles, and being now duly ordained, he continued, during the winter, to labor as usual with unwearied diligence in the sacred calling to which he had thus formally and conscientiously devoted his life.

On the 13th of March, 1812, his first child was born, a daughter, who was called Jane, after his mother. In recording the fact, he was so particular as to set down the very hour of her birth, 3 o'clock P. M. Soon after this event, a considerable change took place in his views in regard to baptism. His wife, with her father and mother, was still a member of the Presbyterian Church, and, as the child grew, it is natural to suppose that the question of infant baptism became to him one of immediate practical interest. It is certain, at least, that up to this period he does not appear to have given to the subject of baptism a sufficiently careful attention. The unity of the Church, the overthrow of sectarianism and the restoration of the Bible to its primitive position, had been the leading objects with him, and with his

father; and, regarding the question of baptism as one comparatively of small importance, they seem to have left it, in a good degree, undecided in their own minds. On the 3d of February, 1810, and again on the 19th May, 1811, as well as on the 5th of June following, Alexander had delivered a sermon upon Christ's commission to the apostles, Mark xvi. 15, 16, in which his position in regard to baptism at those periods is distinctly stated, and in which he said in reference to it: "As I am sure it is unscriptural to make this matter a term of communion, I let it *slip*. I wish to think and let think on these matters."

His failure, thus far, to recognize the truth in relation to this vexed question, was another instance of the truth of the adage, which is perhaps nowhere so often verified as in the affairs of religion, that "a man may look at a thing without seeing it." The subject had been more than once before him, and constituted a part of the text of the sermon above referred to, which he had preached several times; yet owing to the particular stand-point from which he had been taught to regard baptism, he had entirely failed to recognize its actual importance. As there is one angle of incidence in which light is absorbed by an object, and another in which it is reflected from it, and as an object assumes various appearances according to the relative position of the observer, so it is in regard to things contemplated by the mind. Viewed from the stand-point of his early education, infant baptism was a rite justified, inferentially at least, and not to be neglected. Viewed from the platform of the principles of the reformation urged by his father and himself, it possessed no Divine authority, yet as an ancient usage, and for the sake of peace, it seemed to them expedient to allow its continu-

ance in the case of such members as conscientiously believed it proper. Most of the members of the Church furthermore, supposed themselves to have been in their infancy already introduced into the Church by its means, and even after Alexander discovered it to be unauthorized, he seems to have concurred, for the time, in the plausible sophism proposed by his father which begged the very point at issue, "that it was not now necessary for them to go, as it were, out of the Church merely for the purpose of coming in again by the regular and appointed way."

Under the influence of these conflicting and involved opinions, Alexander Campbell seems to have suspended his former investigations, and to have forborne giving to this subject that impartial and continued attention necessary to the discovery of truth. From the embarrassing circumstances of his position, he, as he states in the above sermon, concluded to "let it slip"—to pass it by as a matter of little relative importance, and to allow the question to remain as it was. From the occasional and incidental discussions of the subject, however, that occurred among the members of the Brush Run Church, there seems to have been a gradually increasing conviction, on the part of many, that baptism was a matter of much more importance than they had supposed, and Alexander himself began to share in this conviction. He began to perceive that an ordinance of which, in the commission to the apostles, Christ had deemed it necessary to speak particularly, and which he had there connected directly with the salvation of the gospel, in the declaration that "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," could not be one of those unimportant matters of opinion which might be allowed "to slip." Admitting that infant baptism was

without warrant, the question began to assume quite a different aspect, and was no longer, "May we safely reject infant baptism as a human invention?" but, "May we omit *believers' baptism*, which all admit to be divinely commanded?" If the baptism of infants be without warrant, it is invalid, and they who receive it are, in point of fact, still unbaptized. When they come to know this in after years, will God accept the credulity of the parent for the faith of the child? Men may be pleased to omit *faith* on the part of the person baptized, but will God sanction the omission of *baptism* on the part of the believer, on the ground that in his infancy he had been the subject of a ceremony which had not been enjoined? On the other hand, if the practice of infant baptism can be justified by inferential reasoning or any sufficient evidence, why should it not be adopted or continued by common consent, without further discussion?

Such were some of the reasonings which, at this time, pressed upon the mind of Alexander Campbell. Being exceedingly conscientious, and sensible of the responsibilities appertaining to the new relation in which he stood, as a father, he was led to think much more earnestly upon the whole subject, so that he might not be found wanting in any duty that was really required of him. Recalling to mind the little discussion with Preacher Riddle of the Associate Reformed Church, in regard to the principles of the "Declaration and Address," in which Mr. Riddle said "there was no direct authority in the Scriptures for infant baptism," he determined that he would, at least, make an effort to settle his mind finally upon the subject. Abandoning, then, all uninspired authorities, he applied himself to the Scriptures, and searching out critically the signification

of the words rendered *baptism* and *baptize* in the original Greek, he soon became satisfied that they could mean only *immersion* and *immerse*. From his further investigations, he was led finally to the clear conviction that believers, and believers only, were the proper subjects of the ordinance. He now fully perceived that the rite of sprinkling to which he had been subjected in infancy was wholly unauthorized, and that he was consequently, in point of fact, an unbaptized person, and hence could not, consistently, preach a baptism to others of which he had never been a subject himself. As these points were for some time matters of anxious inquiry, he frequently conversed upon them with his wife, who also became much interested in them, and finally came to the same conclusions with himself.

As he was not one who could remain long without carrying out his convictions of duty, he resolved at once to obey what he now, in the light of the Scriptures, found to be a positive Divine command. Having formed some acquaintance with a Matthias Luce, a Baptist preacher, who lived above Washington, he concluded to make application to him to perform the rite, and, on his way to visit him, called to see his father and the family, who were then living on the little farm between Washington and Mount Pleasant. Soon after arriving, his sister Dorothea took him aside, and told him that she had been in great trouble for some time about her baptism. She could find, she said, no authority whatever for infant baptism, and could not resist the conviction that she never had been scripturally baptized. She wished him, therefore, to represent the case on her behalf, to her father. At this unexpected announcement, Alexander smiled, and told her that he was now upon his way to request the services of Mr. Luce, as

he had himself determined to be immersed, and would lay the whole case before their father. He took the first opportunity, accordingly, of presenting the matter, stating the course he had pursued and the conclusions he had reached. His father, somewhat to his surprise, had but little to say, and offered no particular objections. He spoke of the position they had heretofore occupied in regard to this question, but forbore to urge it in opposition to Alexander's conscientious convictions. He finally remarked, "I have no more to add. You must please yourself." It was suggested, however, that in view of the public position they occupied as religious teachers and advocates of reformation, it would be proper that the matter should be publicly announced and attended to amongst the people to whom they had been accustomed to preach; and he requested Alexander to get Mr. Luce to call with him on his way down, at whatever time might be appointed.

Wednesday, the 12th day of June, 1812, having been selected, Elder Luce, in company with Elder Henry Spears, called at Thomas Campbell's on their way to the place chosen for the immersion, which was the deep pool in Buffalo Creek where three members of the Association had formerly been baptized. Next morning, as they were setting out, Thomas Campbell simply remarked that Mrs. Campbell had put up a change of raiment for herself and him, which was the first intimation given that they also intended to be immersed. Upon arriving at the place, as the greater part of the members of the Brush Run Church, with a large concourse of others, attracted by the novelty of the occasion, were assembled at David Bryant's house, near the place, Thomas Campbell thought it proper to present, in full, the reasons which had determined his course.

In a very long address, he accordingly reviewed the entire ground which he had occupied, and the struggles that he had undergone in reference to the particular subject of baptism, which he had earnestly desired to dispose of, in such a manner, that it might be no hinderance in the attainment of that Christian unity which he had labored to establish upon the Bible alone. In endeavoring to do this, he admitted that he had been led to overlook its importance, and the very many plain and obvious teachings of the Scriptures on the subject · but having at length attained a clearer view of duty, he felt it incumbent upon him to submit to what he now plainly saw was an important Divine institution. Alexander afterward followed in an extended defence of their proceedings, urging the necessity of submitting implicitly to all God's commands, and showing that the baptism of believers only, was authorized by the Word of God.

In his remarks, he had quoted, among other Scriptures, the command of Peter to the believers on the day of Pentecost: "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit;" and had dwelt at length upon the gracious promises of God to all who should obey him. When he had concluded, James Hanen, who, with his wife, had also concluded to be baptized, took his child from its mother's arms, and requesting her to walk aside, asked her what she thought of the declaration of Peter, "You shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit," and how she understood it. Mrs. Hanen, being well acquainted with the Scriptures, soon gave a satisfactory reply, and both were accordingly baptized along with the rest, consisting of Alexander Campbell and his wife; his father and mother,

and his sister—in all seven persons. Alexander had stipulated with Elder Luce that the ceremony should be performed precisely according to the pattern given in the New Testament, and that, as there was no account of any of the first converts being called upon to give what is called a "religious experience," this modern custom should be omitted, and that the candidates should be admitted on the simple confession that "Jesus is the Son of God." These points he had fully discussed with Elder Luce during the evening spent at his house when he first went up to request his attendance, and they had been arranged as he desired. Elder Luce had, indeed, at first objected to these changes, as being contrary to Baptist usage, but finally consented, remarking that he believed they were right, and he would run the risk of censure. There were not, therefore, upon this occasion, any of the usual forms of receiving persons into the Church upon a detailed account of religious feelings and impressions. There was, indeed, no Baptist church-meeting to which any such "experience" could have been related, Elders Luce and Spear, with Elder David Jones of Eastern Pennsylvania, being the only Baptists known to have been present. All were, therefore, admitted to immersion upon making the simple confession of Christ required of the converts in the apostolic times. The meeting, it is related, continued about *seven hours*. Before it commenced, Joseph Bryant had to leave, in order to attend a muster of volunteers for the war against Great Britain, which, it was reported, Congress had declared on the fourth day of the same month, June, although the declaration was not formally made until the 18th. After attending the muster, he returned home in time to hear *an hour's preaching* and to witness the baptisms. Such were

the leading incidents of this eventful occasion, which gave to the reformatory movement an entirely new phase, and was productive of the most important consequences.

It will be easily perceived, that the conclusions which were thus practically carried out, had been reached only through a series of severe mental struggles. The difficulties in the way of Thomas Campbell, especially, had been very great, not only from the predilections arising from his early education, and the fact that he had been for about twenty-five years a pædobaptist minister, but from the very natural desire he had felt, since he commenced his efforts to secure Christian union, to avoid everything likely to frustrate this desirable object. He had no idea, indeed, in the beginning, that to take the Bible alone would really lead to the abandonment of infant baptism; and although this result was, at an early period, plainly predicted by others, he constantly cherished the hope that the practice might, consistently with his principles, be allowed as a matter of forbearance. Subsequently, he had consented to immerse three members of the Association, and seemed to have become satisfied that scriptural baptism implied the burial of the person in water. But he still appeared to cling to the opinion that the ordinance was of far less importance than Christian unity, and that the various questions connected with it might be left to the decision of each individual, so that he hesitated to adopt positively any view of the subject that would render his overture less acceptable to the religious public. Whilst his own mind remained in this state of incertitude, many of those connected with him had advanced beyond him, but were restrained from carrying out their convictions by the respect which they felt

was due to his position. When, however, his favorite son and daughter announced to him their conclusions, he found it necessary to come himself to a decision, which, upon his own principle of being guided exclusively by Scripture, he felt could not be different from theirs. This was a necessity which he had evidently longed to avoid, since he was aware it would at once erect an impassable barrier between him and the pædobaptist community in which he had labored, and frustrate all his hopes of winning it over to his views of Christian union. It was his love of truth; his own conscientious convictions, and his desire to please God rather than men, that could alone have enabled him thus to yield up his cherished hopes, and to see the road, which had at first seemed to him so broad that all religious parties could walk therein together, gradually diminish into a comparatively narrow path. That road, however, had appeared broad at first merely because its limits were not as yet properly defined; and although he found it narrowed, when, under the Divine instructions, its boundaries were more distinctly traced, he had an increasing assurance that it was the way that "leadeth unto life."

It is perhaps useless to speculate as to what might have been the result of the reformatory movement initiated by Thomas Campbell, had he continued to insist upon the loose views he had previously entertained upon the subject of baptism. It is extremely doubtful if his well-meant efforts could ever have made any considerable impression upon the religious community at large, so completely wedded as it was, at this period, to sectarianism. The religious denominations could never have been persuaded to discard their speculations, traditions or ecclesiastical usages, and to

sit down together harmoniously to learn the truth from the Bible alone. Such a spectacle as this, indeed, like the example of the Bereans of old, would have been most cheering and hopeful. But it is not upon any general principle, or even by the adoption of a few particular truths, that a real Christian union can be established. This demands at least a willingness to receive the *whole* truth, and involves a spiritual unity with Him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life; for that alone which unites the human soul to Christ can unite Christians to each other. A mere conglomeration, then, of the religious parties upon the admitted principle that the Bible is the only rule of faith and practice, would by no means have secured a religious peace. It could have been, at best, but a temporary truce amidst permanent hostilities, unless the spirit of partyism could have been replaced by the spirit of Christ, and there existed a sincere determination to follow the truth whithersoever it would lead. It is probable, therefore, that, in the existing state of things, the mild and gentle overtures of Thomas Campbell would have been disregarded in the future, as they had been thus far in the past; and that the little band which had rallied round the standard of peace, would have been, after a time, dispersed or blended with the existing parties. There needed, at this crisis, one to take the lead, who was of a more adventurous spirit, and who, realizing better the real posture of affairs, could recognize the truth that peace could be reached only through victory.

From the moment that Thomas Campbell concluded to follow the example of his son in relation to baptism, he conceded to him in effect the guidance of the whole religious movement. As for himself, it was evident

that he had previously accomplished his special mission in propounding and developing the true basis of Christian union. Considering his antecedents, he had made an astonishing progress in this noble work, not only unaided, but in the midst of hinderances and obstacles which, to thousands in similar circumstances, would have proved wholly insurmountable. But it was difficult for him to advance beyond the general principles laid down in the "Declaration and Address" to the practical and unforeseen results which those principles involved. Had it not been for the decision and the untrammeled views of his son at this juncture, and especially for that marked quality of conscientious mental independence which he seems to have largely inherited from his mother, the reformation would not probably, as already intimated, have advanced a single step beyond the general results attained in vindicating the claims of the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. Hence it was, that Thomas Campbell's long discourse at the baptism, while it was a rehearsal of his own anxious struggles, and a faithful testimony to his steady adherence to the Divine light by which he had been led, and by which he had thus far successfully led others, was, at the same time, virtually the surrender of that guiding light into the hands of a successor. From this hour, therefore, the positions of father and son were reversed, and each tacitly occupied the position allotted to him. Alexander became the master-spirit, and to him the eyes of all were now directed. He felt that Providence had placed him in the advance. He must lead the way, for conscience, enlightened by the Word of God, impelled him irresistibly forward. On neither side, however, was there the slightest feeling of rivalry or ambition. On the con-

trary, as before, it was still a constant and affectionate co-operation. Alexander's habitual deference for his father's extensive and accurate knowledge of the Bible, and his unalterable filial regard, led him constantly to confer with him in respect to Divine things; while his father, apparently conscious that his chief mission had been accomplished, gladly recognized, in his admired and greatly beloved son, a superior ability to appreciate, grasp, promulgate and defend the cause which he had so long labored to promote. He delighted, accordingly, to hold council with his son, and to discuss with him the momentous matters in which they were engaged, so that no new truth was ever adopted or disseminated without having undergone the careful scrutiny of the minds of both, and frequently of those of others also who formed part of the household or of the social circle.

At the next meeting of the church of Brush Run, which was on the Lord's day succeeding the baptism of the seven, thirteen other members, and among them James Foster, requested immersion, which was accordingly administered by Thomas Campbell, each one making the simple confession of Christ as the Son of God. On subsequent occasions, some others came forward in like manner, so that the great majority of the church speedily consisted of immersed believers, upon which, the other individuals who had been in the Association abandoned the cause, being unwilling to follow the reformatory movement any further. Among the latter was General Acheson, who, indeed, for some time previously, seemed to have lost his interest in the movement he had at first so warmly espoused. Thus it was with these reformers as it had been with the Haldanes and their coadjutors. The truth respecting baptism

forced itself at length upon the convictions of most of those who were active in these respective reformations, in spite of educational prejudices and the difficulties of their position. And thus it was also with the church at Brush Run, as it had been with the Haldanean church at Edinburgh—immersion, apt emblem of separation from the world, occasioned a separation among those who had been previously united in religious fellowship.

Upon the whole, then, it will be seen that a very great progress had now been made, and that a very great change had been effected, at least in the external aspect of this little community of reformers. Immersion had been unanimously adopted as the only true scriptural baptism; infant baptism had been finally and absolutely rejected as a human invention, and the simple confession of Christ, made by the early converts to Christ, was acknowledged as the only requirement which could be scripturally demanded of those who desired to become members of the Church. As all these matters were determined by the plain authority of Scripture, they have ever since continued to be prominent features of this religious movement. During their course, thus far, this band of reformers had recognized themselves to be, not a sect, with its truths and errors equally stereotyped and equally immutable, but a *party of progress*—as *learners* in the school of Christ. "Whereto they had already attained," they endeavored "to walk by the same rule and to mind the same things." In seeking for "the old paths" they had, thus far, found each new truth to lead them to another still more obvious, as a single track often guides the traveler, lost in the forest, to a pathway, which in turn conducts him to one still wider and more easily pursued.

The necessity felt for unity brought them to the Bible alone; this led them to the simple primitive faith in Christ, and this, in turn, had now guided them to the primitive baptism as the public profession of that faith. The full import and meaning of the institution of baptism was, however, still reserved for future discovery.

CHAPTER XIX.

Faith—Primitive Confession of Faith—Nature of the Christian Faith—Conversion

THE best and highest reason that can be given for any action is, that God commands it. Whatever it may have in itself of manifest suitableness or of probable utility, will, if it become a motive to its performance, but detract to that extent from the obedience of faith. This seeks to be assured only that it is God's will, and shines forth in a purer and holier light when the command seems strange, incomprehensible and even most unreasonable, as when Abraham laid Isaac his son upon the altar of sacrifice. The blood of the paschal lamb upon the Hebrew lintels; the mercy-seat covering the law of human duty; the ashes of a red heifer sprinkling the unclean, nay, the whole rigid ceremonial of the Mosaic law, may be given as exemplifications of ordinances and commandments, as unexplained as they were imperative, and as adequate to secure prosperity and life and pardon, as the obedience they demanded was simple and unquestioning.

As the child who refuses to obey his father until the latter first explains to him the particular reasons for his commands, shows that he acts not from love and trust, but that he disbelieves and doubts, and prefers the conclusions of his own feeble understanding to reliance upon superior wisdom, so the individual who must know the

philosophy of God's commandments, and satisfy himself as to their propriety before he will obey them, believes not in God, but in himself. As it would have been beneath the dignity of the Divine Lawgiver to make obedience to his laws contingent upon man's approbation of their fitness, so has he ever, in perfect harmony with his own character and the truest interests of mankind, simply delivered his commands and prohibitions, with their rewards and penalties. In all cases, it was sufficient for the true believer, in abstaining from any act, to know that God had forbidden it, and in keeping a Divine command to feel that "obedience" was "better than sacrifice," and "to hearken than the fat of rams."

Even under the New Institution, where the veil that concealed the meaning of the Jewish ritual is taken away, and the worshiper can look understandingly to Christ as the end and antitype of that which was abolished, it is not permitted that Reason should take the place of Faith, or that human views of expediency should usurp the province of Divine wisdom. An institution under which the just can live only by faith must render conspicuous that simple and confiding trust without which it is impossible to please God. Hence it is, that in abolishing the worldly sanctuary and the ordinances of the Mosaic economy, adumbrative of the future, the New Institution confines itself, in its severe simplicity, to three institutions commemorative of the past. The Lord's day, the Lord's Supper and Baptism have indeed of themselves a fitness to indicate or picture forth the facts which they commemorate, or the new relations into which the believer enters; but they are so divinely adapted to the purposes intended that, while they trench as little as possible upon the domain

of sense, they guide the thoughts of the believer to the gospel facts, and fix his faith upon the person and work of Christ. Unlike corrupt systems, such as Romanism, which usurp the name and place of Christianity, and seek, by imposing ceremonies and sensuous imagery, to captivate the imaginative and awe the superstitious, the gospel, in its simple administration, repudiates all dramatic effect and all subordinate mediation, in order to bring by faith the penitent sinner into spiritual fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ.

The same simplicity which belongs to the institutions of the gospel appertains to the gospel faith itself, which is far from being what scholastic theology or vain enthusiasm would make it—a mysterious and undefined spiritual operation, or an instantaneous and miraculous illumination; but which is simply *a trusting in Christ*, a sincere belief in the testimony and truth of God. This faith, again, with that appropriate directness which marks the entire gospel, reveals itself in a willingness to keep God's commandments, and a readiness to make before the world the acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus, not only orally in the "good confession" of the primitive Church, but in the entire subsequent devotion of the life.

That the simple avowal that Jesus is the Son of God constituted the confession of faith of the primitive Church, is abundantly evident both from Scripture and ecclesiastical history. Neander, in his "*Planting of the Christian Church*," vol. i., p. 161, says:

"In baptism, entrance into communion with Christ seems to have been the essential point: thus persons were united to the spiritual body of Christ, and received into the communion of the redeemed, the Church of Christ Gal. iii. 27; 1 Cor.

xii. 13. Hence, baptism, according to its characteristic marks, was designated 'into the name of Christ,' as the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, was the original article of faith in the apostolic Church, and this was perhaps the most ancient formula of baptism, which was still made use of in the third century. The usual form of submersion at baptism, practised by the Jews, was transferred to the Gentile Christians. Indeed this form was the most suitable to signify that which Christ intended to render an object of contemplation by such a symbol—the immersion of the whole man in the spirit of a new life."

"In primitive times," says Gavin Struther, D.D., of the Relief Church, Glasgow, in his admirable essay on the prevalence and insidiousness of party spirit, "the confession of faith in use was very short. 'If thou believest with all thy heart,' said Philip to the Ethiopian eunuch, 'there is nothing to hinder thee to be baptized.' And he replied, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.' On this confession of his faith he was baptized. The first uninspired compends of Christian doctrine were short, plain and comprehensive. The early Christians recognized a few leading principles as essential to vital religion, and on other matters allowed every member to think for himself; but the Church of Rome heaped up article upon article, till her creed became long and full of wire-drawn distinctions. The Churches of the reformation having to testify against many corruptions, were led, in the first instance, to give a lengthened enumeration of the articles of their faith; and then, after they were attacked, to defend those articles by a regular process of Scripture reasoning and logical argumentation. As their 'Confessions' swelled in size, they did not improve as 'helps to the weak,' which was at first their main intention. Covering, as they soon did, the whole ground of 'didactic and polemic theology,' unlettered men could with difficulty fathom the meaning of their numerous propositions. Like modern acts of Parliament, they became abstruse from their very minuteness of detail, and thus generated endless controversies, and produced many

divisions by a labored attempt at shutting out every possible mistake and error."—*Essays on Christian Union*, p. 426.

In view of existing circumstances and subsequent results, it was, indeed, a memorable occurrence when, on the 12th day of June, 1812, in presence of the assembled multitude, Alexander Campbell first stood forth to make the primitive confession of the Christian faith. The day was beautiful, and the clear heavens shone beneath in the bright waters of the swift-flowing Buffalo as it wound through the secluded valley, and bathed the massive roots of leafy elms or of the majestic Western plane, which, with marbled trunk, lifted its cream-white branches toward the skies. There, in the consciousness of emancipation from civil and religious thraldom and amidst the freedom of nature, yet in the very heart of a sectarian community, the yet youthful reformer uttered the simple acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus as the divinely-required prerequisite to baptism—a confession now for the first time heard since the earlier ages of the Church. It was upon this confession alone, as he had informed Elder Luce, that he would consent to be baptized. "I have set out," said he, "to follow the apostles of Christ and their Master, and I will be baptized only into the primitive Christian faith." This was, truly, a remarkable stipulation, and its practical and public fulfillment gave an interest and an importance to the occasion which can hardly be too highly estimated. It was not only a formal and open condemnation of the elaborate doctrinal creeds and false theories of conversion so popular amongst the religious parties, but it was the restoration of the Christian faith to its original simplicity and to its proper object. This feature, thus first introduced, and which, in fact, became at once the great characteristic of the reformation, de-

serves to be carefully considered, along with the circumstances which led to its adoption.

The primitive confession is, indeed, the exponent of the *nature* of the primitive faith. From the Scriptures nothing can be plainer than that faith rests upon Christ *himself* as its proper object. The faith that saves is a believing *on* or *into* Christ (εἰς Χριστον); a receiving Christ himself—a trusting in Christ, in all the grandeur of his personal character, and in all the glory of his official relations, as prophet, priest and king. The question, therefore, in regard to faith, was not, in the beginning, "*What* do you believe?" the eager and sole inquiry of modern religious parties; but "*In whom* do you believe?" It was the question addressed by Christ himself to one who sought to know the truth: "Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" And the answer was "Who is he, Lord, that I may believe on him?" For this direct personal reliance, indicated in the primitive confession, and exhibited as true faith everywhere in Scripture, men have unhappily substituted a trust in the accuracy of their doctrinal knowledge—a confidence in the orthodoxy of particular tenets; as if correctness of religious opinion could secure the Divine favor, or had in itself a mysterious saving efficacy. Doubtless, when it was asked, "Who is he, that I may believe on him?" it was implied that some instruction was to be given; as also, when the inquiry was made, "What think ye of Christ?" that a correct apprehension was demanded. But it is to be remembered that the knowledge thus required had still reference to a *person;* to the character and relations of Christ *himself* as the Son of God and the appointed Saviour of the world. Hence the *gospel* was to be preached among all nations for the obedience of faith. Hence the gospel was the power of God to

salvation to the believer, for this gospel was simply *glad tidings concerning Christ*—the accredited and joyful news of salvation through a once crucified but now gloriously exalted Redeemer, to whom all authority on earth and in heaven had been committed. The simple facts which that gospel embodies, and the prophecies and miracles to which it refers, in attestation of the claims of the Messiah and the completeness of the redemption he has achieved for men, are comprehensible by the humblest capacity, so that such a gospel is indeed fitted to be preached to every creature however illiterate or humble, and constitutes a ground of faith, totally different in character and results from those recondite speculations about the Divine essence, and those abstract theories of the plan of salvation, Divine sovereignty, human inability, etc, etc., which form the burden of modern religious creeds.

The distinction here referred to had been, to some extent, recognized in the very beginning of the reformatory movement. It was substantially implied in the "Declaration and Address," when it was said that "inferences and deductions from Scripture premises," usually called "doctrines," were not to be made "terms of communion"—that such deductions properly belonged, not to the Christian faith, "but to the after and progressive edification of the Church, and ought not therefore to have any place in the Church's confession.' Again, in the 8th Proposition it was affirmed,

"That as it is not necessary that persons should have a particular knowledge or distinct apprehension of all divinely-revealed truths to entitle them to a place in the Church; neither should they, for this purpose, be required to make a confession more extensive than their knowledge; but that, on the contrary, their having a due measure of scriptural self-

knowledge respecting their lost and perishing condition by nature and practice, and of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, accompanied by a profession of their faith in, and obedience to, him, in all things, according to his word, is all that is absolutely necessary to qualify them for admission into his Church."

The distinction thus, at this early period, implied in the principles adopted by Mr. Campbell and his father, does not seem, however, to have been fully apprehended by either for a considerable time afterward. Alexander, it is true, as appears from one of his discourses already referred to (page 376), seems in the spring of 1811 to have taken a simple and just view of faith as a "trusting in Christ," a "hearty reliance upon him for salvation." Subsequently, he read and reflected much upon faith, and occupied himself in considering the various conflicting theories upon the subject, both as it regards the nature of faith itself, and the manner in which it is produced. During the fall of 1811, and the winter of 1812, he carried on an interesting correspondence with his father upon various religious topics, among which a large space is allotted to this particular subject. This correspondence he carefully transcribed, giving to his father the pseudonym of Philologus, and assuming himself that of Philomathes. A few extracts from this correspondence will serve to exhibit their views of this important matter at that time.

In the first letter, dated October 17, 1811, Philomathes speaks of a work by Thomas Taylor, published in 1661, upon "The Necessity and Efficacy of Faith in Prayer," and quotes him as saying, "True saving faith may exist in the minds of persons apt to doubt, or, in other words, true faith is not always accompanied by certainty in the mind that the things we desire by

prayer shall be obtained, but the prayer of faith is sometimes accompanied with doubting." The letter is then devoted to the discussion of the correctness of this position, that saving faith may coexist with doubt, and also of a distinction which is made between the "faith of reliance" and the "faith of assurance," during which a number of cases are cited from the Scriptures. To this Philologus, the father, replies at considerable length, in part as follows:

"The subject you have introduced must, on all hands, be acknowledged to be one of leading importance. Next to the revelation of salvation for guilty men, *that* by which we are made partakers of it, and by which alone we must live, and be actuated while in this world, as legitimate expectants of the heavenly felicity, is to us of all things most important, for it is written, 'The just by faith shall live.'"

With characteristic caution, he then first considers the source from which true knowledge must be obtained and the spirit in which it must be sought:

"Allow me, then, on entering upon this subject, to defer an immediate reply to your quotation and statements respecting your author's views of the subject, reserving this for the sequel. Whatever respect we may have for our own or others' opinions upon Divine subjects, yet in every commencement to consider or discuss these things, on set purpose, for our own or others' advantage in the knowledge and belief of the truth, it behooves us to have immediate recourse to the Sacred Oracles, that we may stand upon sure ground; be the better educated in the truth; have its impression deepened in our minds, and behold it with still greater advantage. Thus shall our certainty of the truth and attachment to it increase with our labors; and thus shall we be delivered from being servile followers and copyists either of ourselves or others. Having 'The Truth' for our motto, and

'*What is truth?*' for our simple, single and upright inquiry, let it not be apprehended that such a procedure can justly implicate the lovers and students of sacred truth in the charge of ignorance or instability. It will rather evince the simplicity and purity of their hearts from the noxious inmates of pride, self-confidence and vain presumption of infallibility, to which the contrary practice may, with too great an appearance of justice, be imputed. The apostle's maxim, however, fully justifies what I plead for: 'If any man thinketh that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.' Besides, what does such a practice amount to, but what in similar cases is just and natural, namely, to behold or contemplate things in the *light?* 'In Thy light shall we see light,' and 'he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.' Of course, he that speaketh truth in like manner—that his words may be made manifest that they are of truth.'

He now goes on to dwell upon faith as being "the belief of the truth," and gives a general definition of "the truth" as comprehending everything that God has revealed of himself concerning his being and perfections, his works and will, and the present and future state of his creatures. Taking thus, in the first instance, the whole Divine Testimony as the subject-matter of faith, he further remarks that the Divine veracity is the ground, foundation or reason of our faith, and "God in Christ the only proper and qualified object of it."

"For as such," he adds, "he revealed himself from the beginning, and as such only is he the subject of supernatural revelation, and as such only can he be justly considered by all them that truly believe it; for, as such, is he held forth to have been 'from everlasting,' from the 'beginning or ever earth was,' though not so revealed till after the fall, and then, at first, but obscurely. But no sooner did he reveal himself in relation to the redemption and recovery of fallen man, than

he did so by the means or mediation of Jesus Christ. And, since then, in the process of the revelation with which he hath favored the Church, he hath declared himself acting or proceeding in and by Jesus Christ, in the creation of all things and in all his managements. See Prov. viii. 22: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way before his works of old;' and 30: 'Then I was by him as one *brought up with him;* and I was daily *his* delight, rejoicing always before him.' See also John xvii. 5: 'And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.' 2 Tim. i. 9: 'His own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began;' and again, 'He hath created all things by Jesus Christ;' and again, 'He is the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, upholding all things by the word of his power; by whom also he made the worlds.' 'By whom he will judge the world.' Acts xvii. 31. So that in no instance is God revealed to us but as in Christ. * * * * But, God in Christ, or God, laying and executing all his purposes of creation, sustentation, gubernation, redemption and judgment, in and by Jesus Christ, is the adequate, comprehensive and adorable object of the Christian faith. * *

"The full and firm persuasion, then, or hearty belief of the Divine testimony concerning Jesus, comprehensively considered as above defined, is that faith, in its proper and primary acceptation, to which the promises and privileges of salvation are annexed. See Peter's confession and the recognitions of John in his First Epistle: 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;' 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona,' etc., etc.; 'Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God;' 'Who is he that overcometh the world but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?' * * * *

'PHILOLOGUS."

Continuing the subject in a second letter, he enters minutely and somewhat philosophically into the consideration of some of the effects of faith; but, correct-

ing himself and expressing his dislike of metaphysical distinctions and definitions, he concludes with some deductions from the whole premises, among which are the following:

"1. That he who would harmonize as a teacher or preacher with the intention and scope of the Divine economy, should be careful to exhibit in a distinct and faithful manner the whole testimony of God concerning himself, his works and will, and the present and future conditions of his creatures. Especially, a pure simple gospel view of God as in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself; of Christ in his person, offices and performance; of the Holy Spirit in his offices and works, and of the absolute unconditionality of salvation, in respect to any entitling or previous recommendatory qualifications whatsoever, as requisite to qualify the sinner for partaking of the offered salvation, or to lay a foundation for his confidence toward God through Jesus Christ; even to the exclusion of faith itself in its secondary import, that is, considering it as an act or exercise of confidence in Christ, his office and work; such confidence being the *native* and proper result of a true knowledge and belief of the truth or truths exhibited in the Divine testimony.

"2. That he that would be saved should hearken diligently to the testimony of God, by the knowledge and belief of which alone, testified to all who hear it for their salvation, he may be delivered from the wrath to come, the guilt and bondage of corruption, and have access into the glorious liberty of the children of God, in the possession of that confidence which casts out all fear. An effect this, which no systematic theory can either produce or promote, and of course makes no part of the preacher's business. See 1 Cor. ii. 12.

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"5. From the aforesaid investigation, I further infer that all the distinctions, directions and cautions about kinds and acts of faith, thrust upon the public attention by preachings and

writings, polemical and practical, are little, if anything, better than fallacies and amusive speculations, tending to divert and distract the mind from the truth—the great subject of salvation—turning many aside after vain jangling, and greatly deceiving others. For what other end serve the distinctions about 'historical faith;' 'miraculous,' 'temporary' and 'saving faith;' 'the faith of reliance,' 'assurance,' 'an act of faith;' the 'direct' and 'reflex' acts of faith; 'appropriating faith,' 'the faith of adherence,' etc., etc., if not to perplex or amuse? Have we anything like this in the Scriptures? 'So *we* preach and so ye believed,' say the apostles, and so the matter ends. The Scripture, it is true, lays a great stress upon faith, and in many places reproves hypocritical pretensions to faith, and also exhibits evidences of genuine faith, and also exhorts to self-examination on that subject, but how? Is it by the intervention of those metaphysical, I might say barbarous, distinctions of modern times? No such thing. The Scriptures exhibit no such theory. They consider the subject through a different medium. Show me thy faith by thy works' is the Scripture test, to distinguish the true from the false, the genuine from the counterfeit professor, and not the light, airy, cheap way of metaphysical distinction. It is true, the ground that we have assumed and the plan we have prescribed to ourselves, which is simply returning to the original standard, and taking up and treating all religious matters as we find them there, would, if strictly adhered to, for ever extricate us from all the labyrinths of later inventions and practices; but it will take some pains, and much watchfulness and caution, to bring ourselves to this. We are children of yesterday, moderns in the newest sense of the word, and, therefore, will find it no easy matter to look back over the heads of eighteen hundred ages, and to think, speak and act, in matters of religion, as if contemporaries with the apostles and members of the primitive Church. Lastly, I infer, from the whole premises, that the great reason why the doctrine of faith has been so perplexed and obscured, is the legal tendency of the human heart, that constant self-flattering bias

which leads us to look for something in ourselves to distinguish us in the sight of God from others, were it but a single act of faith—some felt formal confidence, or 'appropriating act,' as they call it; something in ourselves as entitling or interesting. Whereas no one does, nor indeed can, take any merit to himself for believing a testimony where the truth is conspicuous from the strength of the evidence. To withhold belief in such a case is utterly impossible to rational nature. Therefore, no thanks to the believing subject, except for being rational, or for hearing a testimony, which, when brought to his ears unsought, he could not avoid hearing—if these things merit thanks. But, methinks, I hear it queried by the proud, self-preferring heart, can such an involuntary, unavoidable faith, such a bare belief of the naked truth, save me? Yes, surely, if the truth thus believed be sufficiently interesting to influence the conduct of the believer. If otherwise, let him know assuredly that the merit of believing it will not save him. Moreover, if it be sufficiently influential to affect his conduct, no thanks to him for that; for, who, in his senses, having drunk a poisoned bowl, would not, when duly certified of his fatal mistake, gladly receive an antidote? Where is boasting, then? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay, but by the law of faith. We see, then, upon the closest investigation of the subject, that every kind and degree of boasting is, and must be, for ever excluded by the law or tenor of the New Covenant, which communicates its special and saving blessings only and wholly by faith. I conclude this subject by observing that the forbidding, discouraging sense of our deep unworthiness, which we are prone to entertain in reference to God, is not to be regarded as interfering with our confidence toward him through Jesus Christ, as if we were at any time, or in any case, ever to be conscious of anything else, or better than the deepest unworthiness in reference to God and his salvation. * * * *

"Upon the whole, it is not theory, but a believing experience of the power of truth upon our own hearts, that will qualify us either to live or preach the gospel of a free, uncon-

ditional salvation through faith, and we may as well look to the north in December, for the warming breeze to dissolve the wintry ice, as to extract this believing experience of the power of the truth out of the most refined and exquisite theory about the nature and properties of faith, or of justification, or of any other point of the Divine testimony, abstracted from the testimony itself, as exhibited and addressed to us in the Scriptures. Let us, once for all, be convinced of this, that we may addict ourselves to study, believe and preach our Bibles, and then shall we study, live and preach to profit. * * * * And may the Lord direct you in all things, and make you one of his own preachers, and then, like his renowned apostle, you will pour contempt upon the wisdom of this world in all its most imposing forms, which comes to naught; then will your maxim be, 'Not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth.'

"Farewell.

"November 29, 1811. PHILOLOGUS."

Such were the views of faith entertained by Thomas Campbell, and in which his son Alexander always substantially agreed. Thus the whole Divine testimony was to be received as the only source of spiritual light and truth. But that testimony was essentially a revelation of God in Christ reconciling a guilty world. Christ being the way, the truth, and the life, to believe on him, to trust in him, was to attain the great purpose of all the Divine communications. A complete acquaintance with the Bible, however, though necessary to a full understanding of the Divine character and will, was not required in order to produce faith in Christ; this being more immediately dependent upon the gospel as preached by the apostles and exhibited in the New Testament. As all the promises and types of preceding institutions were verified in Christ, who was the

end of the law for righteousness to the believer, and as the great work of salvation which he accomplished was embraced in a few grand, comprehensive facts, adapted to the humblest understanding, a knowledge of these was sufficient in the first instance as the basis of faith, however this might be subsequently evolved and enlarged by an increased knowledge and experience. Thus, as in every seed there is a germ of the future plant, so in the simple gospel there was contained essentially the entire plan of redemption. And, as in the germ of every seed there are two points, one of which always develops itself downward to form the root, while the other as invariably extends itself upward to form the stem; so the revelation of Christ in the gospel spreads its rootlets throughout the entire Old Testament, reaching to the first promise in the garden of Eden; while, in the New, it rises, in all the excellency and glory of the work of redemption, until it reaches the very heavens. Hence it was, that the primitive faith, a simple trust in Christ, embodied in it all the power of the Christian life, and that a simple confession of this faith was all that was demanded in the apostolic age in order to discipleship. Such in substance was the view of faith which Mr. Campbell had now adopted; and such was the primitive confession of that faith which he now, by his example, first restored to the world.

With regard to this simple trust in Christ, embracing both the understanding and the heart, it will be seen by the minutes of his discourse (p. 376) that he at least, up to the spring of 1811, retained the opinion that this "trusting" was a special result of "Divine power and regenerating grace." This view, during the reflections and readings of the following year, was somewhat

modified, and he came to regard the Divine testimony itself as the only means through which faith was communicated. The false reasonings and unscriptural distinctions of the theological works he had been reading upon the subject, seem to have engendered in his mind a fixed dislike to the notions popularly entertained, and to have led him to prefer the simpler view that faith was the direct result of the Divine testimony—a view which is expressly given in that testimony itself, when it declares that "*faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.*"

It will not appear strange that, with the Scriptures before him, Mr. Campbell should come to such a conclusion, nor that, from his stand-point, the metaphysical distinctions made by popular theological writers in regard to faith should seem to him utterly groundless, if not absurd. During the correspondence with his father, above referred to, he thus writes to him under date of March 28, 1812, about two and one half months before his baptism:

"My attention for some time past has been directed to that grand controversy, not yet decided, betwixt Messrs. Hervey, Sandeman, Cudworth and Bellamy, concerning the apostolic gospel. An old and a most important controversy. As the performance of Mr. Bellamy in this dispute has been much extolled by one numerous party of the contenders, I have given it a tolerably close and somewhat critical reading. In this letter, then, I propose giving you a brief review of the sentiments advanced by this champion in his Dialogues and Essays.*

* Joseph Bellamy, D. D., was a native of Connecticut, born in 1719, and graduated at Yale College in 1735. He was a man of eminent abilities, ardent piety and great power as a preacher. He became, also, a theological teacher and writer, and died March 6, 1790, in the fiftieth year of his ministry, aged seventy-one. As a theologian he stands next in reputation to President Edwards.—R

"It appears to have fared with Mr. Bellamy as with many other polemics; while endeavoring to abolish the sentiments of his opponents, he establishes another scheme more absurd in its nature and not less destructive in its consequences. If I were to make any remarks on the style and method of Mr. Bellamy, I would say that his method of treating the matter in debate is puerile. His style is extremely uncouth, abounding with barbarisms and tautology. You can hardly conceive a more visible and impressive contrast than that which subsists between the diction and style of Mr. Hervey and his respondent. It is not, however, with his style, but with his sentiments, I have to do according to my expressed intention. To proceed then: the outline of Mr. Bellamy's gospel which he opposes to Messrs. Hervey, Sandeman and Cudworth, is obviously such as the following, when reduced to its simplest parts:

"1. A man must be regenerated previous to the first act of faith. 2. He must, before he believes the gospel to be true, approve of the law as holy, just and good, and love it on this account. 3. Then through the law as a glass he must discover the glory of God, and love him on account of his own glorious excellences. 4. Afterward, he must discover the wisdom of God in the gospel way of salvation, and, with all these qualifications, he then believes the gospel to be true; all this previous to the first act of faith, which he says is a 'holy act,' for his faith implies holiness, repentance, conversion and reconciliation; and yet he maintains that repentance is before forgiveness. That you may read his sentiments with your own eyes, please consult pages 14, 16, 17, 19, 58, 79, 81–103: Essays, 122, 125, 147.

"Respecting his first prerequisite, Regeneration, page 17: 'Regeneration must be before faith,' John (i. 12, 13). I would inquire what is the meaning of regeneration? Is it not the communication of spiritual life to the soul, which principle of spiritual life is the beginning of eternal life? 'If any be in Christ, he is a new creature;' all 'old things are passed away.' 'All things are become new' when a man is regene-

rated, he is then possessed of a new life, he is *now* alive and shall never die. I think this proposition would sound somewhat strange in the ears of a Christian, 'That a man may be possessed of eternal life and yet disbelieve the gospel.' Mr Bellamy virtually maintains this; for if regeneration be the communication of spiritual and eternal life, and if this be previous to faith, then a man may live and die and enjoy eternal life without faith. But, according to Mr. Bellamy's idea, regeneration is one of the most unaccountable things in the world. It is an effect produced without any cause. But we are assured, from the New Testament, that the Word of God is the means of regeneration—not a means which man uses in order to salvation, but a means which God uses. 'Of his own will begat he us *with* the word of truth.' James i. 18. 'Being born again not of corruptible seed,' but by 'incorruptible' seed, by 'the Word of God.' 1 Peter i. 23. 'Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him.' 1 John iii. 9. 2 John 2: 'For the truth's sake which abideth in us.' From these Scriptures we learn, in this figurative style, that *God begets us of his own will*—with incorruptible seed, the word of truth, and the effect is a new creature. One question determines this point. Is it the Word of God, believed or disbelieved, that regenerates us? If disbelieved, all unbelievers are regenerate; if believed, then Mr. Bellamy's scheme falls to the ground. Mr. Bellamy lays a great stress on John i. 12, 13: 'Them that believe on his name which were born,' etc. He supposes that John is describing religion as he does, in *order*, which is first, second and third; but I apprehend that this passage is descriptive of character—not of the order of salvation.

"Mr. Bellamy's second prerequisite, page 17. You and I must approve the law as just, holy and good, glorious and amiable, with application to ourselves, before we can with all our hearts believe the gospel to be true. As Mr. Bellamy is very verbose and his performance most tautological, I might refer you to a hundred places where the sentiments I animadvert on are stated and confirmed in his own way.

See the above references. This sentiment is unfounded in Divine revelation, nay, the contrary is obviously inculcated. To the man who disbelieves the gospel, 'the law worketh wrath.' The carnal mind is enmity against it and is not subject to it, 'neither indeed can be.' Paul only had attained to approve and love the law through the gospel. The law is not that which reconciles us to God, but God in Christ reconciles us to himself. Those enemies whom he hath reconciled were reconciled through the death of Christ. Surely it is only the man who believes the Divine Record and trusts in the death of Jesus Christ, that can be considered as having been reconciled through the infinite goodness of God. * * * *

"What must the orthodoxy of those be who hold Mr. B. as a model defender of the Christian faith? I should not have wearied your patience reading, or tired myself transcribing, these extracts, were it not to give you an idea of the state of that Church which receives, admires, recommends and contends for this performance as almost canonical. I have only mentioned some of the most exceptionable parts of Bel lamy's performance, but those I have mentioned give an idea of his system, which, at least, is semi-Arminian. I have read about one half of Cudworth this week. Will give you my sentiments respecting his performance in my next. I am weary of controversy. I reap some advantages, but not enough to counterbalance the disadvantages. The simple truth is the best defence of the truth, which, while it enlightens the understanding, sanctifies the heart. PHILOMATHES."

Thus it was that Mr. Campbell came to regard the extravagant notions of conversion popularly entertained, and the perplexing definitions of faith given by theological writers, as wholly unscriptural and unworthy of regard. Disposed to rely only upon the Scripture, and to limit his convictions by its express language, he could not perceive much utility in mere theories on any religious subject. The inquiry, with him, was always, What say the Scriptures? and to

their teachings his understanding and his heart ever responded, as the chords of a well-tuned harp to the touch of a musician. He saw clearly that faith was the belief of the truth, that it rested upon the Divine testimony, and that, whatever theology might say or theorists pretend, its quality was to be determined, not by theological definitions or by frames and feelings, but by the Scripture test, a willingness to keep God's commandments. His view of converting faith came to be, therefore, substantially that entertained by J. A. Haldane and John Campbell, mentioned on pp. 155–157. It taught him to look off to Jesus rather than to trust to the varying moods and emotions of the mind, and to rest his hope upon the merits and faithfulness of Him who is unchangeably the same, rather than upon any inward impressions or transient feelings. As matters of fact, he was not disposed to deny that in many cases a peculiar vividness of conviction and excitement of feeling accompanied belief, and, under certain circumstances, became unusually striking. Both he and his father had formerly had such "experiences," as they were called, and he always felt an interest in the recital of such matters by others, as evidences of their earnestness and sincerity, but he objected that men were disposed to rely on these rather than on the Word and Testimony of God, and to neglect and disparage assurances derived from the belief and obedience of the truth, while seeking in themselves, often in vain, for those evidences which modern systems demanded. The more he read and examined these systems, the more he became convinced that they had departed from the simplicity of the gospel, and had substituted human speculations and theories for the plain teachings of the Bible. It became therefore largely the labor of his

future life to dethrone these theories from the power they had usurped over men's minds, and to restore the Word of God to its proper authority. Whatever might be urged in favor of "appropriating faith," or of the commonly-received theories upon the subject, he came to regard such definitions and speculations as of no practical utility. Whatever harm they could do, he felt assured they could do no good, inasmuch as it was admitted by all that a cordial reception of them in their most orthodox form tended, in no degree, to *procure* those special spiritual operations which men were taught to expect.

There were, indeed, some difficult questions connected with the subjects of conversion and faith, which he does not, at this period, seem to have considered, except in a very general way. One of these was: Why, if faith comes by the word of God, is it not produced in *all* who hear that word? Why is it that, when the gospel is preached, a few particular individuals *only* believe and obey it? And again, Why is it that it is proper to *pray* for the conversion of individuals or of the world at large, unless it be agreed that some special influence or interposition is to be expected in answer to prayer?* No one admitted the propriety of such petitions or offered them more sincerely than Mr. Campbell, and to deny that there was an influence of any kind to be expected and exerted in any case in aid of the gospel, would have involved a practical inconsistency. He did not, therefore, deny the importance or existence of such aid, but its nature he appears to have left undetermined in his mind, preferring to leave all such matters with God. He did not conceive

* These questions will be found elucidated in a subsequent part of these Memoirs.

it to be the duty of an evangelist to preach a theory of conversion, but to "preach the Word," and to leave the event entirely with God. Of this he remained absolutely certain, that it was right and safe always to adhere closely to the Scriptures, and to teach and observe such things only as matters of faith and duty for which there could be produced a Divine warrant. It was therefore perfectly in harmony with his principles that, at his baptism, he refused to sanction, by relating an experience, any of the popular theories of faith, and that he determined to adhere closely to Scripture precedent and the admitted practice of the primitive Church, by making only the simple, but all-comprehending confession of the Messiahship of Jesus.

CHAPTER XX.

Spirit of Persecution—Sabbath-keeping—Union with Baptists—Home-labors—Discussion on Religious Fellowship.

THE conversion of the church at Brush Run into a society of immersed believers was quite a marvel and an offence to the religious communities of the neighborhood. Displeased as most of them already were by Mr. Campbell's previous opposition to existing usages, this decisive step, which separated him at once from all pædobaptist sympathy, greatly intensified the prejudices which the clergy had succeeded in exciting against him. That a party of individuals who had been nearly all members of orthodox churches should, without extrinsic influence, but simply from their own investigations, take upon themselves to repudiate publicly and finally infant baptism, and to adopt immersion as the primitive institution, and this, too, in the very heart of a pædobaptist community, under the control of a watchful and active ministry, was regarded as a most presumptuous proceeding, and one well calculated to subvert the entire order of religious society. There were no heresies so flagrant which such a party might not embrace. There were no extremes so wild to which they might not run, as they refused to be guided or restrained by those who were the chosen leaders of the people. Hence the "drum ecclesiastic" of each different party was beaten, with more than usual vigor, in

vehement efforts to demonstrate to the awestruck auditory the terrible consequences of such departures from the views and practices of "great and good men," and from the standards of the established Churches. Throughout this region of country, the power of the clergy was, at this time, almost supreme, and those who questioned it were at once put under the ban of religious society, being regarded as disorganizers, and even treated as outlaws in the spiritual kingdom. It may readily be supposed that under these circumstances the members of the Brush Run Church were blessed with no small amount of persecution, and that this was carried as far as the laws and social regulations would permit. As an illustration of the state of feeling which then existed, the following incident may be related. As Alexander Campbell was one evening returning from an appointment, he perceived a violent storm likely to overtake him, and called at the house of a Seceder lady to request shelter. The lady, who came to the door, desired, in the first instance, to know his name, and being informed that it was Alexander Campbell, she at once informed him that she could not admit him into her house. He was, therefore, obliged to pass on homeward, and to brave the fury of the tempest and the dangers from the timber falling across his way, which was chiefly a mere bridle-path through the woods. He did not, however, cherish the slightest unkind feeling toward the lady who had acted thus inhospitably. On the contrary, he used to say in after years, when relating the circumstance, that he had always entertained the highest respect for her, as he was confident she had acted from a sense of religious duty, and that she must have been a pious and very conscientious woman, to have been able thus to repress

her natural feelings of kindness, lest she should sin by receiving into her house one whom she was taught to regard as a false religious teacher.

The bitter prejudice thus excited by clerical influence continued to manifest itself in various ways and for a number of years. Misrepresentations of all kinds were freely circulated amongst the people; friendships were broken off; the ties of family relationship were weakened, and the discord of religious controversy invaded the quietude of the most secluded habitations. Christ had declared in the beginning that he came not to send peace on earth, but a sword—"to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." The members of the Brush Run Church now fully experienced the truth of this declaration, as they found that obedience to the Divine word raised up foes in a man's own household, and that, in order to be worthy of Christ, each one must take his cross and follow him. The opposition, however, by no means confined itself to private intercourse, or even to the pulpit, but manifested itself in business relations, in the withdrawal of custom from members whose callings were dependent upon public patronage, and in slights at public gatherings whenever it was supposed an indignity might be safely offered to any member present. Such opportunities were sometimes afforded at appointments for preaching, and particularly on baptismal occasions. It happened, more than once, that while Thomas Campbell was baptizing individuals who came forward from time to time to unite with the church, sticks and stones were thrown into the water from amidst the crowd assembled; imprecations also would sometimes be heard, and even threats of personal vio-

lence. The administrator, however, always remained perfectly calm, and performed his office with a dignity and a solemnity which secured the respect of, at least, the better portion of the audience. Such demonstrations of enmity are not known to have occurred at any of Alexander's appointments. There was something so commanding in his appearance, in the clear emphatic tones of his voice, and something so expressive of power and determined will in the eagle glances of his eye, that he seemed to hold his audience, prejudiced as they were, under a sort of spell, and no one was ever found bold enough to venture upon any annoyances.

One of the chief things circulated about the reformers at this time was, that they paid no respect to the Sabbath day. This, if believed to be true, could not fail to appear a heinous offence in the eyes of the Presbyterians, who composed almost the entire population of this part of the country, and who regarded it as one of the most important duties to keep, in a very solemn manner, the first day of the week, which they conceived to be a sort of Jewish Sabbath, asserting that the Sabbath day was changed from the seventh day to the first. As the Scripture contained no record of such a change, and gave no authority for it, the reformers, of course, could not admit it; and the simple denial of this fact at once exposed them to the charge of paying no respect to the Sabbath, while, in point of fact, they paid as much respect to the first day of the week as their neighbors. Because, however, they would not *call* it "the Sabbath," nor regard the Jewish law in relation to the Sabbath, or seventh day, as applicable to the first day of the week, a prodigious clamor was raised against them, as violating one of the most sacred of the com-

mandments. It is true, that they who thus judged, did not themselves keep the first day of the week according to the Jewish law regulating the Sabbath, which declared that whosoever should "do any work on that day should surely be put to death." (Ex. xxxi. 15), in harmony with which precept, when a man was found gathering sticks upon that day, he was taken out of the camp and stoned to death. Num. xv. 36. On the contrary, they assumed the privilege not only of changing the day, but of performing then also whatever they might choose to regard as "works of necessity or mercy." Thus they thought it right to travel more than a "Sabbath-day's journey" to meeting; to grind grain in a very dry time for the community on "Sabbath" after a shower; to take special care of their flocks and their herds on that sacred day, etc., etc.*

* Among those who stood very high in the Presbyterian Church, some curious cases are recorded, which illustrate the diversity of opinion and practice which arises, when every man is allowed to interpret the law according to his own views.

It is related that James A. Haldane, when a lad, made a tour, along with one of his school-fellows, George Ramsey, through the North of England, accompanied by his teacher, Dr. Adam, rector of the High School of Edinburgh, and author of the "*Roman Antiquities*" and other valuable works. They traveled on horseback, and were also accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Macknight, the well-known commentator, whose practical disregard of the Lord's day made a deep impression on his fellow-travelers. In speaking of this, the author of the "*Memoirs of the Haldanes*" says: "Although Dr. Adam was not an enlightened man in spiritual things, and then attended the very *moderate* teaching of the minister of St. Cuthbert's Chapel-of-Ease, yet he had been accustomed to reverence the outward symbols of religion. But when they had crossed the border and arrived in an Episcopalian country, Dr. Macknight persuaded his learned friend that, being now out of the bounds of Presbytery, and under no obligation to countenance prelatical worship, it would be very absurd to allow their journeying plans to be deranged by the intervention of the Sabbath. This convenient doctrine at first surprised, but at last proved very palatable to the young travelers. For a time, Dr. Adam felt very much ashamed when they entered a town or village when the church-going bells were calling the people to the services of the sanc-

No one, however, more approved or admired the quietude and becoming solemnity with which this day was generally observed in Presbyterian communities, nor did any one render a more sincere respect to it than Mr. Campbell, for this term, in order to avoid confusion, will be hereafter, in these Memoirs, appropriated to the son, his father being designated as such, or by his name, Thomas Campbell. He made it a rule through life not to travel on the Lord's day, except to an appointment for a religious meeting, and constantly held the day as one to be sacredly appropriated to religious duties. He entirely discountenanced the practice of Sunday visiting, and urged everywhere the importance of keeping the day in joyful memory of the resurrection of Christ, and with such services as tended to promote Christian edification and enjoyment. About this period, he thus wrote to a person who had been circulating the report that the Brush Run Church did not observe the first day of the week sacred to the Lord. "This," said he, "is a misrepresentation, for there is no sect known to us, and especially amongst our neighbors, that pay a more sacred regard to this important day than we, though we do not convert it into a

tuary. But these scruples were soon overcome by the doughty commentator." It must not be understood, however, that Presbyterians in general sanctioned Dr. Macknight's views in regard to Jewish observances, or that such cases as those referred to, would at all fairly represent the opinions they held with regard to the first day of the week, or Sabbath, as they made it a point to call it And such cases were just as far from representing the sentiments or the practice of Alexander Campbell and those associated with him. For, although he regarded the positive and ceremonial institutions of the Jewish law to have been fulfilled in Christ, and that the antitype of the Sabbath was found in the heavenly sabbatism of the New Institution in which men cease from their own works, having found rest and righteousness in Christ, he, on that very account, felt but the more disposed to reverence and honor the day which was commemorative of the fact that Christ rose again for our justification.

Jewish Sabbath. The morning of the day we freely consecrate to the Lord in reading, meditation, prayer, with other necessary duties. During the day we assemble to commemorate the death, resurrection and works of Christ—to pray, to praise, to comfort and edify one another, and to converse *only* on such things as stand connected with our Church relations and relative duties, and if ever anything of a worldly nature is introduced, it is not of choice, but of necessity, as arising out of our circumstances and mutual relations, and all alluding to our existence as a Church. In the evening of the day we conclude as we began. So that there are no professing Christians of any denomination, even those who call the Lord's day a Sabbath, who pay a more rational, scriptural and sacred regard to the Lord's day than *we*."

The misrepresentations and petty persecutions, however, to which the members of the church at Brush Run were subjected, only served, as is usually the case, to convince them more fully of the correctness of their course, and to attach them more strongly to one another. They had "obeyed the truth through the Spirit, unto unfeigned brotherly love," and felt that they had been "regenerated by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." The doubts that had previously disturbed their minds on the subject of baptism were now dispelled, and they enjoyed the peculiar gladness which belongs to the bright hours of the earlier period of both the natural and the spiritual life. Having been unable, for want of means, to finish the interior of the meeting-house, they were, nevertheless, accustomed to meet in it regularly, and continued to do so, even without fire, during the inclemency of winter. They visited often at each other's houses, often spending a consider-

able portion of the night in social prayer, in searching the Scriptures and singing hymns of praise. Their affections seemed to be elevated above the love of the world by the love of Christ, and the deeply implanted prejudices of a sectarian education and training, appeared to have died away beneath the overshadowing influence of Divine truth.

As was naturally to be expected, the adoption of immersion which had brought the church of Brush Run into so much disfavor with the Pædobaptist community, only served to give to it more acceptance with the Baptists. Of these, indeed, there were but few in the particular region of country between Washington and the Ohio river. East of Washington, however, along the Monongahela river, and throughout the rich valleys at the western base of the Alleghany mountains, they were tolerably numerous, and had formed an association of churches, called "Redstone," from an old Indian fort of that name on the Monongahela, about sixty miles above Pittsburg, where the town of Brownsville is now situated. In addition to his acquaintance with Messrs. Luce and Spears, Mr. Campbell had, from time to time, formed that of other members belonging to the Association, who often urged that the Brush Run Church should connect itself with this religious body. Determined, however, to preserve its independence as a church, and knowing that, notwithstanding the claim of independency put forth in theory by the Baptist churches, they were very much under the control of the clergy, who constituted the ruling element in the Associations, the proposed measure was regarded for some time as one of doubtful expediency. Another obstacle was, that the churches composing the Association had adopted the Confession of Faith set

forth by a Baptist Association at Philadelphia, September 25, 1747, and which contained a fair proportion of the unscriptural theories and speculations usually found in such standards. The practice of immersion indeed, instead of sprinkling, seemed to constitute almost the only important difference between the Baptists and other sects; and although the Brush Run members had adopted immersion, and were hence reputed to be Baptists, they felt that there was a wide difference between them and the Baptist communities in regard to the great principles of religious liberty and progress, as well as to the necessity of returning to the faith and practice of the primitive Churches. In their conformity to these, they had advanced far beyond the Baptist stand-point, even before the adoption of immersion, which, with the simple baptismal confession they had chosen, did not bring them to the position held by the Baptists, but, in reality, had placed them still farther in advance. It was after a long and difficult progress, that the Bible had guided them to the primitive baptism, and they would have been obliged to retrace almost all their steps in order to place themselves on Baptist ground, as it was then measured and staked out by the masters of assemblies. Besides, immersion itself was not to the church of Brush Run precisely what it was to the Baptist Church. To the latter, it was *merely a commandment*—a sort of front door by which regularity and good order required people to enter the Church. With the former, it was a *discovery* which had the effect of readjusting all their ideas of the Christian institution. It was to them the primitive confession of Christ, and a gracious token of salvation, and although they did not fully, as yet, comprehend, as afterward, its entire purport, its relations were so far understood

as greatly to enlarge and simplify their conceptions of the entire gospel. Upon these points, however, and upon the circumstances which led to a conditional union with the Redstone Association during the fall of 1813, it is proper to hear Mr. Campbell himself, who gives the following account, *Harbinger* for 1848, p. 344:

"After my baptism, and the consequent new constitution of our church of Brush Run, it became my duty to set forth the causes of this change in our position to the professing world, and also to justify them by an appeal to the Oracles of God. But this was not all; the position of baptism itself to the other institutions of Christ became a new subject of examination, and a very absorbing one. A change of one's views on any radical matter, in all its practical bearings and effects upon all his views, not only in reference to that simple result, but also in reference to all its connections with the whole system of which it is a part, is not to be computed, *a priori*, by himself or by any one else. The whole Christian doctrine is exhibited in three symbols—baptism, the Lord's supper, and the Lord's day institution. Some, nay, very many, change their views in regard to some one of these, without ever allowing themselves to trace its connections with the whole institution of which it is either a part or a symbol. My mind, neither by nature nor by education, was one of that order. I must know now two things about everything—its *cause* and its *relations*. Hence my mind was, for a time, set loose from all its former moorings. It was not a simple change of views on baptism, which happens a thousand times without anything more, but a new commencement. I was placed on a new eminence—a new peak of the mountain of God, from which the whole landscape of Christianity presented itself to my mind in a new attitude and position.

"I had no idea of uniting with the Baptists, more than with the Moravians or the mere Independents. I had unfortunately formed a very unfavorable opinion of the Baptist preachers as then introduced to my acquaintance, as narrow,

contracted, illiberal and uneducated men. This, indeed, I am sorry to say, is still my opinion of the ministry of that Association at that day; and whether they are yet much improved I am without satisfactory evidence.

"The people, however, called Baptists, were much more highly appreciated by me than their ministry. Indeed, the ministry of some sects is generally in the aggregate the worse portion of them. It was certainly so in the Redstone Association, thirty years ago. They were little men in a big office. The office did not fit them. They had a wrong idea, too, of what was wanting. They seemed to think that a change of apparel—a black coat instead of a drab—a broad rim on their hat instead of a narrow one—a prolongation of the face and a fictitious gravity—a longer and more emphatic pronunciation of certain words, rather than scriptural knowledge, humility, spirituality, zeal and Christian affection, with great devotion and great philanthropy, were the grand desiderata.

"Along with these drawbacks, they had as few means of acquiring Christian knowledge as they had either taste or leisure for it. They had but one, two, or, at the most, three sermons, and these were either delivered in one uniform style and order, or minced down into one medley by way of variety. Of course, then, unless they had an exuberant zeal for the truth as they understood it, they were not of the calibre, temper or attainments to relish or seek after mental enlargement or independence. I, therefore, could not esteem them, nor court their favor by offering any incense at their shrine. I resolved to have nothing especially to do with them more than with other preachers and teachers. The clergy of my acquaintance in other parties of that day were, as they believed, educated men, and called the Baptists illiterate and uncouth men, without either learning or academic accomplishments or polish. They trusted to a moderate portion of Latin, Greek and metaphysics, together with a synopsis of divinity, ready made in suits for every man's stature, at a reasonable price. They were as proud of their classic lore

and the marrow of modern divinity, as the Baptist was of his 'mode of baptism,' and his 'proper subject' with sovereign grace, total depravity and final perseverance.

"I confess, however, that I was better pleased with the Baptist people than with any other community. They read the Bible, and seemed to care for little else in religion than 'conversion' and 'Bible doctrine.' They often sent for us and pressed us to preach for them. We visited some of their churches, and, on acquaintance, liked the people more and the preachers less. Still I feared that I might be unreasonable, and by education prejudiced against them, and thought that I must visit their Association at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1812. I went there as an auditor and spectator, and returned more disgusted than I went. They invited me 'to preach,' but I declined it altogether, except one evening in a private family, to some dozen preachers and twice as many laymen. I returned home, not intending ever to visit another Association.

"On my return home, however, I learned that the Baptists themselves did not appreciate the preaching or the preachers of that meeting. They regarded the speakers as worse than usual, and their discourses as not edifying—as too much after the style of John Gill and Tucker's theory of predestination. They pressed me from every quarter to visit their churches, and, though not a member, to preach for them. I often spoke to the Baptist congregations for sixty miles around. They all pressed us to join their Redstone Association. We laid the matter before the Church in the fall of 1813. We discussed the propriety of the measure. After much discussion and earnest desire to be directed by the wisdom which cometh from above, we finally concluded to make an overture to that effect, and to write out a full view of our sentiments, wishes and determinations on that subject. We did so in some eight or ten pages of large dimensions, exhibiting our remonstrance against all human creeds as bonds of communion or union amongst Christian Churches, and expressing a willingness, upon certain conditions, to co-operate or to unite with that

Association, provided always that we should be allowed to teach and preach whatever we learned from the Holy Scriptures, regardless of any creed or formula in Christendom A copy of this document, we regret to say, was not preserved; and, when solicited from the clerk of the Association, was refused.

"The proposition was discussed at the Association, and, after much debate, was decided by a considerable majority in favor of our being received. Thus a union was formed. But the party opposed, though small, began early to work, and continued with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. There was an Elder Pritchard of Cross Creek, Virginia; an Elder Brownfield of Uniontown, Pennsylvania; an Elder Stone of Ohio, and his son Elder Stone of the Monongahela region, that seemed to have confederated to oppose our influence. But they, for three years, could do nothing. We boldly argued for the Bible, for the New Testament Christianity, vex, harass, discompose whom it might. We felt the strength of our cause of reform on every indication of opposition, and constantly grew in favor with the people. Things passed along without any very prominent interest for some two or three years."

A very imperfect idea would be formed of the energy and activity of Mr. Campbell during these years, if his public religious and ministerial labors were alone considered. From the time that he came to reside at Mr. Brown's, he had continued to render much assistance in the labors of the farm. This physical exercise however, which he greatly enjoyed, did not materially interfere with the regular course of study which he was accustomed to prescribe for himself. When his horses, weary with the plough, were resting for a little in the shade, he would take from his pocket the New Testament he always carried, and spend the time in committing a portion of it to memory, or in tracing out the

order and method of a discourse upon some important theme. Being always a very early riser, many quiet hours were appropriated to important studies before the household was astir; and when, at meal-times, coming in warm and somewhat fatigued, he would recline carelessly upon the little settee with rockers, which served as a cradle for his children, he was almost certain to have a book in his hand and occupy himself in reading aloud to his wife or others present, or in conversing with them respecting the author and the subject of which he treated.

His selection was such that the subject was never a trivial one, but always something improving, some elevating theme connected with human duty or human happiness, upon which he would himself at intervals interestingly descant. So particular was he, that in one of his MS. books he entered down a list of the works he read from the time he came to Mr. Brown's, March 25, 1811, up to the 15th of August, 1812. As the reader may wish to know the range of his reading during this time, the list is given below.* The number

* Owen on the Holy Spirit. 3 vols. 1218 pp.
Owen on the Death of Death. 1 vol. 320 pp.
Walker's Address to the Methodists. 40 pp.
Walker's Charity Sermon. 1 vol. 112 pp.
Walker's Letters to Knox. 1st vol. 300 pp.
do. do. do. 2d vol. 300 pp.
Quolquhun's Address. 1 vol. 124 pp.
Law on Christian Perfection. 472 pp.
Address on the Christian Name. 30 pp.
Lany's Philemon to Onesimus. 1 vol. 432 pp.
Hervey's Meditations. 1 vol. 400 pp.
Paul Wright's Biography. 1 vol. 200 pp.
Michaelis' Introductory Lectures to the New Testament. 326 pp.
Mason on Self-Knowledge. 90 pp.
Sandeman's Letters on Theron and Aspasio. 2 vols. 300 pp.
Sandeman on Marriage. 52 pp.

of pages in all these volumes thus read, he also noted down as amounting to eight thousand three hundred and fifty-four. Nor is it to be supposed that this reading was cursory or superficial, for he not only read these works with care, as is evinced by various notes and references, but made extensive extracts of such portions as he desired particularly to remember. Thus, from "Owen on the Holy Spirit," there are copied no less than *thirty-eight foolscap pages*, very closely written in the small but clear handwriting peculiar to him, for he had been well drilled in the art of penmanship by his father, who was an accomplished penman, and who wrote a hand so elegant that at a very short distance the eye could not distinguish it from copper-plate engraving. For Dr. Owen he had the highest admiration, and speaks of him, in introducing the extracts, as "that eminent servant of God." He entertained the same sentiments in reference to John Newton, and through

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Booth's Essay on the Kingdom of Christ. 120 pp.

Bellamy's Dialogues and Essays. 320 pp.

Cudworth against Sandeman and Bellamy. 300 pp.

Haldane on Baptism. 100 pp.

McClean's pamphlets—A reply to Mr. Fuller's Appendix to his book on "The Gospel Worthy of Acceptance." 154 pp.

Wardlaw's Lectures on the Abrahamic Covenant, revised. 132 pp.

Belief of the Gospel, Saving Faith. 36 pp.

Sermons on Public Fasts. 48 pp.

Defence of Believer's Baptism. 93 pp.

Haldane's Tour through the Highlands. 100 pp.

Branagon's Concise View of Religious Sects. 324 pp.

Booth Against Free Communion. 70 pp.

Prophetic Conjectures on the French Revolution by various authors, with other events. 96 pp.

Bechens on the Signs of the Times, or the Overthrow of the Papal Tyranny in France. 40 pp.

Anonymous Dialogues on Duty. 50 pp.

The Pioneer. 312 pp.

Kelly's Sermon on Perseverance. 20 pp.

Kelly's Defence of his book "Union." 80 pp.

life could never hear the name of either mentioned without expressing his high appreciation of him. He also thought much of some things in the writings of John Walker, from whose "Address to the Methodists in Ireland" he extracts the following passages as worthy of special attention:

"1. The writer who takes the sacred Scriptures *alone* for the standard of his faith, and takes the *whole* of them, must expect opposition and dislike more or less from all sects and parties.

"2. The more clearly we maintain and exhibit the simplicity of the real Gospel of Christ, the more we shall be disliked and despised by the world.

"3. The gospel which proposes a foundation for the sinner's hope altogether *out of himself*, and calls him to live a life which he is to live *not by himself*, but 'by the faith of the Son of God,' is on this account peculiarly offensive to the world.

"4. It is no part of the work of grace to mend the corrupt nature. *That* nature is as bad, as wholly evil, in a believer as in an unbeliever; as bad in the most established believer as in the wickedest; as bad in Paul the apostle, just finishing his course and ready to receive the crown of righteousness, as in Saul of Tarsus, a blasphemer and a persecutor of the Church of Christ.

"5. What are we to understand by being *sanctified* or *made holy?* I answer in a word—*separated unto God*, so as to be brought into a particular relation unto him, appropriated to his use and service. This is the literal meaning of קדש. For this reason, persons, places and things have been said to be sanctified, in the Bible. See Lev. xx. 24, 26; Deut. vii. 6; xiv. 2; believers are '*chosen*' out of the world, his peculiar people, a holy nation, from the babe in Christ to the Father. 1 Pet. i. 2; ii. 9. Consider 1 Cor. i. 30: 'Of him,' etc. 'Believers are in a *new* state in *Christ Jesus* Not of *themselves* but '*of him*'—of God. Then Christ is

made unto them wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, redemption. Their sanctification and justification equally result from being in Christ.

"In consequence of *this union*, the Spirit of holiness, the Spirit of life and power, descends and dwells in them, producing in them *the fruits of holiness*, even that cluster of heavenly affections, Gal. v. 22, 23. And these fruits are produced because they are kept '*abiding in Christ*,' walking *in him*. Col. ii. 6. And they are kept thus continually in Christ, by the Spirit keeping them under a continual conviction of their need of him as poor sinners, who *have in themselves* neither righteousness nor strength, and testifying to their hearts that *in him* they have righteousness and strength in whom *alone* all the seed of Israel is *justified* and shall glory, saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation (see Isa. xlv. 17, 24, 25), testifying of his offices and character. They are kept by the '*power of God through faith unto salvation*.' * * * *

"1. The doctrine of a sinner's justification as the *free gift* of God in *Christ Jesus* to every one that believeth, is the essential difference between the gospel and all human systems.

"2. This doctrine, Luther said, is the turning-point of a falling or a standing Church; and it may be truly said to be the turning-point of true religion or false religion. * * *

"4. *On Repentance.*

"That repentance which is unto life is not anything preceding faith or unconnected with it, but it is that *new mind* of which we are made partakers when we are given to believe with the heart in Jesus.

"There may be a pregnant sorrow for sin, when there is no true repentance."

"*On Party Names.*

"1. I observe that the Scriptures positively testify against the practice of Christians calling themselves by their earthly leaders. If I were to choose any man by whose name I would

call myself, I would be apt to select Paul and call myself a *Paulite*. But against this Paul himself would protest: and shall I call myself a Calvinist, or a disciple of Calvin? Nor would I ever wish to descend from the high character of a servant of Jesus Christ, to that of a champion for the opinions of any man."

"*Against Arminianism.*

"2. I am persuaded that all that *are saved*, are saved from a proud rebelliousness of heart, and subdued to a thankful acquiescence in the revealed way of salvation; glad to be saved by *mere mercy*, and convinced that if it were not *mere* mercy, they could not be saved at all.

"3. I would observe that to charge God with cruelty for not extending the same grace and saving mercy to others, is in effect to deny the existence of his mercy altogether. The very idea of mercy is that it is gratuitous—that is not the gift of mercy which may not be justly withheld; and that cannot justly be withheld, which it would be cruelty to withhold.

"4. Alas! What a different book would the Bible, be if systematic divines, if uninspired men of any sect or party, had the compilation of it!"

For the learning, sincerity and talents of John Walker, Mr. Campbell entertained a very high respect, but it was a respect somewhat mingled with pity that his labors should have resulted in so little real benefit to religious society. He had heard him preach at Rich-Hill, as related (page 60), and was greatly impressed by his acquirements and his acuteness, and used often, in conversation, to speak of the facts in his history; of the trouble he gave the Episcopalians, while among them, by inveighing against their worldly conformity; of his subsequent union with the Methodists on account of their plainness of dress and manners, and of his speedy abandonment of this connection from his dis-

satisfaction with their Arminian doctrines, upon which he wrote his celebrated "Letters to Alexander Knox," which many regarded as the finest exposition of the gospel plan of justification which had appeared since Paul's Epistle to the Romans. For a time, Mr. Walker had sympathized with the Haldanean movement; but, adopting peculiar notions of separatism, and refusing to hold religious fellowship even in appearance with those who differed from him, he established an impassable barrier between the few followers he here and there obtained, and all the surrounding religious bodies.*

Mr. Campbell himself seems, during the winter of 1812, to have given some consideration to this question of religious fellowship, and as he was then carrying on the correspondence, already spoken of, with his father upon various topics, he took occasion to introduce for discussion the position which believers occupy in relation to unbelievers in social or public religious exercises. Under date of February 26, 1812, he submits to his father the following queries:

"1. What is prayer, and how many kinds are there? 2 Is it scriptural and lawful for believers and unbelievers formally to join in prayer and praise as acts of religious worship? The matter to be ascertained is," he remarks, "the propriety of social acts of religious worship in promiscuous assemblies or in families where some are unbelievers.

* Of those who adopted Mr. Walker's views, there were a few in the neighborhood of Newry, who, in after years, used to meet occasionally in that place. Mr. Ross of Rosstrevor, successor of General Ross, was one of them, and, being a public man, was accustomed on such occasions to deliver a religious address to the people. But at these meetings there were no public exercises, such as prayer or singing, by uniting in which any of the audience could assume even the appearance of religious fellowship. It may readily be supposed, that a course of this kind, to which the divided and distracted state of religious society could alone have given origin, had the effect of greatly limiting the progress of Mr. Walker's opinions.

After expressing his desire that this matter should be examined impartially, and without paying any respect to such "advantages or disadvantages in a temporal sense as might accrue from this or that practice," he says: "When I survey the religious world and read the New Testament, the more clearly I am convinced that superstition, enthusiasm, formality and will-worship, prevail to the ruin and disgrace of scriptural and ancient Christianity. And as *truth* can never be injured by being examined, to call all doctrines and religious practices, in this generation, in question, appears an immediate and indispensable duty." After speaking then of the corruptions of Christianity in the perversion of the ordinances of baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Lord's day, preaching, etc., he inquires if it is not probable that the ordinances of prayer and praise have likewise been perverted. "How many disciples of Moses," he exclaims, "are yet to be found in the professed school of Jesus Christ! and how few among the teachers of the *New Testament* seem to know that Christ's ministers are not able ministers of the *Old Testament*, but of the *New!* Do they not, like scholars to their teacher, run to Moses to prove forms of worship, ordinances, discipline, and government in the Christian Church, when asked to account for their practice? On this subject, I think we may rest satisfied, that since the great Prophet has come, whom to refuse or disobey is death, who is a faithful son over his own house, that all worship and forms of worship, ordinances, discipline, and government belonging to the Christian Church, must be learned exclusively from the *New Testament*. And every appeal made to Moses or the prophets to confirm any form of worship, ordinance, or any part of Christian discipline or government is sending Christ the *Son* to Moses the *servant* to be instructed. It is a perverse impeachment of the wisdom, goodness and care of the Church's head."

Passing, afterward, to the subject of family-worship, he submits to his father the question whether there is

scriptural authority for making this observance, as some had done, a term of communion, and whether it is proper in a family composed in part of unbelievers? To these inquiries his father replies at considerable length in two letters, dated the 2d and 12th of March, in which he considers particularly this question of religious fellowship:

"That Christianity," he remarks, "in the present profession and practice, is greatly corrupted, is a plain matter of fact. Whoever will seriously consider the present state of things in the professing world and compare it with the spirit and tenor of the apostolic writings, and with the state of things there exhibited, will plainly perceive, nay, will sensibly feel, a remarkable and striking difference." Dwelling then upon the gospel as it was first introduced, and as designed to replace all other religions, he continues: "As the object of this new religion, if I may so call it, which superseded all others, and made them null and void upon its appearance, was the one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was thus distinguished (see 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6), and only rightly worshiped in and through him who was indeed one with him and with the Holy Spirit in Divinity, but distinct from him and Lorded by him as to his relation to humanity, or as the Word made flesh, Acts ii. 36; so with respect to religious fellowship or relationship, the subjects of this *new* religion had their respects or religious regards entirely turned to and solely confined to each other, considering none but themselves as fellow-subjects of the grace of God, or as brethren in religion. Hence their religious esteem and intercourse in all religious acts and exercises were precisely and necessarily limited to each other, and of course must of necessity still be the same, for there is still but one body, one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, and of course but one law of love pervading and uniting all within the manifold limits of this unity and under its manifest influences. Now every pretence to extend com-

munion in the acts and exercises of religion beyond the limits of this special unity, as well as every attempt to set it aside, wheresoever manifest, by separating or causing to separate those whom God has thus united in himself by his Son Jesus Christ through the Spirit, in the one baptismal profession of faith and holiness, is no less absurd than anti-scriptural. These, and these alone, constitute the one visible professing body of our Lord Jesus Christ upon earth, and are the special subjects of all-saving grace and of fellowship in all gospel ordinances, in and by which that grace is *manifested*, *maintained* and *promoted*.

"Now all are, in the first instance, manifested and distinguished by the one faith, of which the one baptism or submersion in water in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is the proper, instituted and expressive symbol, and also the first formal and comprehensive act of the obedience of faith. But this faith may be manifested without this baptism, and where it is received must always be manifested (I mean by a scriptural and intelligent profession) before it. And now that the world has for a long time been misled about this baptism, and in the way of administering it to children, which are utterly incapable and always unqualified subjects—the one faith, manifested by an intelligent and consistent profession, is the immediate, proper, and formal reason of religious communion in all the instituted ordinances of gospel worship, beyond which it cannot be lawfully or profitably extended; and this instituted worship can be nowhere performed upon the Lord's day, where the Lord's Supper is not administered. Wherever this is neglected, there New Testament Church-worship ceases. * *

"Now as all private and particular meetings of Christians for particular purposes, naturally and properly include only such as are concerned in the proper and specified cause of such meetings, therefore none but they can have any proper or assignable cause of access to such meetings, and as the public meetings of the Church for edification are open to all (see 1 Cor. xiv. 23, 24, 25), there can be, therefore, no prosti-

tution of religious exercises by the accidental presence of unbelievers, seeing they are not intentionally as members, or as the proper and qualified subjects of such exercises, although they may happen to be present, and also to be convinced and converted by the appointed means of public edification. And, as for the Lord's Supper, which only respects disciples, and to which none else have right of access but only such, it belongs so peculiarly to the church and to it alone, that it would appear that none else but disciples had access to the meetings which were held for this particular purpose; so that there was no need for tokens to distinguish church members from strangers who belong not to the church; and, indeed, it would be hard to conceive under what pretence such could be admitted. * * * *

"Upon the whole, it appears that the Christians had their public, their special and their private or particular meetings —their public meetings for public edification, their special meetings for special edification, and their more private or particular meetings *pro re nata*. * * * * But all the while, it is as obvious as the light that shines, that professed believers, acknowledged Christians, and none but they, are the proper, intended and specified subjects of all religious communion and fellowship in all the ordinances of gospel worship, nor can they scripturally intend, much less *extend*, that communion beyond themselves or those of their own number. See 2 Cor. vi. 14–18. Though they may and will consult and intend the conversion and salvation of their perishing fellow-creatures by the means appointed for that purpose in their public meetings. See 1 Cor. xiv. 23–25. Thus far concerns the order, intention and proper subjects of the ordinances of gospel worship, public, special and particular.

"The next question that occurs upon this interesting and important subject, is like that of the Pharisee of old: 'Who is my neighbor, my brother in religion, the qualified object of my regard, my fellow-Christian?'

"In attempting to answer this, I would cautiously avoid the Pharisaic self-preferring disposition, and therefore would reply,

in the first instance, any fellow-sinner of the human race, how vile soever he may have been, who makes an intelligent profession of the truth as it is in Jesus, as comprehensively specified in the eighth proposition of the overture in our Address; and so long as he continues to manifest the reality of his profession by his temper and conduct, still to consider him in the same light. Than the above, I know no other distinction between mankind with respect to salvation, and this, while I believe the Scriptures, I must believe to be the only and all-sufficient ground for Christian love, and therefore I must heartily acquiesce in what is declared in the ninth proposition. This, however, may be thought at first view to be a very generalizing principle; I could wish with all my heart that it was, that it would embrace the whole Christian —I mean professing—world; but upon a close inspection and strict application, I fear it will be found to embrace but comparatively few—yea, very few—of the great majority of the religious professors. Do they, or can they all, indeed, upon a close examination, manifest a conviction by the word and truth of God that they are originally and actually in the awful, woeful, lost and perishing condition in which the word and truth of God declares them to be? And in connection with this, such a scriptural view of the person and mediation of Jesus Christ as both satisfies God and the convinced conscience, gives rest and peace to the heart from the just apprehension of impending wrath, and disposes the soul to the holy obedience of faith and love? Do they or can they profess such faith, such hope and such love upon the good, assignable scriptural reasons with which a true knowledge and belief of the Divine testimony furnishes every mind that truly understands and believes it? I fear not; and I would say that, without this clearly and scripturally ascertained in connection with a corresponding practice (in so far as practice can be taken into consideration under the various circumstances in which the various applicants may be found), there is no just scriptural ground of religious fellowship. * * *

"In order, then, to direct and determine our practice in

existing circumstances, when all the world are called Christians, and the great majority seem to persuade themselves that they are so in some sense, and therefore are in a condition with respect to Christ and salvation vastly different from the heathen world, both as to persons and circumstances, we believe, as we have a right to hope, that there are Christians in all the denominations of professors where the great fundamental truths of the gospel are acknowledged, although we have no reason to believe that the majority of professors are such. Therefore, when any number of persons assemble on the Lord's day for the avowed purpose of public worship, there we may reasonably hope that there are some believers, and however this be, the persons thus assembling, in so far avow themselves to be voluntary subjects of the gospel dispensation; nor is it our place to determine, what in many cases we cannot, who of them are or are not Christians, or whether or not they may not be all so, seeing that in the point of view in which they present themselves to our considerations, as also in the course of the service, they manifest themselves to partake with us in the acts of religious worship. There can be no doubt, then, in such a case, but we are to consider and address them as the professed worshipers of the true God through Jesus Christ. I do not say as unfeigned and believing worshipers, for, even in the most perfect Church, we would scarcely be justifiable in considering all as such. This conclusion proceeds upon the supposition that Christ has a people amongst the visible professors of his name, and that these may be expected to be found where the great fundamental truths of the gospel are publicly professed: nay, that wheresoever this is the case, there the professors, if sincere, of course must be his people. But this, as I said above, is scarcely to be expected in the most perfect Church that ever did or shall exist. See the seven Epistles to the seven Asiatic Churches. Moreover, every irregularity, error or mistake does not unpeople a professing people. Therefore I conclude that where we bear an open faithful testimony against the existing evils of a professing people who acknowledge the

great fundamental truths of the gospel, we are warranted to join in all public acts of religious worship with such of them as voluntarily attend upon our ministrations, and thus countenance our instructions both by their voluntary attendance and manifest concurrence with us in those religious acts." * * * *

Such were the sentiments of Thomas Campbell upon the subject of religious fellowship in March, 1811, and in these his son Alexander substantially agreed. When, about three months after the above correspondence, the church at Brush Run became a body of immersed believers, these views became more clearly and sharply defined, no one being afterward recognized as duly prepared to partake in religious services, except those who had professed to put on Christ in baptism. From his lively sense of the prevalent corruptions of the gospel and its institutions, and his conscientious scruples in regard to yielding to these any countenance or toleration, Mr. Campbell, even down to his later years, would occasionally, amongst private friends, contend strenuously for principles almost as exclusive and rigid as those of Walker. His benevolent feelings, however; his Christian courtesy and his sympathy for those whom he regarded as sincere but mistaken, did not permit him to carry out such principles. Both he and his father had great consideration for the unintentional mistakes and errors in which religious society had become involved, and in this feeling, the members of the church at Brush Run, for the most part, participated. However clear their convictions had become as to the primitive method of confessing Christ, and the primitive faith and order of the Church, they had too fresh a recollection of their own struggles and difficulties in attaining to the views they held, and too deep a

sympathy with the pious but priest-ridden members of other communities, to refuse to recognize them as being intentionally at least, followers of Christ. As they could not, however, make any compromise with the corrupt systems and practices of the day, and were prevented by their principles from recognizing fraternally any one who had not publicly complied with the requisitions of the gospel, they were necessarily inhibited from *inviting* any except the actual members of the church to take a part in religious exercises. This was specially true with regard to the Lord's Supper, which they continued to celebrate weekly, and of which none but baptized believers were invited to partake. It was not, however, the custom of the church, nor has it ever been that of any of the Churches of the Reformation, to "fence the tables," as sectarians express and practice it; or to withhold the symbols from any pious person who might be present and feel disposed to unite in commemorating the death of Christ.

CHAPTER XXI.

Diffusion of Truth—Agricultural Pursuits—Sectarian Jealousies—Redstone Association—Sermon on the Law—Letter on the Trinity.

IN some communities, the diffusion of either truth or error is extremely slow. The local circumstances; the character of the original settlers; the chief occupations; above all, the religious views and habits of thought at first prevailing, and the sympathies which belong to the people of every district mutually associated and allied, often give to it a certain unity of sentiment which resists innovation and is opposed to change. Such was the case, in a marked degree, in regard to the region to which Mr. Campbell and his father had hitherto devoted their reformatory labors, so that these, however earnest and disinterested, seemed as yet to produce comparatively but little visible effect. Individuals, indeed, occasionally, became impressed by the truth, and in defiance of the opposition of relatives and acquaintances, and sometimes under peculiarly touching circumstances, would present themselves for baptism. Most of the accessions, however, for some time, were from among newly-arrived immigrants, who, while the impression of change was yet fresh upon them, and they were yet uncommitted to any religious party in the neighborhood, were more disposed to hear and to consider the plea for primitive Christianity. Among these may be mentioned Joseph and William

Mathews, brothers of Mrs. Hanen, who, arriving about this period, soon became members, and continued ever after active and intelligent advocates of the cause.

During the progress of affairs, there were not wanting some curious cases showing to what measures men will sometimes resort in order to stifle their convictions, or to make a compromise between their wishes or prejudices and their consciences.

Among instances of the latter, there was a certain John Moore, a Seceder, who, in spite of a violent opposition from his wife, had become a member of the Christian Association, but withdrew about the time immersion was adopted, and became a bitter enemy of the Brush Run Church. His secret misgivings, however, would not allow him to rest satisfied with his position. Being, after a time, convinced that infant baptism was invalid, he was ashamed to apply for immersion to those he had forsaken, or even to acknowledge publicly his adoption of views he had so recently decried. Amidst his mental conflict, he was finally brought to the strange conclusion that he could be himself the administrator; so that, repairing one day to a stream of water in a secluded place, where he thought no human eye could see him, he went through the usual forms and immersed himself. This, indeed, is not, even in the United States, the only instance of an individual becoming, both religiously and etymologically, a *self-baptist;* and though such cases yield a strong, because unwilling, testimony to the force of truth in regard to the action termed baptism, they at the same time betray the sad weakness of the human understanding, that can suppose a thing which is not possible in *fact* to be nevertheless true in *figure*, and that, in the expressive symbolism of this ordinance,

one who is dead can bury himself, and raise himself again by his own power, to live in newness of life. This latter result certainly did not follow in the case of Mr. Moore, whose conduct becoming known, as he could not keep his own secret, rendered him, by the public discredit it brought upon him, only the more dissatisfied with himself and the more embittered against the reformation and his former associates.

Not long after the Brush Run Church had united with the Redstone Association, Thomas Campbell, who warmly approved this union, as it took away from the church the odium of forming a new religious body, became convinced that but little more good could be effected by his labors in Western Pennsylvania. As his attachment to places, never very strong, was not permitted to interfere, for a moment, with the higher claims of religious usefulness, he began to think of changing his place of residence. Having formed some acquaintance with the young and rapidly growing State of Ohio,* and hearing favorable accounts of the region around Cambridge, in Guernsey county, about ninety miles distant, he visited it in the spring of 1813, and finally concluded to sell his little property in Washington county, and to purchase another near Cambridge. As his eldest daughter, Dorothea, had become the wife of Joseph Bryant, January 13, 1813, and, in the following November, his daughter Nancy, next in age, married a young man by the name of Andrew Chapman, it was arranged that his sons-in-law would accompany him, and assist in the management of the

* The State of Ohio had been admitted into the Union only about ten years before (in 1802), with a population of forty thousand. According to the census of 1860, the number of inhabitants had increased to more than two millions and a quarter.

farm and of the seminary he proposed to establish in Cambridge. He removed his family, accordingly, at the close of the year, soon after the church of Brush Run had been received into the Redstone Association, and succeeded in establishing a flourishing school at Cambridge. Alexander, meanwhile, remained at Mr. Brown's, and to him and James Foster the care of Brush Run Church was now committed; James Foster having been ordained elder, with imposition of hands by Thomas Campbell, Alexander Campbell, Mathias Luce, and Charles Wheeler.

On the 13th of September of this year (1813), another daughter had been born to Mr. Campbell, and called Eliza Ann. He himself continued occupied as usual in the labors of the farm, and in filling his appointments for preaching in the neighborhood, and occasionally at considerable distances from home. A knowledge of the principles of the reformation became thus more widely extended, especially among the Baptist churches of the Redstone Association and the Stillwater Association in Ohio, and a number of the more intelligent members became favorable to them. Individuals, too, during his labors at home, occasionally presented themselves for baptism. Among these, were his wife's father and mother, who had come forward after considerable investigation and reflection. A few in Charlestown, also, chiefly females, had become obedient to the faith, and others here and there through the country. Most of these were too widely scattered to take membership in Brush Run Church, which, owing to removals, scarcely preserved its original number. Seeing the difficulty of making a decided impression upon the community around them, and infected somewhat with the prevailing spirit of migration, many

of the members of the church began to take into serious consideration the question of removing in a body to a more suitable place. On the 13th of April, 1814, a meeting was called for the purpose of considering the matter. The scattered condition of the membership, by which many were prevented from attending meeting regularly; the opposition they encountered on account of their religious views; the difficulty of obtaining schools and suitable teachers for their children; the oppressive labors required in order to obtain support for themselves and families, were all found to be weighty reasons for seeking to better their condition. After due consideration, a removal was deemed desirable, and it was concluded that the most eligible situation would be the neighborhood of some flourishing town, not more than two hundred miles west, so as not to get too near the Indian border. It was thought that such a town would not only afford better opportunities for public usefulness, but furnish employment for such as were artisans, while the remainder, who were farmers, could follow their vocation in the vicinity, while all could have the benefit of a school for their children under their own direction. A committee was accordingly appointed to explore the country in order to find, if possible, a suitable situation. This committee consisted of George Archer, Richard McConnel, Abraham Altars, John Cockens, and Alexander Campbell, who immediately visited a considerable portion of Ohio; and having found Zanesville and its vicinity to be possessed of the greatest advantages, all of which were minutely detailed in the written report presented to the church upon their return, it was unanimously resolved, at a meeting held June 8, 1814, that the report be accepted, and that the removal should take place as soon as

they could individually make the necessary arrangements.

It happened, however, that John Brown, for whose judgment Mr. Campbell had great deference, was not much in favor of the project, and did not like to have his daughter and son-in-law remove to so great a distance. Having also a desire himself to adopt some mode of life less laborious than farming, he determined to make Mr. Campbell a present of the fine farm on which he lived. He therefore frankly gave him a deed, in fee simple, of the entire premises, and removing at once with his wife to Charlestown, engaged there in the grocery business, becoming a member in the Baptist church on Cross Creek, three miles above. This generous conduct on the part of Mr. Brown, and respect for his wishes, occasioned, as a matter of course, an entire change in the proposed arrangements so far as respected Mr. Campbell, who was now compelled to remain where he was. The other members of the church then, being unwilling to remove without him, relinquished, for the present, their purpose of going to the West. Meanwhile, Mr. Campbell being thus providentially furnished with the means of carrying out his cherished wishes as to public usefulness, immediately set to work with his accustomed energy, to put the farm into good repair, and to make such changes as would enable him to be more abroad. These necessary duties occupied much of his time during the remainder of 1814 and the greater part of the year 1815, but were never allowed to interfere with his regular appointments for preaching. During this period, he was exceedingly laborious; and on one occasion is said to have put up in one day, with his own hands, one hundred panels of rail-fence. His being thus personally engaged in the

labors of the farm did not fail to commend him very highly to the good feelings of the neighboring farmers, who might otherwise have been disposed to regard with that jealousy which the leveling spirit of republicanism engenders, one who had been brought up to a different vocation, and who, from his abilities and acquirements, occupied necessarily a higher sphere. They were surprised, however, if not gratified, to find themselves surpassed at their own business by the scholar and preacher, whose plainness and simplicity charmed them, while his urbanity and hospitality placed him upon the most familiar and friendly terms with them all. No one could be more observant of the duties of social life, or more careful to maintain the most agreeable relations with all his neighbors, than Mr. Campbell. For this purpose, as well as from his naturally companionable disposition, it was customary for him to make, in company with Mrs. Campbell, frequent friendly visits to them, to take a lively interest in their welfare, and to render to them all the services in his power. Full of the vivacity and wit belonging to the Irish character, and ever cheerful as the morning light, his presence diffused an agreeable charm over the social life of the neighborhood, and seemed to arouse the isolated households, scattered amongst the hills, to an unusual degree of hospitality and friendly intercourse. Even the religious prejudices with which some had been imbued in the surrounding community, consisting chiefly of Presbyterians and Methodists, melted away under the genial influence of personal acquaintance; for, notwithstanding the diversity of their religious sentiments, they were unable to withhold from Mr. Campbell the honor and regard which his piety, his commanding abilities and his agreeable manners inspired in all around him.

While Mr. Campbell was thus actively engaged, his father was closely confined to the duties of his seminary at Cambridge. In the midst of these labors he received, toward the close of 1815, a letter from General Acheson of Washington, informing him that his brother, David Acheson, had been seized with a serious illness, attended with a mental disturbance which rendered the patient difficult to manage; and as it was thought that the presence of an old and valued friend like Thomas Campbell would have a salutary effect, he entreated him to come, if possible, to Washington. In obedience to this summons and to the dictates of his affectionate feelings, he at once left his school in charge of his assistants and came to Washington, where he remained a number of weeks, rendering all the assistance in his power until Mr. Acheson's disease finally proved fatal. While here, he happened to hear of a favorable opening for a school in Pittsburg, and, what was to him of far more importance, of a favorable prospect of greater religious usefulness than he had found at Cambridge, where the prejudices of some, and the worldliness and gayety of the majority of the people, seemed to have completely closed their minds against his overtures for reformation. Having visited Pittsburg, therefore, and made the necessary arrangements, he removed his family to that place, where a flourishing school was soon obtained through the assistance of James Irwin, N. Richardson and other warm personal friends, who were happy to secure for their children the advantage of the strict European method of instruction pursued by Mr. Campbell. Joseph Bryant assisted for some time in the school, while Mr. Chapman opened another in the suburbs, but soon after returned to Washington county, where a farm had fallen to him by inheritance.

On the 20th of November of this year (1815), Alexander Campbell's family was increased by the addition of another daughter, who was named Maria Louisa. About this time he proposed to the few members of the church residing in Charlestown that a meeting-house should be erected in the town, which was entirely without any public place of worship, all meetings having been heretofore held in the court-house. He, furthermore, volunteered his services for three or four months in soliciting a portion of the necessary means. The matter being agreed to, he left home on Tuesday morning, 12th of December, 1815, and, arriving at Pittsburg on the 14th, spent the evening socially in company with his father, at the house of Mr. Richardson, who gave twenty dollars to the building of the house, being the first contributor. Next morning, he set out in the stage for Philadelphia, where he arrived on the following Saturday.

Passing over nearly the same region of country which he had traversed upon first arriving in the United States, six years before, he now viewed the mountains and valleys of Pennsylvania with less of the ardor of youthful feeling, and with more of the vision of the political economist. The quality of the lands, the character of the farm improvements, the dwelling-houses, barns and fencing, the vast mineral riches of the State, now occupied a prominent place in his journal, although the beauty of the country, the magnificent prospects from the mountains, and the handsome, flourishing villages along the route were not unnoticed. He was especially delighted with the fine farms and farm-buildings, the rich groves of locust and the fertility of the land in Lancaster county, and formed still higher conceptions of the immense resources of the country of his adop-

tion. Upon first taking up his residence at Mr. Brown's, in 1811, he had at once taken the necessary steps in order to naturalization, and, after the expiration of the two years of residence required by law, had been admitted as a citizen of the United States. No one could be more attached than he to the government and its institutions, though he was not at all a politician in the ordinary sense of the word. During the war with Great Britain, which, after continuing two years and eight months, had been terminated by the treaty of Ghent, on the 18th of the preceding February (1815), party spirit had run very high, and the state of the country at the peace gave rise to various exciting questions of foreign and domestic policy, which occasioned great political agitation. Mr. Campbell, however, always avoided taking any active part in politics, and though, on all proper occasions, he frankly expressed his views on all public measures, he always took care to maintain the reserve and dignity belonging to his ministerial office.

His appreciation of the blessings enjoyed under a republican government may be learned from a letter which he addressed, immediately upon his arrival at Philadelphia, to his uncle Archibald at Newry:

"PHILADELPHIA CITY, *December* 28, 1815.

"DEAR UNCLE: More than seven years have elapsed since I bade farewell to you and my native country. During this period of years my mind and circumstances have undergone many revolutions. * * * *

"I cannot speak too highly of the advantages that the people in this country enjoy in being delivered from a proud and lordly aristocracy; and here it becomes very easy to trace the common national evils of all European countries to their proper source, and chiefly to that first germ of oppres-

sion, of civil and religious tyranny. I have had my horse shod by a legislator, my horse saddled, my boots cleaned. my stirrup held by a senator. Here is no nobility but virtue; here there is no ascendance save that of genius, virtue and knowledge. The farmer here is lord of the soil, and the most independent man on earth. * * * * No consideration that I can conceive of, would induce me to exchange all that I enjoy in this country, climate, soil and government, for any situation which your country can afford. I would not exchange the honor and privilege of being an American citizen for the position of your king."

As his uncle was still an elder in the Seceder Church at Newry, he devoted a portion of the letter to the subject of the religious changes he had undergone. After speaking of family matters, he says:

"My father still resembles one of our planets in emigrating from place to place. He has lived in Washington and in the country; in Cambridge, ninety miles west, and now in Pittsburg. He is teaching a school in Pittsburg, worth, say, seven hundred dollars, and will be worth much more in a short time. As to our religious state, news, progress and attainments, I expect my father has written or will immediately write you. I shall therefore drop but a few hints on this subject. For my own part, I must say that, after long study and investigation of books, and more especially the Sacred Scriptures, I have, through clear convictions of truth and duty, renounced much of the traditions and errors of my early education. I am now an Independent in church government; * * * * of that faith and view of the gospel exhibited in John Walker's seven letters to Alexander Knox, and a Baptist in so far as respects baptism. * * * * What I am in religion I am from examination, reflection, conviction, not from '*ipse dixit*,' tradition or human authority; and having halted, and faltered, and stumbled, I have explored every inch of the way hitherto, and I trust, through grace, 'I am what I am.' Though my father and I accord in senti-

ment, neither of us are dictators or imitators. Neither of us lead; neither of us follow. The poor Seceders in this country seem to have lost all power of religion and of truth. * * * * Remember me affectionately to all my old friends and relations. I will name none, as I cannot name all. I remember them, I pray for them, I long for their felicity. * *

"Your affectionate nephew,

"ALEXANDER CAMPBELL."

As, in uniting originally with the Baptists, Mr. Campbell had made no secret of his religious principles, but had distinctly avowed them in the written communication of the Brush Run Church to the Redstone Association, so, in his intercourse with them as a people, and in his public discourses, he failed not on all proper occasions to urge upon them his views of reformation. Being invited by one of the Baptist preachers in Philadelphia to occupy his pulpit, he delivered a sermon so totally different in its matter and style from the usual sermons among the Baptists, that the congregation was quite wakened up by its novelty, and the preacher himself hardly knew what to make of it. Meeting Mr. Campbell next day, and the subject coming up, he expressed his dissatisfaction, upon which Mr. Campbell suggested that perhaps he did not fully understand him, and that the time allowed had not been sufficient to enable him to deliver himself fully in regard to the questions treated. At this, the preacher's face cleared up a little, and he requested him to make another appointment, which he did. As the second discourse, however, did not, any more than the first, descant on the favorite theories of Gill and Fuller, but presented, in a still stronger light, the truths of the simple gospel, the effect upon the Baptist preacher was worse than before, so that he could scarcely treat Mr. Campbell afterward

with common civility, and took good care not to afford his congregation another opportunity of hearing the latter, which many of the members were very anxious to enjoy.

After leaving Philadelphia, he visited Trenton and other towns in New Jersey, and went thence to New York, where he called upon a number of influential Baptists. Among others, he visited William Colgate, who was then beginning to establish himself in business. When he called, Mr. Colgate came out in his apron from his work, and during the interview Mr. Campbell was greatly charmed, not only with the interest in religion which Mr. Colgate manifested, but with the peculiarly frank and cordial manner in which he tendered for the house in Wellsburg a donation, which, for his circumstances at the time, was quite a liberal one. Upon leaving the house, Mr. Campbell remarked to a friend who accompanied him, that he had no doubt Mr. Colgate would one day become a wealthy man. "I am convinced," said he, "that the Lord will abundantly bless and prosper one who dispenses his income on the principles that govern Mr. Colgate;" and the event, in after years, fully proved the correctness of his anticipations. On his return, he visited Washington City, and having formed many pleasant acquaintanceships during his tour, and, among others, one with the eminent Dr. Staughton, for whom he always entertained a very high regard, he returned home after an absence of some months, having succeeded in obtaining about one thousand dollars. With this sum, and additional assistance in Charlestown and its vicinity, a lot was obtained at the upper end of the main street of the town, which runs parallel with the river for more than half a mile, and a comfortable brick

meeting-house was soon erected, with the usual high pulpit, whose curtains and cushions were prepared and tastefully arranged by Miss S. H. Bakewell and Miss Amelia Miller, the whole being under the special direction of John Brown, who took great interest and rendered efficient aid in the work.

The erection of this house, it was afterward discovered, gave great offence to Elder Pritchard, minister of the Cross Creek Baptist Church, three miles above, who had already, in the Redstone Association, signalized his hostility to Mr. Campbell, and who seemed to think that the building of the house in Wellsburg was designed to weaken his influence and to diminish his congregation. This sectarian bigotry and petty personal jealousy became still more manifest at the meeting of the Association, which, according to appointment, convened at Cross Creek, on the 30th August of this year (1816).*

* The list of the Association is as follows, the names of the churches being in italics, with number of members annexed; the names of preachers in small capitals, and those absent marked with an asterisk: *Uniontown*, 34, WILLIAM BROWNFIELD.*—*Big Whiteley*, 60, BENJAMIN STONE, Joseph Hannah, John Haines.—*Peter's Creek*, 47, DAVID PHILIPS, Joseph Philips, Esq., James McCreary, Esq., Ephraim Estep.—*George's Creek*, 67, JOHN PATTON, JAMES SEYMOUR, Robert Hannah.—*Turkey Foot*, 33, JOHN COX.—*Forks of Cheat*, 10, JAMES SEYMOUR.—*Little Redstone*, 26, Joseph Thomas, Joseph Red, Francis Burgess.—*Maple Creek*, 33, HENRY SPEARS,* Frederick Cooper, Thomas Cloud.—*Big-Redstone*, 52, JAMES FREY.—*Indian Creek*, 39, JOHN SMITH.*—*Connelsville*, 35, JAMES ESTEP, Jacob Newmyer.—*Head of Whitely*, 57, JAMES PATTON, Obadiah Sams, Peter Dillon.—*Ten Mile*, 96, MATHIAS LUCE, EZRA DEGARMO, Henry Russell.—*Forks of Yough*, 14, Joseph Reed.—*Horse Shoe*, 25.—*Sandy Creek*, 15.—*Plumb Run*, 19, HENRY SPEARS,* Joseph Hill.—*Merritt's Town*, WILLIAM BROWNFIELD,* David Wilson, Lacy Hibbs.—*George's Hills*, 29.—*King's Creek*, 16, NICHOLAS HEADINGTON, Thomas Bilderback, John Magers.—*Dunkird Creek*, 42, William Jobs, William Thomas.—*Bula*, 50.—*Cross Creek*, 44, JOHN PRITCHARD, John Brown, Esq., Charles King, sen.—*Short Creek, Virginia*, 43, JOHN PRITCHARD, N. Evans, Joseph Hedge, George C. Young.—*Pigeon Creek*, 24, MATHIAS LUCE.—*Bate's Fork*

Mr. Campbell, who well knew the spirit of the Baptist clergy opposed to him, said to his wife on their way to the meeting, "I do not think they will let me preach at this Association at all." Some of the preachers, however, were favorable to Mr. Campbell, and there was so much anxiety on the part of the people to hear him, that on Saturday, when preachers were to be selected for the following day, Mr. Campbell was at once nominated with others. Elder Pritchard now interposed, and observed that he thought they ought to conform to the rule adopted by the Baptists in Maryland, which was, that the church where the Association assembled should have the privilege of selecting the preachers for the Lord's day, and that these should be chosen from amongst those who came from a distance. "This place," said he, "is near Mr. Campbell's home, and the people can hear him at any time." The name of Elder Stone was therefore substituted for that of Mr. Campbell, who returned to Charlestown in the evening, with no expectation of hearing anything more of the matter. Next morning, however, David Phillips of Peter's Creek, one of the oldest and best preachers in the Association, came down to see him, and told him that the arrangement made would not do, and that he had been deputed by a large number to insist that Mr. Campbell should preach that day. The latter said he had no objections to preach, but that he would not violate the rule of the Association. Elder Phillips

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30, WILLIAM STONE, Daniel Thogmorton, Nath. Petit.—*Short Creek, Ohio*, 22, ELIJAH STONE, Thomas Healy.—*Will's Creek*, 13, Manassah Evans, Jeremiah Grey, S. Vait.—*Flat Run*, 62, N. SKINNER, Richard Truax, Jacob Martin, sen., Esq.—*Salt Lick*, 18, James Skinner.—*Pittsburg*, 8, B. B. Newton.—*Washington*, 26, CHARLES WHEELER, Hugh Wilson, Enoch Dye, Christopher Hanover.—*Brush Run*, 28, ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, JAMES FOSTER, George Sharp.—Total membership, 1139.

withdrew greatly disappointed, but soon after returned to say that Elder Stone was taken ill, and again urged Mr. Campbell to preach, who then said he would do so, if Elder Pritchard would himself tender him the invitation. Elder Phillips said this should be done; and, accordingly, when Mr. Campbell rode up to Cross Creek, the first person he met at the bridge was Elder Pritchard, who said, "I have taken the very earliest opportunity to see you in order to say that you must preach to-day." "Have you seen Elder Phillips?" said Mr. Campbell; "Yes," said he. "Then," replied Mr. Campbell, "I will preach." Being called upon thus rather unexpectedly, he asked leave to follow Elder Cox, who delivered the first discourse from Matthew xxiv. 14.

On this occasion, which proved to be quite a memorable one, there was a large concourse present, gathered around the stand, or seated within hearing beneath the shade of the beautiful leafy elms and towering plane trees, which line the borders of the creek, as it winds through the picturesque valley enclosed by lofty hills. When Elder Cox concluded, Mr. Campbell rose, and delivered a discourse founded on Romans viii. 3: "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh." This was the famous "*Sermon on the Law*," which created such excitement subsequently in the Baptist community. Even during its delivery, as soon as Elder Pritchard and some other opposed preachers perceived its drift, they used every means openly to manifest their dissatisfaction. A lady in the congregation having fainted, Elder Pritchard came into the stand, called out some of the preachers, and created great disturbance in the

congregation, as if with a design of preventing the people from hearing. After this commotion subsided, however, Mr. Campbell soon regained the attention of the audience, which he kept to the close. At the intermission, Mr. Pritchard called out Elders Estep, Wheeler and others, and said to them: "This will never do. This is not our doctrine. We cannot let this pass without a public protest from the Association." Elder Estep replied: "That would create too much excitement, and would injure us more than Mr. Campbell. It is better to let it pass and let the people judge for themselves." This prudent counsel prevailed, and it was found a much safer and more congenial mode of opposition, to circulate amongst the churches, after the Association adjourned, vague and calumnious charges of Antinomianism against Mr. Campbell, and, by this means, to excite additional prejudice against him. It was on account of these misrepresentations that he thought it best, soon afterward, to publish his discourse in pamphlet form, as the best means of refutation.

As this "Sermon on the Law" may be found in full in Mr. Campbell's works (*Mil. Harb.* for 1846, p. 493), it will not be necessary here to do much more than indicate its general purport, which was simply to show that Christians are under law to Christ, and not to Moses. His "METHOD" was—

"1. Ascertain what ideas we are to attach to the phrase 'the law' in this and similar portions of the sacred Scriptures. 2. Point out those things which *the law* could not accomplish. 3. Demonstrate the reasons why *the law* failed to accomplish these objects. 4. Illustrate how God has remedied these relative defects of *the law*. 5. In the last place, deduce such conclusions from these premises as must

obviously and necessarily present themselves to every unbiased and reflecting mind."

Discarding theological and employing scriptural definitions and divisions, he shows that "the law" signifies the whole Mosaic dispensation; and while he condemns the modern distinctions of moral, judicial and ceremonial law, as calculated to perplex the mind, he takes care to guard against the supposition that he has any intention of weakening the force of moral obligation, or dispensing with the great and immutable principles upon which the Mosaic law itself was based, but which that law did not originate; his object being to show that the law of Moses, while it embodied some of the applications of these principles, was a distinct and peculiar institution designed for special ends and for a limited time. Upon the great principles referred to he speaks as follows:

"There are two principles, commandments or laws that are never included in our observations concerning the law of Moses, nor are they ever, in Holy Writ, called the law of Moses:—These are, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind and strength; and thy neighbor as thyself.' 'These our Great Prophet teaches us are the basis of the law of Moses and of the prophets. 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.' Indeed the Sinai law and all Jewish laws are but modifications of them. These are of universal and immutable obligation. Angels and men, good and bad, are for ever under them. God, as our Creator, cannot require less; nor can we, as creatures and fellow-creatures, propose or expect less, as the standard of duty and perfection. These are coeval with angels and men. They are engraven with more or less clearness on every human heart. These are the groundwork or basis of the law, written in the heart of heathens, which constitute their conscience or knowledge of right or wrong.

By these their thoughts mutually accuse or else excuse one another. By these they shall be judged, or, at least, all who have never heard or seen a written law or gospel. Let it then be remembered that in the Scriptures these precepts are considered the basis of all law and prophecy; consequently, when we speak of the law of Moses, we do not include these commandments."

Under the second head, in pointing out the things which the law could not accomplish, he says:

"In the first place, it could not give righteousness and life. Righteousness and eternal life are inseparably connected. Where the former is not, the latter cannot be enjoyed. Whatever means puts us in possession of the one, puts us in possession of the other. But this the law could not do. 'For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.' Gal. iii 21. 'If righteousness came by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.' These testimonies of the apostle, with the whole scope of Divine truth, teach us that no man is justified by the law—that righteousness and eternal life cannot be received through it. * * * *

"2. In the second place, the law could not exhibit the malignity or demerit of sin. It taught those that were under it that certain actions were sinful—to these sinful actions it gives descriptive names: one is called theft, a second murder, a third adultery. It showed that these actions were offensive to God, hurtful to men, and deserved death. But how extensive their malignity and vast their demerit, the law could not exhibit. This remained for later times and other means to develop.

"3. In the third place, the law could not be a suitable rule of life to mankind in this imperfect state. It could not to all mankind, as it was given to and designed only for a part It was given to the Jewish nation and to none else."

Under the fourth head, he shows that God had reme-

died all these defects by the gospel, by sending his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh to make "reconciliation for iniquity," so that all the spiritual seed of Abraham might find "righteousness and eternal life, not by legal works or observances, in whole or in part, but through the abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness which is by him." * * * *

"Hence it is," he adds, "that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. Nor is he, on this account, the minister of sin—for thus the righteousness, the perfect righteousness, of the law is fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. Do we then make void the law or destroy the righteousness of it by faith? God forbid: we establish the law.

"A second thing which we observe the law could not do, was to give a full exhibition of the demerit of sin. It is acknowledged that the demerit of sin was partially developed in the law, and before the law. Sin was condemned in the deluge, in the confusion of human speech, in turning to ashes the cities of the plain, in the thousands that fell in the wilderness. But these and a thousand similar monuments besides, fall vastly short of giving a full exhibition of sin in its malignant nature and destructive consequences. But a full discovery of its nature and demerits is given us in the person of Jesus Christ. God condemned sin in him—God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up. It pleased the Lord to bruise him, to pour out his soul as an offering for sin. When we view the Son of the Eternal suspended on the cursed tree—when we see him in the garden and hear his petitions—when we hear him exclaim, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' in a word, when we see him expiring in blood and laid in the tomb, we have a monument of the demerit of sin, which no law could give, which no temporal calamity could exhibit."

In showing further under this head how the failure

of the law as a rule of life was remedied, he refers to Christ's perfect example and teachings, and to the transfiguration, when Moses the giver and Elias the restorer of the law appeared along with him, and a voice from the Father said, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, *hear ye him.*" "We find all things," he says, "whatsoever the law could not do, are accomplished in him and by him—that in him all Christians might be perfect and complete—'for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.'"

From the above premises, he deduces, under the last head, various conclusions, as, 1. The essential difference between law and gospel. 2. That Christians, according to Paul, were "not under the law, but under grace," showing, here, that the apostle met the very charge of Antinomianism or of licentious tendency in this doctrine, in his answer to the question: "Shall we therefore sin because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid. How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein."

"Now," adds he, "whether the ancient way of guarding the New Testament or gospel against the charge of Antinomianism or a licentious tendency, or the modern way, is best, methinks is easily decided amongst true disciples. Not so easy, however, amongst learned rabbis and doctors of the law. * * * "Whatever was excellent in the law," he further remarks, "our Legislator has repromulgated. But shall we say we are under the law as a rule of our Christian life, because some of its sublimest moral and religious precepts have been repromulgated by Him who would not suffer one tittle of it to pass till he fulfilled it? As well might we affirm that the British law which governed these States when colonies is the rule of our political life, because some of the most excellent laws of that code have been re-enacted by our legislators."

He then, in the third place, presents another conclusion, which was particularly grating to the ears of the Baptist theologians, viz.: that there is no necessity for *preaching the law in order to prepare men for receiving the gospel.*

"This conclusion," says he, "perfectly corresponds with the commission given by our Lord to the apostles, and with their practice under their commission. 'Go,' said he, 'into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.' 'Teach the disciples to observe all things whatsoever *I* commanded you.' Thus, they were constituted ministers of the New Testament, not of the Old. Now the sacred history, called the Acts of the Apostles, affords us the most satisfactory information on the method in which the apostles preached under their commission, which, with the epistolary part of the New Testament, affords us the only successful, warrantable and acceptable method of preaching and teaching. In the Acts of the Apostles we see the apostles and first preachers paid the most scrupulous regard to the instructions they received from the Great Prophet. They go forth unto all nations, proclaiming the gospel to every creature; but not one word of law-preaching in the whole of it. We have the substance of eight or ten sermons delivered by Paul and Peter to the Jews and Gentiles, in the Acts of the Apostles, and not one precedent of preaching the law to prepare their hearers, whether Jews or Gentiles, for the reception of the gospel.

"This conclusion corresponds, in the next place, with the nature of the kingdom of heaven or Christian Church, and with the means by which it is to be built and preserved in the world. The Christian dispensation is called the ministration of the Spirit, and, accordingly, everything in the salvation of the Church is accomplished by the immediate energy of the Spirit. Jesus Christ taught his disciples that the testimony concerning himself was that only which the Spirit would use, in converting such of the human family as should

be saved. He would not speak of himself, but what he knew of Christ. Now he was to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; not by applying the law of Moses, but the facts concerning Christ, to the consciences of the people. The Spirit accompanying the words which the apostles preached, would convince the world of sin; not by the ten precepts, but because they believed not in him—of righteousness because *he* went to the Father—and of judgment because the prince of the world was judged by him. So that Christ, and not law, was the Alpha and Omega of their sermons; and this the Spirit made effectual to the salvation of thousands. Three thousand were convinced of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, in this precise way of hearing of Christ, on the day of Pentecost; and we read of many afterward. Indeed, we repeat it again, in the whole history of primitive preaching we have not one example of preaching the law as preparatory to the preaching or reception of the gospel."

After answering various questions, and considering certain texts of Scripture misapplied by the law-preachers, he adds the two following conclusions:

"A fourth conclusion which is deducible from the above premises is, that all arguments and motives drawn from the law or Old Testament, to urge the disciples of Christ to baptize their infants; to pay tithes to their teachers; to observe holy days or religious fasts, as preparatory to the observance of the Lord's Supper; to sanctify the seventh day; to enter into national covenants; to establish any form of religion by civil law—and all reasons or motives borrowed from the Jewish law, to excite the disciples of Christ to a compliance with or an imitation of Jewish customs, are inconclusive, repugnant to Christianity, and fall ineffectual to the ground; not being enjoined or countenanced by the authority of Jesus Christ.

"In the last place, we are taught from all that has been said, to venerate in the highest degree the Lord Jesus Christ;

to receive him as the great prophet, of whom 'Moses in the law, and all the prophets did write:' to receive him as 'the Lord our righteousness,' and to pay the most punctilious regard to all his precepts and ordinances. 'If we continue in his word, then are we his disciples indeed, and we shall know the truth, and the truth shall make us free: and if the Son shall make us free, we shall be free indeed.'"

After a few practical reflections, the discourse closes with the petition:

"May he that hath the key of David, who opened and no man shutteth, and shutteth that none can open, open your hearts to receive the truth in the love of it, and incline you to walk in the light of it, and then you shall know that the ways thereof are pleasantness, and all the paths thereof are peace! Amen."

This sermon, though containing in reality nothing but plain Scripture teaching in reference to the law and the gospel, was so bold an assault upon the theology and style of preaching current at that time amongst the Baptists, that it created an extraordinary sensation; and those unfriendly to Mr. Campbell succeeded, as he says, "in bringing it up for trial and condemnation at the next Association at Peter's Creek, in 1817." Upon this unexpected movement, he proposed to go at once into an investigation of the subject, and it was then partially discussed, but finally, by the efforts of his friends and a considerable stretch of charity on the part of two or three old members, the question was dismissed, on the ground that the Association had no jurisdiction in the case. Nevertheless, subsequently, through the cry of heresy and various modes of detraction and misrepresentation diligently employed, his opponents managed to close, to a large extent, the ears

of the Baptists in this region against Mr. Campbell's views, and to hinder his efforts to introduce among them a more accurate and scriptural presentation of the gospel.

Recurring to the meeting of the Association on Cross Creek, when this "Sermon on the Law" was delivered, there were some other occurrences worthy of mention. In the minutes of the meeting for Saturday, August 31, it is stated as follows:

"Met agreeably to adjournment.

"5. The meeting was opened by singing and prayer, by brother John Patton.

"6. Appointed brother Luce, moderator, and brother Wheeler, clerk.

"7. A letter was presented by brother T. Campbell, from a number of baptized professors in the city of Pittsburg, requesting union as a church to this Association.

"8. Voted, that as this letter is not presented according to the constitution of this Association, the request cannot be granted.

"9. Voted, that brother T. Campbell be invited to take a seat in this Association.

"10. Voted, that a committee be appointed to wait on the persons mentioned in the seventh article, to investigate the subject of their letter. Brethren D. Philips, Luce and Pritchard are the committee to attend in Pittsburg, on the Saturday preceding the first Lord's day in November.

"11. The circular letter prepared by brother T. Campbell was read and accepted without amendment."

Thus it appears that the few members who had been gathered together in Pittsburg by Thomas Campbell, and who were accustomed to meet regularly for worship in his school-room on Liberty street, were denied admission as a church because their letter was "not presented according to the constitution of the Associa-

tion," which required a *creed* or statement of articles of belief from every church, and could not accept in place of it a simple declaration of adherence to the Scriptures. Nevertheless, a committee was appointed to investigate the subject of their letter, or, as was doubtless intended, to bring these simple disciples into regular Baptist "order." From the table of names of churches, etc., composing the Association, it seems that besides those associated with Thomas Campbell in Pittsburg, there was at this time a little society of eight members there, represented by B. B. Newton, as messenger, who, having furnished the required written statement of belief, had been received without difficulty.

It appears, further, that Thomas Campbell presented, on this occasion, the circular letter which he had been appointed to prepare at the meeting the year before. The subject given to him was the "TRINITY," upon which the Baptist preachers were very anxious to elicit the views entertained by the reformers. This circular letter, it seems, was so entirely satisfactory that even the keen vision of the most orthodox enemies in the Association could find no ground of objection, and it was accordingly accepted, we are told, "without amendment," and printed at the close of the minutes as the letter of the Association. In it, this profound subject is treated in a highly interesting manner, and mainly in the simple and express terms of Scripture. In condescension, however, probably to the modes of thought and speech current amongst the party with which he was now associated, the author employs some of the terms of scholastic divinity, such as essence, triune and person, but the word "Trinity" does not once occur in the document. The use of such terms was not in harmony with the principle of the Reformation, which

required that Bible things should be spoken of in Bible words—not in "the words that man's wisdom teacheth," but in those which the Holy Spirit has employed. Under the circumstances, however, it gives evidence of a remarkable advance toward soundness of speech on the part of one long accustomed to the language of the schools, and who now addressed a people to whom its terms would have been much more familiar, and doubtless much more acceptable, than those employed in Holy Writ.

This letter, also, in its general style and tone, furnishes a marked contrast with the spirit of the "Sermon on the Law"—a contrast indicative of that which existed in the characters of their respective authors. The father, full of affectionate sympathy and over-sensitive in regard to the feelings of others, could not bear to inflict the slightest pain, and would rather withhold than confer a benefit which could be imparted only by wounding the recipient. The son, with more mastery of his emotional nature, could calmly contemplate the entire case, and, for the accomplishment of higher good, could resolutely inflict a temporary suffering. The former was cautious, forbearing, apologetic; the latter, decided, prompt and critical. The one displayed the gentle spirit of Melancthon, the other the adventurous boldness of Farel and the uncompromising spirit of Knox. Both were alike anxious to promote the great interests of humanity; but while the father relied perhaps too much upon emollients to remedy the spreading cancer of sectarianism, the son, with less reverence for consecrated errors, but equal love for men and greater sagacity and skill, preferred the knife of the surgeon Both were equally desirous of winning men away from the idols of religious bigotry, but while the one sought

to persuade with gentle words, the other would seize with powerful grasp the image at the shrine, and break it in pieces before the eyes of its worshipers. The different methods which each thus employed had doubtless their advantages, and their union tended to effect greater good than could have been produced by either singly. It is certain, however, as formerly intimated, that had it not been for the bold assaults, the incisive logic and the determined spirit of the son, the reformatory movement initiated by the father would speedily have disappeared from view, as the wave created in the river by the passing steamer quickly subsides into the general current.

As the circular letter above referred to presents the views of both upon the most profound subject in the Bible, as it forms a part of the history of the times and of the persons described, and illustrates how entirely sufficient the Scriptures themselves are for the elucidation of the most difficult questions, so far as these can be at all comprehended by the human mind, it deserves to be rescued from the oblivion which would soon engulf the few remaining copies. It will therefore be found in the Library edition of this work, Appendix [A].

CHAPTER XXII.

Difficulties and Hinderances — Buffalo Seminary — Slavery — A Suitable Coadjutor.

THERE is no labor which seems at first more barren of results than that of the sower. After many days of toil, the field on which the labor has been lavished exhibits less verdure than at first, and, in a time of drought, may long remain without one single springing blade to give hopeful promise of the future. It is equally so in the moral and religious world. He who endeavors to plant the seeds of truth in human hearts must await with patience their development, and must not fail or be discouraged if the precious germs he has scattered should, under unfavorable conditions, long remain undeveloped and concealed. The spring-time will surely come at last; the living truth will assert its power, and, in its heavenward growth, furnish the cheering prospect of the harvest. Such patience of hope has been required, in no small degree, of all who have undertaken the reformation of mankind, and who have broken up the fallow ground of pernicious error in order to the production of blessed fruits. Nor was it demanded less of those who, under various discouragements, were now seeking to revive the cause of primitive Christianity.

Among these discouragements, not the least were those they met with from the people with whom they

had formed a fraternal connection; and it was here they learned to verify a fact which has been often noticed, that religious controversies and divisions originate oftener in personal pique and rivalry, in disappointed ambition or selfish interest, than in conscientious conviction. Thus it was, that a Mr. William Brownfield of Uniontown, who had been very conspicuous in the Redstone Association before the admission of Mr. Campbell, taking up the idea, which was probably correct, that he was afterward not as much attended to as formerly, was the very first to institute opposition to Mr. Campbell, and continued to the end to manifest toward him the bitterest hostility. In all his efforts he was indeed successfully opposed, and, though zealously seconded by Elder Pritchard and a few others, never could succeed in gaining his point. Mr. Campbell was a "power" in the Association not to be overcome. His superior abilities and knowledge of the Bible, and, above all, his advocacy of truth, exercised a controlling influence over the minds of so many intelligent and pious members that the poisoned shafts of his enemies were sped in vain, and he was able to maintain his ground in spite of all opposition.

The bickerings and controversies occasioned by the novel doctrines of the "Sermon on the Law," which increased the prejudices of many, were indeed unpleasant hinderances to the efforts of Mr. Campbell and his father to lead the Baptist churches with which they were connected into the clear light of the primitive gospel. The oldest things of Christianity had now become the newest, and were looked upon with suspicion, even by many conscientious and truth-loving minds, as being yet the conclusions of only a *few* individuals, and opposed by the logic of overwhelming numbers.

At this time, in fact, those who could be reckoned as actual advocates of the Reformation, and who, with the exception of the Brush Run Church, were scattered among the Baptists in Ohio, Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, did not amount to more than one hundred and fifty persons, and among these there were none who were accustomed to take a public and efficient part abroad except Thomas and Alexander Campbell, the labors of James Foster being chiefly confined to the Brush Run Church.

About this period, indeed, a Mr. George Forrester, a Haldanean preacher and an immersionist, came to Pittsburg from Scotland, and, near the same time, a Mr. Jones, a Baptist from England, of somewhat liberal views. Mr. Forrester opened an academy in Pittsburg and preached occasionally, but he had much of the stern and opinionative disposition of the Scotch Baptists, and failed to make any impression upon the public, while Mr. Jones soon migrated to the West. Not long afterward, a Mr. John Tassey also, who had been educated for the ministry in one of the seminaries established by R. Haldane, emigrated with his family from Ireland, and engaged in the mercantile business in Pittsburg. He succeeded in gathering together a few individuals as an Independent church, meeting for weekly communion, and became their pastor. With this little organization there united a young man already distinguished for his piety and benevolence, named Samuel Church, who had himself been immersed, and was entirely in sympathy with Mr. Campbell's views of reformation, but who, preferring the Independent order of worship to that of the Baptists, chose to remain for some years connected with Mr. Tassey. The latter was not in favor of immersion, and though a man of

some ability and of excellent character, was, like Mr. Forrester, somewhat contracted in his views, neither of them possessing that enlarged conception of the gospel plan of salvation to which Mr. Campbell had attained. It was thus, however, that several phases of the Haldanean movement were at this time, on a small scale, represented in Pittsburg, but though they aided in some respects in preparing the ground, none of them were capable of rendering any great assistance to Mr. Campbell.

About this time, too, Mrs. Bryant's health having failed, and the school in Pittsburg having become too great a burden to Thomas Campbell, he concluded to remove to Kentucky, in hopes of finding among the numerous Baptist churches there, a wider field of usefulness. Accordingly, in the fall of 1817, he took his family to Newport, where he left them for a few months, while he spent the time in visiting the Baptist churches bordering on the Ohio, and in examining into the state of the community. He found the Baptists in Kentucky, who were the most numerous of any religious party, to be a cordial, frank, hospitable people, and of much more liberal views and feelings than prevailed in the religious bodies with which he had heretofore been associated. He regretted, however, to discover that they had become accustomed to a style of preaching which addressed itself almost entirely to the feelings, and failed to impart real scriptural knowledge, and that the study of the Bible and family training were to a great extent neglected. This, indeed, was true of the denomination generally in the United States, though in the more Northern States metaphysical and theological theories often occupied the place of those heart-stirring and rhetorical appeals by which the preachers of the

South sought to awaken the torpid sensibilities of their hearers, and renew that emotional excitement which was regarded as the evidence, if not the very essence of religion.

Thomas Campbell accordingly engaged, with great zeal, in an effort to remedy the defects he had observed, and to induce strict attention to family duties and the daily study of the Scriptures. Having, in the course of his travels, visited Burlington in Boone county, a town of three hundred inhabitants, he was much pleased with the generous and hospitable character of the citizens, and finding it to be a suitable place for the establishment of a seminary, he concluded, at the earnest solicitation of the principal families, to remove his family thither, and take charge of an academy as soon as the new building, already in progress for this purpose, should be completed. As soon as this was done, there being no house of public worship in the place, he commenced in his school-room a course of lectures upon the Scriptures, to which the public were invited, and which were, in general, well attended.

His father's departure had thus left to Mr. Campbell the entire public advocacy of the cause of reformation, now struggling in its infancy in West Pennsylvania and Virginia. He did not, however, shrink from the labor thus devolved upon him; but, ever prepared for the conflict, whether with foes within or foes without, he continued to itinerate occasionally among the churches of the Redstone Association and some of those in Ohio, gradually enlightening the minds of the people, and occasionally baptizing individuals who believed the gospel and were willing to confess Christ according to the primitive model. Among these was, in the following year (1818), James Foster's mother, who had

shortly before come from Ireland with her brother, John Wilson, and his family, and settled with them upon a farm, near Hickory in Washington county. At the same time, John Wilson and wife also were baptized, and were added to the Brush Run Church, which was as yet the *only* church in the Reformation, and which, meeting alternately at the cross roads and at Brush Run, gave rise to the impression, on the part of some, that there were two churches. It was, however, but a single organization, and met at the two places mentioned merely for the convenience of some of its members, who were widely scattered.

The difficulties with which Mr. Campbell had to contend at this time might well have appalled a less intrepid spirit. On one hand, he had to meet the stern opposition of the entire pædobaptist community, while, on the other, he was harassed by the plots and misrepresentations of his enemies in the Redstone Association; and, though he found in the Association a sufficient number of friends to vote down the charges of heresy which the faction, headed by William Brownfield, brought up annually against him, and had still more friends among the people composing the churches, they were destitute of that unity and concert of action which his enemies were careful to preserve. In addition to all this, public opinion was altogether in the hands of the clergy, and was consequently entirely opposed to him. His task was, therefore, extremely difficult. When public opinion is favorable to any enterprise, it is like the oil which is applied to the bearings of a machine, so that the force needed to put the whole in movement is but slight in comparison with what is required if there is no such preparation. With Mr. Campbell, indeed, was the determined will and the

necessary force, but when a favorable public sentiment was not only wanting, but was replaced by one decidedly hostile, his task was like the attempt to launch a ship where the ways were inclined in the wrong direction, not *from* the vessel but *toward* it. His reformatory labors, nevertheless, could not be suspended, for they were labors of duty and of love, and he must continue to pursue them in hope that time and patience would secure a more favorable adjustment. As an instance of the nature of the opposition waged by the clergy, the conduct of Mr. Findley, minister of the Union Church at Middletown, may here be mentioned. Having accidentally met Mr. Campbell at the house of Mrs. Parkinson, they happened to fall into a little discussion upon baptism and some other subjects. Mr. Findley forthwith took pains to spread the report in the neighborhood that he had confuted Mr. Campbell on the points they had argued—a report which, from their prepossessions, he knew the public would be ready to believe. He trusted, however, too much to public prejudices and too little to truth on this occasion, and quite mistook the person whom he thought thus to injure. Mr. Campbell at once put into the *Washington Reporter* a brief and pointed note to Mr. Findley, charging him with circulating a false report, and offering to discuss publicly with him at Middletown the subject of baptism and the true observance of the Lord's day, (the points in regard to which he had said he had refuted Mr. Campbell), or any other topic he might desire. This was dated February 16, 1818. In a subsequent brief reply, Mr. Findley declined the challenge, endeavoring to conceal his timidity under an assuming and contemptuous style, which he mistook for clerical dignity. To this Mr. Campbell replied on the 23d of

March in a sharp rejoinder, and informed Mr. Findley that he would hold a meeting in Middletown on the second Thursday of April, in order to correct Mr. Findley's misrepresentations and to defend openly the views he advocated. He held the meeting accordingly, and had a very large and attentive audience, from which Mr. Findley took good care to be absent; but his pusillanimous behavior in retiring within the shell of his orthodoxy at the approach of danger, lowered him considerably in the estimation of the people, while Mr. Campbell's fearless defence of his views made, to the same extent, a favorable impression.

On January 17th of this year (1818), his family was increased by the birth of a daughter, who was named Lavinia. Aware of the great importance of obtaining the assistance of instructed and cultivated minds in the work to which he was devoted, and feeling very sensibly the want, in his own neighborhood, of better methods of education than those which then prevailed, he determined in the beginning of this year to open a seminary, chiefly for young men, in his own house, and to take the charge of it himself. He hoped to be able thus not only to confer a benefit upon the neighborhood in giving to the youth a better education than they could otherwise obtain, but also to have the opportunity of preparing some young men for the ministry of the Word. By boarding them in his own family, directing their studies and imbuing their minds with a knowledge of the Scriptures, in the daily recitations and lessons of instruction which he carefully kept up at the morning and evening devotions of his household, he thought that the desired object might thus be gradually attained. As his father had been highly appreciated in Pittsburg as an educator, and he himself had

now become well known for energy and talent, he had no difficulty in obtaining as many pupils as he desired. A number of leading men in Pittsburg sent their sons. One or two came from a distance in Ohio; a son of Dr. Joseph Doddridge from Charlestown, and the remainder from the neighborhood, consisting of young men who wished to study the languages in order to prepare themselves for professional pursuits, and of others, both male and female, who desired merely to obtain a good English education, and who attended as day-scholars from their homes. Devoting himself to his work with his usual zeal and assiduity, he endeavored to establish the strict method to which he had been accustomed. He soon found, however, that his materials were not the most suitable. Some who were almost grown young men, and who, on account of their insubordination, could hardly find admittance into any of the schools of Pittsburg, attempted at first to create a rebellion against the strict rules which had been announced, but Mr. Campbell, seizing unexpectedly the ringleader with a strong hand, gave him so severe a castigation before the school with a whip he had provided, that he was completely subdued, and from that time the master's authority was perfectly established.

This academy, called "Buffalo Seminary," continued to flourish for a number of years.* Mr. Campbell's vivacity, punctuality, decision and activity, banished the dullness which too often prevails in such institutions, and inspired the pupils with such an interest in their studies and such an ambition to excel, that that they made remarkable progress, and the reputation

* The charges at the Seminary were, for board and lodging $1.50 per week, and for tuition $5.00 per quarter, for any or all the branches usually taught in academies, including Hebrew and French.

of the school became so great that there was no longer room for all who applied for admission. Although thus successful, even beyond his expectations in some respects, Mr. Campbell did not find the institution to meet entirely his wishes in that particular which was to him the most desirable. From the religious instruction given, he could still hope much for the future of those who had been placed under his charge; but he did not find among them much inclination toward the ministerial office. Some who acquired a good classical education entered afterward into the professions of law and medicine, and ever cherished the highest gratitude to Mr. Campbell for his attention to their improvement. But he had a much higher object in view than merely to prepare young men for secular pursuits, and greatly desired to see some of them disposed to consecrate their lives to the cause of truth. At this time, however, the circumstances were very unfavorable for such a result. The Reformation was as yet but imperfectly developed or established. It was generally regarded as an innovation and a novelty in the settled order of religious society. No youths had as yet grown up under its influence, and there was no preparation of heart and mind for the work which it required. Besides this, to engage in its defence was to incur obloquy, reproach and persecution, without even the prospect of a moderate pecuniary support. It is not surprising, then, that few seemed disposed to turn their attention in this direction. Nevertheless, there were not wanting some among the pupils, who, animated with zeal, and longing for the higher rewards and blessings of a religious life, devoted themselves ardently to the study of the Scriptures and became afterward useful advocates of the Reformation Among these may be particularly

mentioned Jacob Osborne of Ohio, who, endeared to all by his piety, intelligence and love of the truth, passed away in early manhood to his eternal reward, though not until he had witnessed with joy, upon the Western Reserve, the first remarkable triumphs of that ancient gospel which he had himself previously contributed to develop and sustain.

While Mr. Campbell was thus diligently engaged in his seminary, his father had established a flourishing school in Burlington, Kentucky, and had obtained the warm esteem of the entire community, who were never weary in rendering acts of kindness to him and to his family. Pupils from some of the best families in the State were sent to Burlington to enjoy the benefit of his instruction. His daughter Jane, now about eighteen years of age, assisted him in the school, and soon became distinguished for her ability as a teacher, rendering the school quite popular, so that it became highly remunerative. Such was the friendly and social character of the people, and such their appreciation of Thomas Campbell and his excellent family, that the latter had never before been placed in circumstances so agreeable, and there seemed every probability that this would be their permanent home.

It happened, however, upon a Lord's day, in the summer of 1819, in the afternoon, that Thomas Campbell noticed a large number of negroes of both sexes amusing themselves in a grove near by, to which they sometimes resorted on Sundays. After observing for some time their proceedings, his sympathy for this servile part of the population, whose peculiar condition he had long regretted, became so much enlisted in their behalf, that he walked out to the grove and invited them all to come into his school-room, in order that he

might read the Scriptures to them. Obeying the summons with alacrity, they soon assembled, and, after reading to them various portions of Scripture, he went on to give them such instructions and exhortations as he thought would be useful to them. Afterward, he occupied some time in giving out hymns, and as they sung these with their sweet melodious voices, and seemed greatly to enjoy this exercise and the instructions he had given them, his own heart was filled with inexpressible delight, and he dismissed them with the expectation of repeating the lesson upon the first favorable opportunity. Next day, however, one of his friends called upon him to say that the course he had adopted the day before was quite contrary to the laws of the State, which forbade any address to negroes except in the presence of one or more white witnesses. With regard to what had already occurred, he assured him that no notice would be taken of it, as it was presumable he had not been acquainted with the law; but he advised him, as a friend, not to repeat the act, lest some persons in the community should put him to trouble. At this announcement, Thomas Campbell was thunderstruck. He had been totally ignorant of the existence of such a law, for he had never been accustomed to give any attention to political or civil affairs. "What!" thought he, "is it possible that I live in a land where reading the Scriptures and giving religious instruction to the ignorant is a penal offence? Can the Word of God be thus bound and the proclamation of the gospel be thus fettered in a Christian land? Is it possible for me to remain in a place, where, under any circumstances, I am forbidden to preach a crucified Saviour to my perishing fellow-beings?" His resolution was at once taken. Whatever it might cost, he would

leave Kentucky and go where the preaching of the gospel was untrammeled. In this resolution, thus suddenly and decisively taken, he became the more confirmed when he reflected that, by remaining, some of his family would, in all probability, form permanent alliances with the people, and become themselves thus involved in a state of things which was utterly repugnant to his feelings, and for which, as he was quite uninformed in regard to the circumstances which gave origin to that particular law, he could at the time find no justification.

His family were greatly surprised and grieved when he announced his resolution. They had become so much attached to the place and the people from whom they had received such unwonted kindness, that to abandon their Irish home had not been a greater trial than the one to which they were now to be subjected. Their regrets were fully reciprocated by the entire community, but the most flattering inducements and the most earnest entreaties were employed in vain to induce Thomas Campbell to change his resolution. When he could not be persuaded to remain himself, he was entreated at least to allow his daughter Jane to stay and conduct the seminary; but he remained inflexible, being determined to extricate his family from a set of circumstances for the existence of which he was not disposed to attach blame to any one, but which he felt to be quite incompatible with his own sense of Christian duty. He, therefore, immediately wrote to his son Alexander informing him of his intention, and began to settle up his business in order to a removal. Alexander, in reply, immediately proposed to him to come and assist him in the Buffalo Seminary, and having agreed to this, he removed as soon as his arrangements were completed,

and again settled his family in Washington county, Pennsylvania, near the village of West Middletown, so termed, because it was half way between Washington and Charlestown, the name of which latter place was, about this time, changed to Wellsburg. The country about Middletown has the general character of the upland of this region. The village is placed upon a high and narrow ridge, along which passes the public highway to Washington, forming the only street. Upon the left, looking eastward, the ridge rapidly declines into a deep and somewhat narrow valley, which stretches away for several miles with its rich fields and green meadows, through which a bright and gurgling streamlet wends its way. Upon the right, the ridge for a short distance widens, and then gradually sinks into the valley of Brush Run, which, toward the south-west, presents a charming prospect of wooded slopes and cultivated farms, losing itself at length in the distant deeper gorges of the clear and rapid Buffalo. Westward of the town, the ridge, after rising into a lofty and conical hill, spreads itself out into a gently undulating country which reaches to the steep declivities of Cross Creek. It was in the upper part of the Brush Run valley, upon a farm about two miles from the village, that Thomas Campbell now placed his family, who, from this time, continued to reside in this vicinity. He, himself, spent the most of the time at his son Alexander's, about seven miles distant, in assisting to conduct the school; and he resumed the pastoral care of the Brush Run Church which he had planted about ten years before.

It might be thought that as slavery existed in Virginia as well as in Kentucky, Thomas Campbell, in becoming an assistant in a Virginia seminary, had not altered his circumstances in regard to this institution.

It is to be remembered, however, that he had placed his family, in regard to which he felt the chief anxiety, in Pennsylvania, and that the Brush Run Church met in the same State, only a few miles distant from his son's residence. It is to be noted, also, that in this part of Virginia, bordering upon the free States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, slavery had in fact an existence merely nominal. There were very few slaves, and these remained with their masters simply because they were pleased to do so, as escape was easy. The people of these border counties had but little interest in the institution, and though willing to maintain the laws of the State in regard to it, many violations of these were tacitly allowed. The few slaves found in this region were, with scarcely an exception, treated as kindly as the free laborers, and although the law forbade teaching them to read, no one was molested for doing it, and a freedom of speech was allowed in reference to slavery which would not have been tolerated in the interior. The following extracts from a work published soon after (in 1824) at Wellsburg, the county seat of Brooke, in which Mr. Campbell resided, may serve as an illustration of this: and now that the institution has for ever passed away, they must appear to the thoughtful mind singularly prophetic. The author, Dr. Joseph Doddridge, was the Episcopal minister in Wellsburg, a brother of the eminent lawyer, Philip Doddridge, and a warm personal friend of Mr. Campbell, whom he frequently visited. In speaking of the aborigines, and discussing the question of difference of color among men and its results, he says:

"An African is black, has a woolly head and a flat nose; he is therefore not entitled to the rights of human nature!

But he is a docile being, possessed of but little pride of independence, and a subject of the softer passions, who, rather than risk his life in the defence of his liberty, will 'take the pittance and the lash.' He is therefore a proper subject for slavery!

"The Indian has a copper-colored skin, and therefore the rights of human nature do not belong to him! But he will not work, and his high sense of independence and strong desire of revenge would place in danger the property and life of the oppressor who should attempt to force him to labor. He is therefore to be exterminated, or at least despoiled of his country, and driven to some remote region where he must perish!

"Such has been, and such still is, to a certain extent, the logic of nations possessed of all the science of the world!—Of Christian nations!—How horrid the features of that slavery to which this logic has given birth! The benevolent heart bleeds at the thought of the cruelties which have always accompanied it. Amongst the Mohammedans, as soon as the Christian slave embraces the religion of his master, he is free; but among the followers of the Messiah, the slave may indeed embrace the religion of his master, but he still remains a slave, although a Christian brother.

"It is a curious circumstance that while our missionaries are generously traversing the most inhospitable regions, and endeavoring with incessant toil to give the science of Europe and America, together with the Christian revelation, to the benighted pagans, most of the legislatures of our slave-holding States have made it a highly penal offence to teach a slave a single letter. While, at great expense and waste of valuable lives, we are endeavoring to teach the natives of Africa the use of letters, no one durst attempt to do the same thing for the wretched descendants of that ill-fated people, bound in the fetters of slavery in America. Thus our slavery chains the soul as well as the body. Would a Musselman hinder his slave from learning to read the Alcoran? Surely he would not.

"We are often told by slaveholders that they would willingly give freedom to their slaves if they could do it with safety:—if they could get rid of them when free; but are they more dangerous when free than when in slavery! But admitting the fact that, owing to their ignorance, stupidity and bad habits, they are unfit for freedom, we ourselves have made them so. We debase them to the condition of brutes, and then use that debasement as an argument for perpetuating their slavery.

"I will conclude this digression with the eloquent language of President Jefferson on the subject: 'Human liberty is the gift of God, and cannot be violated but in his wrath. Indeed I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just and that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among the possible events: it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest.'"

Again, in speaking of the cruel scourging of the negroes which he had witnessed while at school in Maryland, he says:

"The recollections of the tortures which I witnessed so early in life, is still a source of affliction to my mind. Twenty-four hours never pass during which my imagination does not present me with the afflicting view of the slave or servant writhing beneath the lashes of his master, and cringing from the brine with which he salted his stripes.

"During my stay of three years in the region of slavery, my only consolation was, that the time would come in which the master and slave would exchange situations; that the former would receive the punishment due to his cruelty, while the latter should find rest from his toils and sufferings in the kingdom of heaven. The master I regarded as Dives who after 'being clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day,' must soon 'lift his eyes in hell.

being in torment.' The slave was Lazarus, who after closing his suffering in death, was to be 'carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.'

"From this afflicting state of society, I returned to the backwoods, a republican, without knowing the meaning of the term, that is, with an utter detestation of the arbitrary power of one man over another.

"On reading this recital, the historian will naturally reflect, that personal, real or political slavery has, at all times, been the condition of almost the whole human race—that the history of man is the history of *oppressors* and the *victims* of oppression. Wars, bastiles, prisons, crosses, gibbets, tortures, scourges and fire, in the hands of despots, have been the instruments of spreading desolation and misery over the earth. The philosopher regards these means of destruction and their extensive use in all ages as indices of the depravity and ferocity of man. From the blood-stained pages of history he turns with disgust and horror, and pronounces an involuntary anathema on the whole of his race.

"But is the condition of the world still to remain the same? Are the moral impressions of our nature to be for ever sacrificed at the shrine of lawless ambition? Is man, as heretofore, to be born only to destroy or be destroyed. Does the good Samaritan see no rational ground of hope, of better things for future ages? We trust he does, and that ages yet to come will witness the fulfillment of his benevolent wishes and predictions."

Such were the fearless utterances which were at this period heard and approved by many in this portion of Virginia. As to Mr. Campbell's own sentiments on the subject of slavery, knowing that the relation of master and servant was recognized in the New Testament, and the respective duties of the parties distinctly described, he thought it by no means inconsistent with Christian character to assume the legal rights of a master, or to transfer those rights to another, as he

at length yielded to his convictions and was immersed. Soon after this, Mr. Forrester, going into other business, relinquished the school to him, which, under his strict and skillful management, continued to prosper. At this time, he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Richardson, at whose house he spent occasionally a pleasant, social evening, and who formed quite an attachment to the young Scotchman, who seemed to combine the freshness, simplicity and enthusiasm of a child with the accomplishments of a scholar, and whose polite manners and pleasant conversation rendered him ever a welcome guest. To him Mr. Richardson committed also the education of his oldest son, Robert, then thirteen years of age, who had been some time before a pupil of Thomas Campbell, and who, commencing with Mr. Scott the study of the ancient languages, was, by judicious words of encouragement, inspired, not only with an earnest desire for learning, but with the warmest affection for his teacher.

The seed of the Word which had been implanted in the heart of Walter Scott had fallen into no ordinary soil. His earnest nature soon became wholly absorbed in the study of Divine things. Every moment that could be spared from necessary duties was devoted to the Bible, which had become to him a new book, opening up to his astonished mind a world of wonders, of which, amidst the misty atmosphere of sectarianism, he had hardly dreamed. Especially was he enraptured with the simplicity of the gospel, so different from the involved and complex theological systems of the day, and with the clear and unambiguous teachings of the Scriptures, as compared with those of modern religious theorists. Possessing an extraordinary power of analysis and classification, he was soon enabled to arrange the

Scripture teaching under its appropriate heads or subjects, and to resolve the Divine plan of redemption into its constituent elements. Having, at the same time, an ardent fancy, he saw in the simple facts of the gospel, and in its expressive ordinances, a power which he believed capable of breaking down all the barriers of religious partyism and carrying salvation to the ends of the earth. Becoming more and more occupied with religious thought, and burning with zeal to impart to others the light which had illuminated his own mind, the confinement and drudgery of the school became, after a few months, so irksome that he was constrained to abandon it; and, conceiving that he could be most useful in the city of New York, in connection with the congregation meeting there, and which was composed of individuals holding the sentiments of the Haldanes and of the Scotch Baptists, he, with that precipitation which often characterized his movements, set out once more for that city.

From the remarkable success which had attended his labors in the school, its patrons were much grieved at his departure. Mr. Richardson, especially, who most highly appreciated the value of such a teacher, and whose son, in the warmth of his affection, ardently hoped for his return, determined to make at least an effort for the purpose, and accordingly proposed to a few of his intimate friends to unite with him in making up a good salary, and in endeavoring to persuade Mr. Scott to return and become a private tutor for their families. This having been readily arranged, he at once wrote to Mr. Scott and urged the matter upon him. To this letter he soon received a reply, full of kind expressions and affectionate remembrances, and intimations of disappointed hopes and cloudy prospects

accordingly did in one or two instances. As he did not, however, any more than his father, approve of the abuses of power connected with the institution, those under his charge had the opportunity of learning to read and of receiving religious instruction; and, furthermore, perceiving the institution as it existed in the United States to be peculiarly liable to abuses, he was always in favor of emancipation, and gave practical effect to his principles in setting free the two or three slaves he had under his control, as soon as they were sufficiently grown to provide for themselves. As both father and son concurred in these views, and were determined to keep themselves free from all personal responsibility in regard to slavery, they felt themselves perfectly free to pursue their reformatory labors in any part of the country. And as Thomas Campbell had now placed his family where they could never become practically entangled in any of the evils connected with the institution, he felt himself entirely at liberty to aid his son in his labors in Virginia. Thus the two original public advocates of the Reformation were, greatly to their mutual happiness, enabled once more to renew their immediate cooperation with each other, and to lighten each other's burdens. Providence, however, was already preparing for them the assistance for which both had longed. A powerful auxiliary was about to enter the field, whose genius was destined to promote, in an eminent degree, the interests of the cause, and to modify, in some important respects, the practical advocacy of the reformatory movement.

During the previous year, there had arrived at the port of New York a young Scotch Presbyterian, of good family and an excellent education, named Walter Scott, who had been induced to seek his fortune in the

New World. After forming some acquaintances in New York, having a strong desire to go to the West and see the country, he, with a companion of about the same age, set out for Pittsburg. On account of the limited state of their finances, they found it necessary to perform the journey on foot, but they felt emboldened to attempt the task by that youthful buoyancy of spirit which hopes to surmount safely all obstacles, and to which no undertaking seems impracticable. As they journeyed on, their fatigue was often forgotten in their contemplation of the beautiful and varied landscapes along the way, for Mr. Scott possessed a fine taste for the beauties of nature, and was a great admirer of extensive prospects and wild mountain scenery. But what particularly cheered up the weary pedestrians was his lively humor, for, though of a deeply conscientious and reverential spirit, he had nevertheless a keen wit and a quick perception of the ludicrous, and saw so many oddities in the log-cabins and dresses and manners of the people, and so many to him novel and ridiculous objects, that he kept himself and his companion in almost perpetual merriment. For this unwonted levity, however, he took himself seriously to task, after his arrival at Pittsburg, when sober thoughts revived, deeming it quite incompatible with that gravity and solemnity which belonged to the Presbyterian profession.

At Pittsburg, he soon became acquainted with his countryman, Mr. Forrester, by whom he was very kindly and hospitably received, and in whose school he became for a time an assistant. Mr. Forrester, in conversing with him frequently upon religious subjects, and directing his attention to the Scriptures, soon satisfied him that infant baptism had no place in the Bible; and after a struggle with his educational prejudices, he

in New York, from which it could, upon the whole, be gathered that he would accept the position offered him, and, accordingly, about two weeks afterward, Mr. Scott himself appeared at Mr. Richardson's, dusty and travel-worn, having again walked the whole distance on foot, coming this time, by way of variety, through Washington City. Being welcomed with all the warmth of Irish hospitality, he at once became an inmate of Mr. Richardson's family, and an apartment was assigned him in his spacious house, where he could daily assemble his pupils, amounting in all to about fifteen—a number which was not to be increased, his patrons believing that by confining his attention to a few, the rapidity of their progress and the thoroughness of their instruction would more than compensate for the increased expense. In this respect their anticipations were more than realized, and, under this arrangement, results were attained which had never before been reached by any school in the city. Mr. Scott possessed a peculiar tact as a teacher, having a quick perception of character, and knowing well how to excite the dili gent, rouse the slothful and punish the disobedient Though kind in his feelings, he pursued the strict system of discipline to which he had been accustomed in Europe, and which required *perfect* order and *accurate* recitations, or, as an alternative, the "*argumentum bacculinum*." The exuberance of his youthful hopes having been pruned by his late experience, he now pursued his educational labors with great satisfaction, and renewed with unabated interest his religious association with Mr. Forrester and his little congregation, to which body a sudden calamity soon after obliged him to assume a more important relation.

Late on a pleasant summer evening, a hasty messen-

ger arrived to tell him that Mr. Forrester had been drowned. He had gone, it appeared, to the Alleghany, at the upper part of the town, to bathe, and ignorant of the fact that in that place there was an old wharf, now concealed beneath the water, he, unfortunately, in wading out into the stream, unexpectedly stepped off this structure and found himself suddenly in deep water. Being unable to swim, and no efficient help being at hand, he was speedily drowned, and it was so long before the body could be recovered that all attempts at reanimation were fruitless. This sad event was a great affliction to one of Mr. Scott's affectionate and sympathetic nature, and upon him now devolved the task of comforting and assisting the bereaved widow and orphans, as well as of watching over and instructing the church which Mr. Forrester had formed. This to him, however, was a labor of love, and he devoted himself more ardently than ever to the study of the Bible. He was accustomed daily to commit portions of it to memory, and long after midnight would often be found still deeply engaged in his earnest inquiries. Above all things, he seemed to be impressed with the Divine glory of the Redeemer in all his personal and official relations. In the exercise of his analytical power, he soon discovered that the testimonies of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John were written for one great specific object, and that this was to prove the proposition that "*Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*," and that this constituted the central truth and the great essential element of Christianity. He had thus, by a different process, reached the same stand-point which Mr. Campbell had attained in eliminating from the Christian faith everything that was foreign to its nature Upon this theme, Mr. Scott delighted to dwell. For a

considerable time he delivered, as his first efforts at public speaking, interesting lectures upon it to the little church, which was accustomed to assemble in the court-house. The beauty of the character of Christ seemed to be the subject of his continual meditation and the model for his daily life. As, from the confinement and labor attendant upon his arduous duties, he grew thin and pale, Mr. Richardson's son, Robert, who was now friend and companion, as much as pupil, would sometimes invite him to walk out of an evening to his father's garden in the vicinity of the city; but his mind could not be divorced, even amidst such recreations, from the high theme which occupied it. Nature, in all its forms, seemed to speak to him only of its Creator; and although, gentle and affectionate as he was, he sought ever to interest himself in the things that interested others, his mind would constantly revert to its ruling thought, and some little incident in their ramble, some casual remark in their conversation, would at once open up the fountain of religious thought which seemed to be ever seeking for an outlet. Thus, for instance, if his pupil would present him with a rose, while he admired its tints and inhaled its fragrance, he would ask in a tone of deep feeling: "Do you know, my dear, why in the Scriptures Christ is called the Rose of Sharon?" If the answer was not ready, he would reply himself: "It is because the rose of Sharon has no thorns," and would then go on to make a few touching remarks on the beautiful traits in the character of the Saviour. Then, in the exercise of his powers of accurate perception, and his love of analysis and object-teaching, descanting on the special characteristics of the flower, and calling attention to the various elements which by their assemblage, produced such a charming

result—the graceful curving lines that bounded the petals and the foliage, so much more beautiful than the straight and parallel edges of the blades of grass or maize; the winding veinlets, the delicate shadings of carmine and their contrast with the green foliage, the graceful attitude assumed by the flower, as, poising itself upon its stem armed with thorns, it shone resplendent in queenly beauty, he would pass, by a natural and easy transition, to dwell yet again upon the infinite power and glorious perfections of the Creator—the Word that "was God," that "was in the beginning with God," and "without whom nothing was made that was made." Nor did he neglect even amidst the daily duties of the school-room to lead the minds of his pupils to similar contemplations, so that they might be induced to "look through nature up to nature's God." The revelations of God in the Bible, however, formed his chief delight, and in accordance with his feelings, he took especial pains to familiarize the students of the ancient tongues with the Greek of the New Testament, for which purpose he caused them to commit it largely to memory, so that some of them could repeat, chapter by chapter, the whole of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John in the Greek language. It was also his invariable practice to require memorized recitations of portions of the ancient classic authors, as well as written translations of them. These tasks, irksome to those of feeble memory, and exacted perhaps, in some cases, with too much rigor, tended nevertheless to improve the pupils in taste and accuracy, and to store their minds with charming passages for use in future life.

Mr. Campbell's confinement at home, on account of his duties in the seminary, had, for a long time, prevented him from visiting Pittsburg, and now that his

father's presence enabled him to do this, it can easily be imagined with what pleasure he formed the acquaintance of Mr. Scott, and found in him a congenial spirit, coinciding with him in regard to the distinguishing features of the reformatory movement, and prepared by education, natural abilities and piety to become such a fellow-laborer as he had long desired. They conceived for each other, therefore, at once, the warmest personal esteem—an esteem which was based perhaps less upon those points in their respective characters in which they agreed, than upon those in which they differed. For although their mutual reverence for Divine things, their earnest desire for religious reformation, their zeal and piety, their devotion, their Christian faith and love, certainly united them strongly to each other, these were qualities possessed also by others, and constituting with them all in common the bond of fellowship and union. But the different hues in the characters of these two eminent men were such as to be, so to speak, complementary to each other, and to form, by their harmonious blending, a completeness and a brilliancy which rendered their society peculiarly delightful to each other. Thus, while Mr. Campbell was fearless, self-reliant and firm, Mr. Scott was naturally timid, diffident and yielding; and, while the former was calm, steady and prudent, the latter was excitable, variable and precipitate. The one like the north star was ever in position, unaffected by terrestrial influences; the other, like the magnetic needle, was often disturbed and trembling on its centre, yet ever returning or seeking to return to its true direction. Both were nobly endowed with the powers of higher reason—a delicate self-consciousness, a decided will and a clear perception of truth. But, as it regards the other departments of the inner nature, in

Mr. Campbell the understanding predominated, in Mr. Scott the feelings; and, if the former excelled in imagination, the latter was superior in brilliancy of fancy. If the tendency of one was to generalize, to take wide and extended views and to group a multitude of particulars under a single head or principle, that of the other was to analyze, to divide subjects into their particulars and consider their details. If the one was disposed to trace analogies and evolve the remotest correspondences of relations, the other delighted in comparisons and sought for the resemblances of things. If the one possessed the inductive power of the philosopher, the other had, in a more delicate musical faculty and more active ideality, a larger share of the attributes of the poet. In a word, in almost all those qualities of mind and character, which might be regarded differential or distinctive, they were singularly fitted to supply each other's wants and to form a rare and delightful companionship. Nor were their differences in personal appearance and physical constitution less striking or less susceptible of agreeable contrast. For while Mr. Campbell was tall, vigorous and athletic, Mr. Scott was not above the average height, slender and rather spare in person, and possessed of little muscular strength. While the aspect of the one was ever lively and cheerful, even in repose, that of the other was abstracted, meditative, and sometimes had even an air of sadness. Their features, too, were very different. Mr. Campbell's face had no straight lines in it. Even his nose, already arched, was turned slightly to the right, and his eyes and hair were comparatively light. Mr. Scott's nose was straight, his lips rather full but delicately chiseled, his eyes dark and lustrous, full of intelligence and softness, and without the peculiar eagle-

glance so striking in Mr. Campbell, while his hair, clustering above his fine ample forehead, was black as the raven's wing.

Such were some of the prominent contrasts of these two eminent advocates of reformation, who were henceforth destined to share each other's labors and trials, to promote each other's discoveries of truth, and to emulate each other in their efforts to restore the pure primitive apostolic gospel to the world.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Civil and Religious Freedom—"Moral Societies" of Washington County—Spiritual Despotism—Vindication of Human Rights.

IT is a mistake to suppose that religious freedom is the result of civil liberty. The reverse of this is true, that civil liberty springs from religious freedom. Such republics as those of Greece and Rome were possible under a religious system that conceded universal toleration, and where every one was permitted freely to worship, after his own fashion, his own divinity; but could have no existence under the religious despotism of the Persian fire-worship or that of the Egyptian Osiris. When the gospel was first introduced, its refusal to tolerate any species of idolatry became, therefore, among the Greeks and Romans, its chief offence. They could not endure the exclusive claims of a religious autocracy which seemed but the harbinger of civil bondage, and were unwilling to exchange the outward license of polytheism for the spiritual freedom which Christ offered to bestow. They had but little conception, indeed, of that freedom of the soul from ignorance and sinful bondage, and that liberation of the conscience from a sense of guilt, which the gospel afforded, and had failed, as yet, to comprehend that glorious liberty which, like that of the sparkling waters of the streamlet or the motions of the "viewless air," can be enjoyed only in a strict conformity to the laws

of God. It was not until Christianity had sufficiently proved its tendency to make men gentle and obedient; patient and forbearing; willing to concede to all their just rights, and employing in behalf of their cause no influence but persuasion, that it became acceptable and prevalent throughout the Roman empire. It was not long, however, until, through the ambition and envy of rival bishops, there arose a contest for precedence and power. Shackles were imposed upon men's minds by decrees of councils; the rights of private judgment were refused, and what there was of civil liberty perished when civil government became at length the subservient instrument of spiritual tyranny.

Amidst the increasing gloom which gradually enveloped the nations, there was soon revealed, according to prophecy, that bold and undisguised form of religious absolutism, termed the Papacy. It was said of the Romans, as Tacitus relates, that in subduing the nations "they made a desolation and called it peace." Thus, in like manner, the Papal power, in endeavoring to extirpate its opposers as heretics; in denying to the people all liberty of thought, and in obliterating every landmark of the mind's own possessions, created, wherever it moved, that fatal and mortuary peace that springs from moral and spiritual desolation. In this respect Catholicism has, indeed, ever been truly ROMAN. Nor is the analogy less striking as to the extent of its empire and the efforts it has made to crush out every struggle for civil liberty, except in the few and doubtful instances where policy demanded a certain degree of concession to surrounding circumstances. The history of the world proves that the same spirit prevails, more or less, in every religious national establishment, and in every religious representative assembly, and that it

will inevitably display itself when any one of them is allowed to exercise power in political affairs, Propositions to remove civil disabilities, or to enlarge the precincts within which the masses are confined, never proceed from the bishops of England or from the clergy in any land where they are permitted to have a voice in civil affairs. On the contrary, they are found ever to resist reforms, and, from an instinctive antipathy, to detest liberal ideas. Hence it was that Great Britain never truly possessed herself of the great principles of civil liberty until the hierarchical powers were overthrown, and the Independents, under Cromwell, learned from their religious freedom the lesson of universal emancipation. Hence, too, as it was the Independent and former Puritan, Roger Williams, who first secured the constitutional grant of liberty of conscience, so it was this inestimable boon which ultimately gave to this favored land the truest and noblest conception and enjoyment of the rights of man. In all cases it will be found that "*soul-freedom*," as Roger Williams used to term religious liberty, preceded and gave origin, form and character to every effort for the attainment of civil freedom; and as the latter is speedily lost when the rights of conscience and of private judgment are denied, it behooves all lovers of liberty to watch, with jealous eye, the movements of religious bodies which claim the right to dictate articles of faith, and to repel with promptitude their attempts to acquire political influence or to obtain control of legal power. Such attempts have been made more than once already, even in this country, and it is of these that the course of the narrative now renders it necessary to speak.

It has been already mentioned that Presbyterianism had almost entire control of the population in Western

Pennsylvania, and especially in Washington county. It was naturally to be expected, therefore, that the spirit of the prevailing religion would find expression more or less in the local laws and regulations, and that these in turn would reveal the character and real tendency of this religion. Too inattentive to the probability of this latter result, and too confident in the possession of power, the adherents of the dominant party in Washington county had commenced, in 1815, a system of espionage and of arbitrary coercion, with respect to the people, which seemed to revive the spirit of the old Puritan codes,* and which at the present day no Western community would for a moment endure. This system it was attempted to establish through the agency of what were called "moral societies," organized for the reputable purpose of "suppressing vice and immorality," which seemed, in the estimation of the founders of these societies, to form two different categories. But the nature of these organizations, and the plausibility of the reasons by which it was attempted to justify them, will be best seen from their own records. Thus, it is related that on the 4th day of April, 1815—

"At a meeting of a number of the citizens of the borough of Washington, to take into consideration the expediency of forming an Association for the suppression of vice and immorality, James Brice was called to the chair and Obadiah Jennings was appointed secretary. Whereupon it was resolved to form an Association for the suppression of im-

* Reference is here made to the rigid municipal regulations of the Pilgrim Fathers, and not to what are termed the "Blue Laws of Connecticut," which never had any actual existence, but were first published in London in 1781 as a satire upon the severity of the Puritans, by a tory Churchman named Samuel Peters, who had been expelled from New England.

morality." Certain rules were then adopted as the constitution of the "Washington Moral Society." In this constitution, it is made the duty of every member "actively to promote the objects of the Association by giving information against any one known to be guilty of profane swearing, Sabbath-breaking, intoxication, unlawful gaming, keeping a disorderly public house, or any other active immorality punished by the Commonwealth." It was further enjoined upon each member to "assist and encourage his fellow-members in their duty." Regular meetings were also to be held on the first Monday of May, August, November and February at *the Presbyterian meeting-house* in the borough of Washington, six members forming a quorum. It is recommended also that "similar associations be formed in the different parts of the county." After the constitution, an "Address" was adopted, which, after setting forth, at length, the evils of "intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, swearing," etc., proceeds as follows:

"The Society are desirous of calling the attention of their fellow-citizens more particularly to the aforesaid vices, not only because they are deemed amongst the most criminal and destructive, but also because they are more generally permitted to pass with impunity than many others of a less malignant character. At the same time, it is confidently believed that there is a sufficient amount of moral influence in the community, if combined and vigorously directed, to afford an effectual corrective. We would suggest the importance of forming similar associations in every part of our country. Some have recently been formed in this county, and the good effects are already visible. Can any one doubt the right or question the propriety of such associations? Is it not the indispensable duty of every member of society to promote its welfare, and prevent, according to his ability, everything which would be destructive of its interests and prosperity?"

It then goes on to speak of the increase of im-

morality, and among other things mentions the fact that while in 1802 there were only fifty-five taverns in Washington county, there were then one hundred and fifteen, a ratio of increase much greater than that of population.

Under the influence of these moral societies, established throughout the county, a strict watch was at once set over the behavior of every individual; local laws were passed in reference to the vices named, and the magistrates were stimulated to a rigid enforcement of them. The societies were, indeed, in their inception, simply organized bands of *informers*, though, emboldened by the submission of the people, their members soon began to make arrests without civil process or legal authority. As they pursued their vocation with enterprising zeal, many violations of the laws were detected and exposed, and every member of the community soon found himself to be under a sort of inquisitorial scrutiny that was as strict as it was novel, and as distasteful to the feelings of many true friends of morality as it was incompatible with the spirit of republican freedom. For a considerable time, however, the moral societies had everything their own way. Murmurs and complaints, indeed, there were, but no one had the hardihood to oppose, publicly, proceedings which were professedly in the interest of morality, and which, in many instances, no doubt secured the outward observance of its rules. No one that had the least regard for his popularity would venture to oppose the strict enforcement of the laws; and although many were sensible that there was certainly an undue exercise of power, or some false principle involved in such proceedings, there seemed to be no one capable of detecting it, or willing to bring down upon himself the

odium of the clergy and of the dominant religious party. Nevertheless, the burden imposed upon the people seemed to grow heavier the longer it was borne, and a good deal of discontent began to manifest itself. Those who had been fined through the moral societies, began to scrutinize more closely the conduct of the members composing them, and, in many cases, soon found that these self-constituted custodians of the public morals were themselves guilty of offences similar to those which they condemned in others. The nature and operation of these societies, as well as the piety and consistency of their members, will, however, be better understood by a recital of actual occurrences.

On one occasion, a Mr. Martin, near Washington, had employed a teamster to convey some produce for him to Pittsburg. Returning on Saturday, they were unable to make the whole distance, and were obliged to put up for the night within a short distance of Canonsburg. Setting out early next morning, on their way homeward, on entering the borough of Canonsburg, they were at once stopped and informed that they would not be permitted to travel on the "Sabbath." At once acquiescing, they put up the horses, and remained at the hotel until the next morning after breakfast, when they again set out. After leaving the village, they were overtaken by the constable, who demanded of the wagoner the fine for traveling on the "Sabbath." This the wagoner refused to pay, and, after some altercation, it appeared that the constable had not with him any writ to enable him to make an arrest. He then said he would go back to town for it, and would overtake him before he got to Washington. As soon as he was gone, the wagoner got a friend on the way to drive the wagon for him, and disappeared.

When the constable overtook the team at Washington, he was greatly enraged at being thus baffled, and making considerable noise, a crowd collected and began to dispute with him as to his ability to collect the fine under the circumstances. He insisted that he could and would collect it; and as he became more and more excited, one of the bystanders said to another privately, "Suppose you banter the constable to bet ten dollars on the collection of this fine. I will then go and inform upon you both, and you will both be fined, and as half the fine goes to the informer, I will receive the full amount of your fine, which I will hand over to you, so that you will lose nothing, and we shall have some sport." His friend, agreeing to this, immediately proposed to bet with the constable, who, in the excitement of the moment, at once accepted the offer. "Now," said the originator of the plot to him, "you have violated the law yourself, which is against betting as well as against Sabbath-breaking; and it will be my duty to go and inform upon you both." At this, the constable, finding he was caught, became quite crest-fallen, and knowing that he would lose his office and his popularity if the matter were made known, besought all present to say nothing about it, and promising if they would consent to this and come into the tavern, he would "treat them all round," and give up prosecuting the case against the wagoner; all which was agreed to amidst great merriment.

On another occasion, one of the members of the Moral Society at West Middletown, David M———, returning from meeting on the "Sabbath day," noticed at Wilson's tavern, two and a half miles from the town, a bucket belonging to him which his teamster had forgotten there the day before. Taking up the bucket, he

concluded to carry it home with him, and on the way was reminded by one of his friends that he was violating the law by carrying a burden on the "Sabbath day." Upon his return home, the circumstance naturally gave rise to serious reflection on his part, and, amongst his pious "Sabbath" musings, he considered how he should extricate himself from the dilemma in which he had become involved, and which was likely to bring reproach upon his character as an orthodox and orderly member of the church. At length, the happy thought occurred to him that if he would go and *inform upon himself*, such an instance of self-sacrifice, disinterested zeal and respect for principle, would not only clear his escutcheon from every stain, but elevate him even higher than ever in the esteem of the faithful. This bright idea was accompanied—or, as some might be so uncharitable as to think, *preceded*—by another reflection of uncommon weight, which was, that as half the fine went to the informer, he would *save two dollars* by informing upon himself. Accordingly, he at once resolved to do it, and going next morning to the magistrate at an early hour, lest any one should anticipate him in the performance of what he felt was his peculiar duty, gave the information in due form and tendered half the fine as a full and efficient expiation for the offence he had committed. The magistrate, however, could not see the matter in that light, not being able to discover that the law had made any provision for so extraordinary a case; and so, reminding the pious culprit that the money went to the support of preachers, compelled him to pay the whole fine. From such facts (and similar cases were not unfrequent) the *moral* tendencies of these societies will be sufficiently evident. It will be also seen that they had not for their object to repress or

punish *crimes* which men commit to the injury of others, and to which the attention of the civil magistrate had been heretofore confined; but that they took under their especial care those *vices* which affect individuals themselves, and of which the civil authority had not previously been accustomed to take cognizance, unless when, as sometimes in the case of drunkenness, they caused a disturbance of the public peace. It will be further noticed that they attempted to engraft upon the civil code their peculiar religious views in regard to the "Sabbath," and to compel *by law* the whole community to submit to the Judaizing opinions which they had themselves imbibed from their religious teachers.

As Mr. Campbell frequently visited his mother and the family, now living near Middletown, he soon became well acquainted with the facts and principles developed during the operation of these "Moral Societies," but, though indignant at such invasions of personal and public freedom, he, for some time, forbore to notice them, as he lived in an adjoining State, where such things had no existence. As matters grew worse, however, and no one in Washington county seemed willing or able to undertake the matter, he determined at length to interfere, and on the 27th of April, 1820, he published an article, under the signature of Candidus, in which he criticised an address previously issued by the "Moral Society of Middletown." In this piece he first satirized, in his peculiar way, the moral state of Middletown, which was thought to demand such remedies, and then exposed the conduct of some leading members of the Moral Society, who were themselves guilty of *raffling*, taking part in "*shooting matches*" for gain, etc. He then attacks the principle on which

the societies acted, viz.: that *fining men for their vices would make them moral.*

"When they pay dear for their sins," says he, "they will, from principles of *avarice*, become morally correct! * * * * And what becomes of the fines? Oh! they are given to some pious clergyman to be applied to the education of young men for the ministry. Go on, therefore, in your misdeeds, ye profane, for the more you sin the more preachers we shall have." * * * *

As may be readily supposed, this article created quite a sensation. The Society at Middletown immediately appointed a committee to make a reply to it, which was published in the *Reporter*, and which, instead of defending the principles of the Society, raised against Candidus the cry of "a friend to immorality," etc., and attempted to browbeat and intimidate him. To this effusion, however, the latter very promptly replied, disavowing the improper motives attributed to him, and fully admitting and asserting the claims of morality. He boldly claims the right, however, to "animadvert on those who, unsolicited, mount the judgment-seat and presume to deal rash judgment round the land on every one they suppose able to pay for his transgressions." He then goes on to show that such moral societies are "anti-evangelical, anti-constitutional and anti-rational," and says he has as good a right to sit in judgment on them as they have on their fellow-citizens. His first position, that they are anti-evangelical, he then goes on to prove by showing that the Bible gives no authority whatever for them. In another article, on the 5th of June, he continues the argument, showing that moral societies are anti-evangelical, because "Christians are not at liberty to interfere with men of the world in any-

thing pertaining to God and conscience." He takes the ground, also, that if all members of society anywhere are Christians, they must go by the discipline given in the New Testament.

These assaults brought out a host of writers on behalf of the societies, and the paper was for some time crowded with articles, mostly of very poor quality, and filled with invectives against "Candidus." By way of variety, an essay then appears in defence of "Candidus," signed "V. A. Flint," corroborating the statements of "Candidus" in regard to the practical operations of the societies. In doing this, he details the case of a poor old Revolutionary soldier, who, at an election in Taylorstown, indulged too freely in liquor, and was consequently fined by the Society-members. The old man, being exasperated at having to pay the fine, began to swear, and continued thus to vent his passion for a considerable time, during which the *custodes morum* in attendance coolly kept an exact account of the particular number of oaths. As there was a fine for every oath, the aggregate amount finally became so great that, in order to pay it, the old man had to part with the entire store of corn on which his family depended for subsistence during the winter. On the 12th of June, there appears a weak piece against Candidus, and in the same paper another article by V. A. Flint in his defence. On the 19th, Candidus continues his exposition of principles. He shows that "the only system of pure morality is that of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, and that it must point out the only sure and efficient means of promoting it." Reaching down to the great basis on which all morality rests, the will of the Divine Law-giver, he shows that a violation of this will in any one point is the violation

of the whole law, as it is a rejection of the authority on which the whole rests. He quotes the declaration of James: "He that said Thou shalt not commit adultery, said also, Thou shalt not steal;" and, "if a man keep the whole law and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." He then remarks that the law enforced by the societies "values the profanation of the 'Sabbath' at four dollars; profanation of the Divine name at less than one dollar; drunkenness at so much, etc.," and asks why, in view of the true principles of morality, is each sin valued at a different price, and why any of them are valued at a fixed price, etc. At this juncture, a letter appears from Mr. Findley, attributing the authorship of Candidus to Mr. Campbell, and endeavoring to cast aspersions upon his character. In the next paper, is a letter from Mr. Campbell, over his own signature, addressed to Mr. Findley, demanding the proof of his assertions, to which Mr. F. made no reply.

It was just at this time that Mr. Campbell became engaged in an oral debate on baptism with Mr. John Walker, a minister of the Secession, and which was held at Mount Pleasant on the 19th and 20th of June. This debate, and the subsequent preparation of it for the press by Mr. Campbell, interrupted for a time, on his part, the discussion in regard to the Moral Societies. Returning to the charge, however, in the latter part of July, he resumes the train of argument he had introduced, which, in order to avoid breaking the connection, will be here pursued to the close. In his article on the 31st August, Candidus argues the unconstitutionality of the proceedings of the Moral Societies, because the Constitution gave the right to all to worship God according to their consciences, expressly declaring that "no one can be compelled to erect, attend, or

support any place of worship or to maintain any ministry against his consent," and that the observance of the Sabbath, or of any other day, is purely a right of conscience. In subsequent essays, he takes the ground that "officers of the church have no right to interfere with the execution of the law, or to supercede civil officers, legally appointed, as, in presuming to do so, they assume that the civil officers are insufficient. It is, however, made the duty of the magistrates to be vigilant in enforcing the law, as they are appointed for the very purpose of maintaining the good order of society, being ordained of God for the punishment of evil-doers and the praise of those who do well." Continuing his essays during the winter, Candidus criticises Judge Rush's charge upon the institution of the "Sabbath," in Luzerne county, Pennsylvania, and shows that there is no law in the New Testament prescribing the first day of the week as the "Sabbath."

Hitherto the writers against Candidus had displayed so little ability that they had not offered even a plausible refutation of one of his arguments, and the cause of the Moral Societies seemed to be in quite a hopeless state. But on the 12th February, there appeared against 'Candidus" a new writer of a different stamp, who signed himself "Timothy," and whose articles were written in much superior style. They were clear and argumentative, entering into the merits of the question and discussing the matters involved, with a manliness and vigor, which formed quite a contrast with the feebleness which had heretofore characterized the writers upon that side. In these essays, Timothy referred to Candidus as "Mr. C.," and continued them for several weeks without any reply from the latter. The impression hence became general that, feeling himself unable

to meet the reasoning of "Timothy," "Candidus" had abandoned the discussion; and it was then whispered round that "Timothy" was none other than Rev. Andrew Wylie, D. D., who had some time before become President of Washington College.*

At length, upon the 16th April, Candidus reappears, reviewing the progress of the discussion up to that time. To this Timothy replies, admitting that the previous opponents of Candidus had injured their cause. In the same paper, another article appears from Candidus, who appears to be conscious that he has now an opponent worthy of regard, and therefore takes hold of Timothy's arguments with more than usual power. In subsequent numbers he ably exposes the plausible sophisms of "Timothy," and sustains the positions he had himself taken, while the replies of Timothy become feeble and are at last discontinued. Candidus, accordingly, on the 6th August, 1821, sums up the controversy, and, supposing that Timothy had retired, challenges him to debate the whole question from the beginning, either orally or in the *Reporter*. To this, on the 20th, Timothy replies, saying he had not retired, but would continue to write as long as Mr. C. advanced anything worthy of notice, and endeavors then to show that Mr. C.'s reasoning was fallacious. This he followed up in two long articles, which were devoted to invective rather than argument, and treated side-issues

* Dr. Wylie had previously occupied the position of President of Jefferson College at Canonsburg, to which he was appointed in 1812; but after some years resigned and was succeeded by the Rev. W. McMillan. The resignation of Mr. Brown at Washington was occasioned by the action of the trustees rendering Mr. Brown's duties as President incompatible with those due to his congregation, he preferring to adhere to his congregation. The election of Mr. Wylie to succeed him gave rise to a very bitter controversy between the friends of the two institutions.

rather than the main question. Resuming the subject on the 17th of September, Candidus addresses the public through the *Reporter*, apologizing for the discursive style of the previous discussion, during which he had been induced to follow his opponents into matters irrelevant. He charges Timothy with having pursued an improper course in his articles, and with having written a scurrilous poem which had appeared in the *Reporter*. He further says that he has made an arrangement with his friend Mr. Sample to have the controversy conducted thenceforth in a proper style, and that he will now furnish a column regularly, as a new series of articles. The first of these accompanies this address, and states the argument (which, at this time was confined to the "Sabbath" question) as follows:

"The whole of the precepts or commands of the Christian religion are contained in the New Testament.

"But there is no precept or command in the New Testament to compel by civil law, any man who is not a Christian to pay any regard to the Lord's day, any more than to any other day.

"Therefore to compel a man who is not a Christian to pay any regard to the Lord's day, more than to any other day, is without authority in the Christian religion."

The statement of his second argument is as follows:

"The gospel commands no duty which can be performed without faith in the Son of God. 'Whatever is not of faith is sin.'

"But to compel men destitute of faith to observe any Christian institution, such as the Lord's day, is commanding duty to be performed without faith in God.

"Therefore, to command unbelievers or natural men to observe, in any sense, the Lord's day, is anti-evangelical or contrary to the gospel."

In subsequent papers, Candidus now proceeds regularly, in a clear and cogent manner, to refute Timothy's arguments and sustain his own, paying no attention to scurrilous pieces which occasionally appeared against him. On the 29th of October, Timothy announces that he will not reply *regularly*, but will review the whole when Candidus is done. In November, Candidus continues the subject in able articles, and in January, 1822, Timothy reviews his pieces at some length and with considerable ingenuity. Candidus appears again in an able refutation on the 28th of January, and finally on the 25th of February, as no further articles appeared from Timothy, who had evidently exhausted his resources, and whose arguments had been clearly overthrown, Candidus closes the discussion with an apology for any inadvertent expressions, and with kind expressions in reference to his ingenious opponent, thus remaining the acknowledged victor in the controversy which had now continued during nearly two years.

The effect of these essays upon the public mind was great. Men, whose minds had been previously bewildered and confused upon the subject, now perceived clearly the nature of the questions at issue, and though the "Moral Societies" continued their operations with even more than usual zeal, there were many who only waited for a favorable opportunity in order to put their authority to the test. This was not long wanting. A man named Isaac Jones, a citizen of Wellsburg, had been attending to some business at the court in Washington, which detained him until it was too late on Saturday evening to reach home that day. As his wife was in delicate health, he thought it necessary to set out early next morning. But on approaching West Middletown he was met, near Davis' tavern, by five

men, who demanded to know where he was going. He told them he was going home to Wellsburg, and asked in turn where they were going. They replied that they were going to meeting, and as he was violating the law against "Sabbath-breaking" by traveling on that day, he must go back with them to Washington. This Mr. Jones found himself compelled to do, though, as may be well supposed, not in a very devotional frame of mind. Upon coming up to the steps of the hotel at Washington, they found standing there several of the lawyers who had been in attendance upon the court, as James Ross of Pittsburg, Philip Doddridge of Wellsburg, and with them, Judge Baird of Washington, who was a warm friend of Mr. Jones. Mr. Ross, surprised to see him back, inquired the reason, and when informed of his arrest, became very indignant, and told the men that they should pay dearly for their conduct. As James Ross was a lawyer of great eminence, they became alarmed and were about to go away, when they were informed that they must not depart until their names and residences were duly taken down. Suit was at once brought against them for unlawful arrest, and the matter being adjourned from time to time in the court at Washington, was at length transferred to Pittsburg, where it was finally decided against the persons making the arrest, who were adjudged to pay considerable damages. These Mr. Jones refused to accept; but so great had been the costs and expenses of the suit that the convicted persons became quite impoverished in their circumstances, and the questions at issue being now legally determined, the operations of the "Moral Societies" totally ceased from that time, so that these organizations were heard of no more.

That Mr. Campbell's exposure of the spirit and pur

poses of these societies, and of the unscriptural and anti-republican character of their principles, had largely contributed to this result there could be no question. The same desire of being serviceable to society, which led him, in the essays of *Clarinda*, to attempt the correction of the social evils he found existing upon his first arrival at Washington, or, in those of Bonus Homo, to subserve the interests of collegiate education, had now induced him to attempt the rescue of the community from the civil tyranny which bigoted religionists had been seeking to establish in the name of morality. Such was his nature, that he was ever ready to enter the lists in defence of truth and right, and sought ever to instruct, liberate and elevate society in spite of all the obloquy, calumny and reproach constantly heaped upon him. In the uncalculating and unselfish spirit of a true reformer, he sought for truth alone, and in its defence he feared no opposition. Though, in common with noble minds, he was not insensible to fame, as an advocate of right he was indifferent to censure. Though lenient to the mistakes and frailties of men, his feelings revolted against deliberate schemes to acquire arbitrary power; and though ever ready to grant the largest liberty of opinion in matters of indifference or mere expediency, in those of morality and religion he would admit no standard but the Bible. With him, personal considerations were of little moment compared with the great issues affecting the welfare of mankind, and having no partisan religious interests to subserve, he was free from that narrow-minded bigotry which claims for its opinions a sort of infallibility, and will never consent to change. Hence he was never ashamed to acknowledge errors, but, in his progress toward clearer views, openly acknowledged them in renouncing the prejudices

of his religious education, and publicly professing a truer faith. Hence, too, it was that every honorable opponent he met in his numerous discussions soon learned to regard him with respect, and, notwithstanding the severity of his logic and the keenness of his sarcasm, to entertain for him, after the contest was over, the most friendly personal feelings.

Of this, President Wylie affords a marked example, for, after the discussion about the "Moral Societies," he became a warm friend of Mr. Campbell; and when, some years after, he removed to the West, where Mr. Campbell had by this time acquired great influence, he received from the latter introductory and commendatory letters which contributed to place him at once in the position for which he was fitted by his learning and abilities. He soon became President of the State University of Indiana, and during the remainder of his life kept up a familiar and friendly correspondence with Mr. Campbell, who always retained a high regard for him, and often spoke in terms of high praise of his scholarship and talents. And it is worthy of remark, also, that such impressions had been made upon the mind of Mr. Wylie that, after the discussion with Mr. Campbell, he ceased to advocate the claims of any religious sect, and gradually made such advances that, after his removal to the West, he began to oppose partyism altogether, and reached pretty nearly the conclusions of the Christian Association, becoming a strong advocate of Christian union, and even leaving the Presbyterians and attending the worship of the Episcopal Church as more liberal in its spirit.

With regard to the questions involved in the debate about the "Moral Societies," it seemed not a little strange, as was shown by Candidus, that a people pro-

fessing Christianity should betray such ignorance of its principles as to think of making men moral by legal enactments. Unlike Judaism, which demanded only an external conformity, Christianity addresses itself to the *heart*, the fountain of human motives and actions, and seeks to make "the tree good" in order that "its fruit may be good," since "an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit." But the miscalled "Moral Societies" sought not to cherish or strengthen any moral principle, but rather to repress the indulgence of *one* evil passion by bringing into exercise *another*, that was perhaps worse; as when they wished to correct intemperance or profanity by an appeal to the love of money. True morality must proceed from *principle*, not from law; and it is here the power of conscience that is to be invoked, instead of that of the magistrate.

It became evident, however, during the progress of affairs, that it was the leading object of these societies to establish by law their views of the "Sabbath," and it was this point which occupied, therefore, the larger share of the discussion. This effort to replace republican liberty by religious thraldom, would appear not less strange than to attempt to inspire men with moral principles by means of fines, were it not a familiar fact in history that representative religious bodies, as formerly remarked, have an inherent tendency to exercise arbitrary power and to trample under foot the dearest privileges of mankind. In the case under consideration, the so-called "Moral Societies" of Washington county could by no means plead ignorance of the Constitution and laws of Pennsylvania as an apology for their proceedings; for, in the United States, nothing could be more clearly drawn than the line separating Church and State, and it was but a short time before

the establishment of these "Societies" that a case had come up in the Washington court, which brought this particular subject prominently before the minds of the people.

It happened that a suit for slander had been brought against an individual who was charged with having circulated, to the injury of a political candidate, that the latter, in contempt for religion, had "administered the sacrament to a dog." This brought up the question whether or not such words were actionable, and Lawyer Mountain, in his speech upon the occasion, which was published in the Washington *Reporter*, after referring to opinions given by Lord Chief Justice De Grey in a similar case in England (Onslow against Horn, 3 Wilson, 178), went on to lay down the law of Pennsylvania in regard to this class of alleged offences:

"Could a man," he said, "be indicted under the Constitution and laws of Pennsylvania for this shameful abuse of this most sacred ordinance? The counsel for the plaintiff allege that Christianity is part of the common law, and in this they are supported by a maxim of law and by opinions of the judges of England. But what has the common law of England, in this respect, to do with the common law of Pennsylvania? Does the Christian religion derive any support from our Constitution or our laws? No. It is left to its own native and intrinsic excellence, uncontaminated by the constitutions and laws of man, with whose constitution error seems to have been interwoven by an immutable law. Religion requires not the aid of legislatures and judges. Like our globe, *librata ponderibus suis*, poised by its own weight, it rises above the ruins of empires, and, like the lightning of heaven, pursues the direction of its eternal Founder. Religion loves its own chaste simplicity. Bind it to the State, and you bind the living to the dead; it becomes an engine in the hands of fools and of knaves, and leads to the temporal degradation

of every man of candor and of honesty. History shows this important truth. Many of us have seen the effects of this unnatural union in Europe, and we have all seen the happy effects of their separation in Pennsylvania—may that separation be perpetual!

"Could a man be indicted in Pennsylvania who would declare himself in favor of a plurality of gods, and who would worship them in his own way? Could a man be indicted in this State who would deny the divinity of Jesus Christ, and publish a book in opposition to the same? Thomas Paine was indicted in England for his Age of Reason; could he have been indicted in Pennsylvania? A statute passed in the first year of the reign of Edward VI., repealed in the first year of the reign of Mary, and revived in the first of the reign of Elizabeth, enacts that whosoever shall deprave, despise or contemn the most blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in contempt thereof, by any contemptuous word or words of depraving, despising or reviling; or shall advisedly in any other wise contemn, despise or revile the same, contrary to the effects and declarations aforesaid, shall suffer imprisonment and make fine and ransom at the king's pleasure. Is this statute in force in Pennsylvania? No. It and all similar statutes are swept away like cobwebs by the Constitution of the State. The man, then, who would commit this act, this impious act, could not be indicted, but would remain a monument of his own folly, of his own indiscretion and impiety, and of our unexampled separation of Church and State, of things human and divine."

Notwithstanding the failure of the Presbyterians to establish by law in Washington county their views of the "Sabbath," as above related, another and more general effort was made, a few years later, to get these notions of the proper observance of the "Sabbath" sanctioned and established. For this purpose, in the year 1829, Congress was suddenly overwhelmed with

numerous petitions, coming in from all parts of the country, and from various ecclesiastical bodies, praying that the public mails might all be stopped upon the Sabbath day; and every possible influence was brought to bear upon the National Legislature in order to obtain the passage of an act to this effect. The matter assumed so important a phase that it was referred to a committee, and its chairman, Richard M. Johnson, after some time made a report which was regarded at the time as a very remarkable document, and excited so much interest, and received so much applause, that it was published throughout the country, and largely distributed also in the form of handbills, which were framed and hung up in dwellings, like a new Declaration of Independence.

As it was perfectly well known that Richard M. Johnson possessed neither the education nor the ability to write such a document, a great desire was manifested by the people to discover its real author; and public sentiment was not long in deciding that it could be no one else than Alexander Campbell. Those best acquainted with him recognized it at once by its style, as well as by the character of the arguments urged against granting the petition. It was known that Mr. Campbell was on terms of friendly acquaintance with the chairman of the committee, and in intimate religious fellowship with his brother, John T. Johnson; so that nothing appeared more natural than that Mr. Campbell should have been privately requested to prepare such a document upon a subject to which it was well known he had already devoted great attention. If this was the case, it was, of course, a matter entirely confidential; and Mr. Campbell was too honorable ever to acknowledge himself the author. It

is proper to say, however, also, that when the authorship was charged upon him, as it often was, by his intimate friends, he was not known in any case positively to deny it, but always evaded giving a direct reply. These being the facts in the case, the document in question, will be placed in the Appendix, in order that the reader may judge for himself, especially as it is itself worthy of preservation, and is closely related to the subject of the present chapter. (See Appendix B. First or Library edition.)

It is not to be supposed that the failure of the efforts above spoken of, to impose religious observances upon the people *by law*, has at all changed the principles or purposes of any religious party concerned in such movements; and it is doubtless an important safeguard to freedom that no one denomination possesses sufficient strength and unity to control the councils of the nation. No party of religionists, who have already yielded up the citadel of the soul to spiritual tyranny, are fit to legislate for a free people. Hence, there was nothing that Mr. Campbell feared more, as to its probable effect upon public liberty, than the preponderance of a religious sect, and especially that of the Roman Catholic Church. He therefore constantly sought to weaken the power of existing hierarchies, to expose the schemes of priestly ambition, and to support all just claims of freedom both in Church and State.

MEMOIRS

OF

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,

EMBRACING

A VIEW OF THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS AND PRINCIPLES
OF THE RELIGIOUS REFORMATION
WHICH HE ADVOCATED.

BY ROBERT RICHARDSON.

More sweet than odors caught by him who sails
Near spicy shores of Araby the blest,
A thousand times more exquisitely sweet,
The freight of holy feeling which we meet,
In thoughtful moments, wafted by the gales
From fields where good men walk, or bow'rs wherein they rest
WORDSWORTH.

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MEMOIRS

OF

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

CHAPTER I.

Religious dissensions, now to be ended—Public oral debates—Discussion with Mr. Walker—Its origin—Its progress—Its results—First family bereavement—The family cemetery—The Holy Spirit the true seal of the New Covenant.

TO put an end to religious controversy had been one of the chief aims of the Reformation proposed by Thomas Campbell. It was his conviction that, if men would adopt the Bible as the only standard of religious truth, and accept the meaning of its words as determined simply by the rules of language, its true sense would be sufficiently obvious, and there would be universal agreement in relation to the things which it revealed. It was his fond hope that religious dissensions might be thus brought to a close, and that there would be thenceforward no occasion whatever for controversy except with those who denied the divine authority of the Bible. Speaking of the primitive Church as described in the New Testament, he said: "Let *us* do as we are there expressly told *they* did; say as *they* said; that is, profess and practice, as therein expressly enjoined by precept and precedent, in every possible instance after their approved example, and in so doing we shall realize and exhibit all that unity and uni-

formity that the primitive Church possessed, or that the law of Christ requires."

The view which he thus adopted was, indeed, simply the great fundamental principle of Protestantism itself, as well stated by Chillingworth in the following words:

"Let all men believe the Scripture, and that only, and endeavor to believe it in the true sense, and require no more of others, and they shall find this not only a better, but the only means to suppress heresy and restore unity. For he that believes the Scripture sincerely, and endeavors to believe it in the true sense, cannot possibly be a heretic. And if no more than this were required of any man to make him capable of the Church's communion, then all men, so qualified, though they were different in opinion, notwithstanding any such difference, must be of necessity one in communion."—*The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation*, p. 23 (Bohn's edition).

The distinction between *faith* and *opinion* was here clearly indicated, nothing more being proposed in order to communion and unity than to believe "the Scripture *only*," and to endeavor "to believe it in the *true sense*." In laying down this principle, the intelligibility of Scripture was necessarily implied, and it was not for a moment doubted that its true sense could be gathered from its words taken according to their established use and in their just connection; since to have thought otherwise would have been to regard the Bible as having no determinate meaning at all. With Thomas Campbell, therefore, and all who really adopted this principle, a simple appeal to Scripture was regarded as *decisive* in relation to every matter on which it treated; while, on the other hand, as respects the innumerable religious questions which have been or might be started, aside

from Revelation, these, as merely human inferences and opinions, were to be considered as without authority over the conscience, and as of too little importance in themselves to be subjects of debate or strife. During his whole life, Thomas Campbell was accordingly most careful to avoid all untaught questions. He did not seem indeed to regard them as worthy of even a moment's consideration, and it was usual with him to remark, in reply to any one who proposed such a question, "Well, sir, if you will show me how your inquiry affects in any way your salvation, I will endeavor to answer it." Nor was Alexander less firm in adhering to the principle adopted, though, from the greater discursiveness of his mind and his fondness for investigation, he seemed somewhat more indulgent to such questioners.

In the confident expectation that controversy might thus be wholly dispensed with among believers, it had been stated by Thomas Campbell, in the Address of the Christian Association of Washington, that "controversy formed no part of the intended plan," and that "though written objections to the proposed movement would be thankfully received and seriously considered, verbal controversy was absolutely refused." The utility, indeed, of friendly discussion in order to elicit truth and bring out the whole Scripture testimony in relation to any particular subject, was always admitted, and, in private, constantly experienced; but the feelings of the Reformers were at first decidedly opposed to *public* oral debates even on scriptural themes, as being not favorable to the promotion of Christian union, since persons thus publicly committed to the support of particular views were too often tempted to strive for victory, rather than for truth, and to refuse to sound argument and

Scripture proof that candid and dispassionate consideration which they deserved.

Hence it was that, when Alexander Campbell was urged in the spring of 1820, to engage in a public oral debate with Mr. Walker, on the question of Baptism, he at first declined to consent, "not regarding," as he said, "public debates" to be "the proper method of proceeding in contending for the faith once delivered to the saints." He had adopted this conclusion, however, more from deference to his father's feelings on the subject, than from his own matured convictions of expediency or from his natural temperament. Conscious of dialectic power, and possessed of unfaltering courage, he had been characterized even in his boyhood, by his readiness to maintain the right, and to enter the lists in debate with any worthy champion among his schoolmates. His quick perception of logical relations; his wide range of thought; his great fluency of speech and the keenness of his wit, peculiarly adapted him to public discussion; and the struggle was by no means slight when, from respect to existing circumstances, he felt obliged to repress his native ardor, and to keep within the lines which his father's caution had prescribed. His peculiar abilities as a public disputant were not, however, destined to remain inactive in the field of the Reformation. Already had the aggressive course of the "Synod of Pittsburg" led him, while yet a mere youth, to appear in public vindication of the Christian Association, and the time had now arrived when a fresh challenge from Presbyterianism was to call him out fairly and fully into that field of polemical discussion in which he was to find a proper scope for his abilities.

It had happened, during the fall of 1819, that a Mr. John Birch, a Baptist preacher at Flat Rock, near Mt.

Pleasant, Ohio, had baptized an unusual number of converts. This success, awakening the zeal of the minister of the Secession church at Mt. Pleasant, Mr. John Walker, induced him to deliver a series of sermons in praise of infant baptism, and in contravention of the principles entertained by the Baptists. On one of these occasions, Mr. Birch was present, and as Mr. Walker, in the course of his remarks, made some quotations from the works of Dr. Baldwin which seemed unfair, he, after sermon, took the liberty of asking Mr. Walker to what portion of Dr. Baldwin's works he referred. Upon this, a short dispute arose as to the meaning of the passage quoted, and this was followed by several interviews and some correspondence, ending in a challenge by Mr. Walker to Mr. Birch, or any other Baptist preacher of good standing whom Mr. Birch might choose, to come forward publicly and debate with him the question of baptism. Mr. Birch readily accepted the proposition, and from his high opinion of Mr. Campbell's ability, at once wrote to him urging him to undertake the discussion.

To this appeal, Mr. Campbell, in the circumstances in which he was placed, was unable to give an immediate reply. He kept it, therefore, for some time under advisement. Mr. Birch meanwhile renewed the application, and finally on 27th of March addressed to Mr. Campbell the following note:

"DEAR BROTHER: I once more undertake to address you by letter; as we are commanded not to weary in well-doing, I am disposed to persevere. I am coming this third time unto you. I cannot persuade myself that you will refuse to attend to the dispute with Mr. Walker; therefore I do not feel disposed to complain because you have sent me no answer. True, I have expected an answer, signifying your ac-

ceptance of the same. I am as yet disappointed, but am not offended nor discouraged. I can truly say it is the unanimous wish of all the church to which I belong that you should be the disputant. It is Brother Nathaniel Skinner's desire; it is the wish of all the brethren with whom I have conversed that you should be the man. You will, I hope, send me an answer by Brother Jesse Martin, who has promised to bear this unto you. Come, brother; come over into Macedonia and help us. Yours, in the best of bonds,

"JOHN BIRCH."

Being thus called upon by the church, and urged by personal friends, he could no longer refuse to yield to his convictions of public duty. His devotion to the cause of truth, and, as he says, his "unwillingness to appear, much more to feel, afraid or ashamed to defend it," overcame the scruples arising from his aversion to do anything which might be construed into a sanction of modern religious controversy. Having succeeded, accordingly, in convincing his father that, however much the usual unprofitable debates upon human theories and opinions were to be deplored and avoided, no valid objection could lie against a public defence of revealed truth, for which the Scripture afforded abundant precedent, he at length informed Mr. Birch of his willingness to meet Mr. Walker.

These facts are of some importance, because Mr. Campbell, from the numerous public discussions in which he was subsequently engaged, came to be regarded by many as a person disposed to provoke debate, and as seeking opportunity to assail the religious views of others. The history of the case shows, however, that here, as heretofore, he was acting entirely on the defensive; that he was placed under an imperious necessity to appear in behalf of the interests

of truth, and that he had not in any respect provoked or originated controversy with the Pædobaptists.

As soon as Mr. Walker heard of Mr. Campbell's acceptance, he addressed to him the following note, which, in its style and spirit, shows sufficiently who was the dictating and leading party:

"NEW ATHENS, May 30, 1820.

"MR. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, *Buffalo Seminary:*

"I think proper to intimate to you that I have chosen the Rev. Samuel Findley to preside at the time of our public dispute: you have the privilege of choosing another; you will please to make such choice, and let him meet with Mr. Findley prior to the day of public dispute, that we may not be detained. They should determine the manner of dispute, and fix rules by which we should proceed, and preside, not to give judgment, but to keep order.

"Yours, with respect,

"JOHN WALKER."

Mr. Walker, it thus appeared, had decided that the moderators should refrain from giving judgment upon the merits of the discussion, and had selected on his side Mr. Findley, who had already, as has been seen, signalized on various occasions his intense hostility to Mr. Campbell. The latter chose, on his part, Mr. Jacob Martin, and the following rules for the discussion were adopted:

"1. Each speaker shall have the privilege of speaking forty minutes without interruption, if he thinks proper to use them all. 2. Mr. Walker shall open the debate and Mr. Campbell shall close it. 3. The moderators are merely to keep order, not to pronounce judgment on the merits of the debate. 4. The proper subject of the ordinance of baptism is first to be discussed, then the mode of baptism. 5. The debate must be conducted with decorum, and all improper allusions or passionate language guarded against. 6. The debate shall

be continued from day to day till the people are satisfied, or till the moderators think that enough has been said on each topic of debate."

Monday morning, the 19th of June, having been appointed as the time for the commencement of the discussion, the parties assembled, accordingly, early on that day at the place agreed upon, Mr. Campbell being accompanied by his father and a few friends who felt a particular interest in the result. The place selected was Mt. Pleasant, in Ohio, a village some twenty-three miles distant from Mr. Campbell's residence, and situated in the midst of a very beautiful and fertile country, gently undulating and greatly improved by the careful culture and industry characteristic of the Quaker farmers who constituted a large portion of the surrounding population. Comfortable dwellings, rich fields of clover, substantial fences and thrifty orchards greeted the eye on every side, with here and there luxuriant groves or smaller clumps of stately forest trees. This region was quite thickly settled, and as considerable interest in the subject had been already created, and public polemical discussions were at this time quite a novelty, a large and attentive assembly was in attendance.

Immediately upon his arrival, Mr. Campbell was privately informed by several persons that Mr. Walker, under the impression that he was of an irascible temperament, had intimated his intention to throw him off his guard by irritating language, so as to gain the advantage over him. Mr. Walker, however, had been entirely misinformed, as Mr. Campbell, though of an earnest and ardent nature, was remarkably self-possessed and firm; and if he really intended to pursue the course stated, he thought it best to abandon his purpose

An interview of more than an hour which he had with Mr. Campbell before the debate began may perhaps have undeceived him; but, however this may have been, it is certain that he made no such attempt, but acted from the beginning to the end of the discussion in a much more gentlemanly manner than Mr. Campbell anticipated, so that the debate was conducted throughout with a commendable degree of coolness and moderation.

Mr. Walker's first speech was very short, simply stating the argument upon which throughout he chiefly relied.

"My friends," said he, "I don't intend to speak long at one time, perhaps not more than five or ten minutes, and will therefore come to the point at once: I maintain that baptism came in the room of circumcision; that the covenant on which the Jewish Church was built, and to which circumcision is the seal, is the same with the covenant on which the Christian Church is built, and to which baptism is the seal; that the Jews and the Christians are the same body politic under the same lawgiver and husband; hence the Jews were called the congregation of the Lord; and the Bridegroom of the Church says, 'My love, my undefiled is one'—consequently the infants of believers have a right to baptism."

Mr. Campbell, upon rising, after a modest exordium which was well calculated to gain the favorable attention of the audience, went on to add some remarks in justification of the practice of public discussion which had been recently with himself and his father a subject of careful inquiry. After then referring to his own change of views in reference to baptism, he entered upon the refutation of the argument stated by Mr. Walker, showing that Pædobaptists acted as if they did not themselves believe it true, since, in point of fact,

they did not put baptism in the room of circumcision, as they did not confine it to males only and extend it to servants as well as children; perform it on the eighth day, etc.; and then proceeded to point out various differences between the two institutions which rendered the supposed substitution of the one for the other impossible. Among these, he particularizes the fact that circumcision required only carnal descent from Abraham, or covenant relation to Abraham, but that baptism demanded faith in Christ as its indispensable prerequisite; and that baptism differed from circumcision in the nature of the blessings it conveyed, which were spiritual and not temporal, etc.

"Baptism," said he, "is connected with the promise of the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit." This utterance is worthy of notice as his first definite and public recognition of the peculiar office of baptism. While, however, he thus, in 1820, distinctly perceived and asserted a scriptural connection between baptism and remission of sins, he seems at this time to have viewed it only in the light of an *argument*, and to have had but a faint appreciation of its great practical importance. A momentary and passing glance only seems as yet to have been directed to the great purpose of baptism, which subsequently assumed so conspicuous a position in the restoration of the primitive gospel.

As to the differences alleged between baptism and circumcision, Mr. Walker affected to regard them as of little consequence, saying in general that Christ had a right to add or alter as he pleased, and giving as a reason for the selection of the eighth day for circumcision that the Jewish mother was ceremonially unclean seven days, and was not permitted to accompany the child to the sanctuary at an earlier period. Mr. Camp-

bell's superior knowledge of the Bible enabled him at once to confute this assertion and to show from Lev. xii. 2–4, that the mother was not permitted to come into the sanctuary until the end of *forty days*, and furthermore that the eighth day had been appointed four hundred years before the giving of the law which designated the periods of purification. The chief point debated, however, was the identity of the covenants on which the Jewish and Christian institutions rested, as asserted by Mr. Walker. In refutation of this, Mr. Campbell adduced Paul's account of the "new" covenant, founded upon "better promises," and the subject was discussed at considerable length.

Such were some of the principal points brought forward during the first day. As Mr. Walker used considerable repetition and often recurred to his argument from the covenants without considering the refutation given by Mr. Campbell, the latter employed a portion of his time in directing the attention of the audience to some of the general principles of the Reformation he was laboring to establish; which, if admitted, must sweep away the entire foundation of Mr. Walker's system. Some of these were: the supreme authority of Scripture, and the necessity of a positive command for every religious institution, which in no case could be based upon mere reasoning or upon human tradition.

On the following morning, Mr. Walker reiterated his views concerning the covenants, and appealed to the four cases of household baptism mentioned in the New Testament as evidence that infants were baptized in apostolic times. Mr. Campbell, however, showed it to be wholly without proof that there were infants in any of these families. He proved, on the contrary, from incidental circumstances stated in each case, that there

could have been none. "All the house of Cornelius," as McLean concisely remarks, "*feared* God and received the Holy Spirit. Lydia's household were *comforted as brethren*. The word of the Lord *was spoken to all* in the jailer's house, and they *all rejoiced, believing in God* as well as himself. *All* the house of Crispus *believed* on the Lord, and the house of Stephanas are said to have addicted themselves *to the ministry of the saints*. Now, if these things which are affirmed of *all* the baptized will not apply to infants, then it is plain there were no infants baptized in those houses."

Finding that Mr. Walker continued to repeat his argument from the covenants, Mr. Campbell resolved to give it a more thorough sifting, especially as Mr. Walker seemed to labor under the impression that he desired to evade it. Intimating, therefore, that it was his purpose to publish the debate, he propounded certain queries to Mr. Walker, in order that he might have a precise statement of the ground he occupied and forestall any charges of misrepresentation. Mr. Walker, admitting that the positions attributed to him were correctly stated as written down by Mr. Campbell, proposed to him in turn certain questions, which he answered in his next speech, in which he again proposed questions to Mr. Walker. At this juncture he was interrupted by Mr. Findley, who objected to this mode of proceeding. He said that, "as the object of this meeting was the edification of the public, he could not conceive how the asking and answering of questions could promote their edification. He desired that we should proceed in some way more conducive to their edification." To this Mr. Campbell replied: "Mr. Findley, you are doubtless an advocate for the Westminster Creed and Catechism, and, I presume, as such, must

agree with your brethren that the catechetical mode of instruction is the best. As we are now proceeding as the Westminster divines direct, I think you cannot without a dereliction of principle object." This effectually silenced Mr. Findley's objections, and Mr. Walker went on, in reply to Mr. Campbell's queries, to assert:

"*That temporal and spiritual blessings were enjoyed under both covenants through the righteousness of Christ, and that the covenants were therefore the same in this respect.* He added that all the blessings mankind ever enjoyed, even the very least, were enjoyed through Christ's righteousness."

"This thesis," said Mr. Campbell in reply, "the Covenanters of Europe maintained, and the Seceders opposed it. The Seceders in Scotland maintained that it was derogatory to the redemption of Christ to suppose that he died 'to purchase food and raiment for mankind, which the Almighty had given to the brutes that perish.' Moreover, the Seceders affirmed that it was an error of a very pernicious tendency to say that wicked men, dying impenitent, had enjoyed any part of the purchase of Christ, which, upon the Covenanters' hypothesis, they must, if their food and raiment, houses, lands and tenements were a part of his purchase. Mr. W., then, abandons the 'Mother Kirk' of Scotland and joins the Covenanters, in order to maintain that the covenant of circumcision is the same as the covenant of grace. This, with me, however, is a small matter, if he did not also oppose Moses and Paul." He then showed that the claim of privilege under the covenant of circumcision was simply carnal descent from Abraham. "We have Abraham to our father," was the claim urged by the Jews. On the other hand, the spiritual covenant placed the enjoyment of its blessings on a very different basis. "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed and heirs, according to the promise."

Mr. Walker asserted also,

"*That the duties incumbent upon the subjects of both covenants were the same.*"

"That is," said Mr. Campbell, "'an eye for an eye' and 'a tooth for a tooth' is the same as 'resist not evil'—'hate your enemy' is the same as 'love your enemies.' . . . The paying of tithes to the Levites, the buying and selling slaves of the heathen, etc., are all the same in substance with paying stipends to the clergy, buying and selling slaves in the United States, etc."

Mr. Walker affirmed further,

"*That there were no penalties under either covenant.*"

This extraordinary declaration was readily exposed by a reference to the numerous penalties denounced against violations of the Mosaic law (Deut. xxviii.), and to the punishments attached to the New, as in 1 Cor. xi.

Mr. Walker then finally urged,

"*That Abraham was not the father of a twofold seed, but of the faithful alone.*"

"That," said Mr. Campbell, "is the most flat contradiction of plain Scripture testimony I have heard from the lips of a professed teacher of religion. 'I have made thee (by covenant) the father of many nations,' Rom. iv. 17; and verses 11, 12. 'And he received the sign of circumcision, . . . that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised;' and 'the father of the circumcision,' not only as their natural father, but to such of them 'as walk in the steps of that faith of *our father Abraham.*' . . . That he was the natural father of the whole Jewish nation and the spiritual father of all true believers, whether Jews or Gentiles, Mr. Walker himself, I am convinced, has often observed; and it is now owing to the confusion of his mind and the pernicious tendency of a corrupt system that he does not confess it."

Mr. Walker now abandoned, somewhat hastily, his favorite argument from the covenants, which, under Mr. Campbell's inquisition, had led him to make assertions so unwarrantable; and passing to the argument from antiquity, adduced some of the primitive fathers to prove

the existence of the practice of infant baptism in the early Church.

Admitting that both infant baptism and infant sprinkling were very ancient practices, Mr. Campbell denied that mere antiquity could prove them to be right, since many things were introduced, even in the first and second centuries, which are admitted to be corruptions, and which would have to be received upon the same ground; as, for instance, the divine right of episcopacy, the observance of Easter, the celibacy of the clergy, the doctrine of purgatory, etc. He affirmed, however, that infant baptism was not taught or practiced for many years after the apostolic age, there being no record extant that mentions it for at least one hundred and fifty years after the Christian era, the testimony of the primitive fathers being, up to this time, exclusively in favor of believers' baptism. "The first, indeed, who mentions infant baptism," said he, "is Tertullian, who flourished from A. D. 194 to 216, and is ranked among the writers of the third century. And even he speaks of it to disapprove of it, and says of it, along with other things of a similar nature, 'If you demand a law for these practices taken from the Scriptures, *we cannot find one there*, but we must answer that it is *tradition* that has established them, *custom* that has authorized them and *faith* that has made them to be observed.'"

During this part of the discussion, Mr. Findley again interrupted Mr. Campbell, and objected to his reading passages from Robinson, on the ground that the latter had impugned the character of St. Cyprian. After some delay, the question was referred to the assembly, which decided, by a large majority, that the extracts should be read. The testimony of the fathers having been fully examined upon the subject of the origin of

infant baptism, the debate was adjourned for half an hour at two o'clock on Tuesday, with the understanding that, on reassembling, the *action*, or, as it is termed, the *mode*, of baptism was to be discussed. Mr. Campbell was surprised to find, when the time arrived, that Mr. Findley, at the instance of Mr. Walker, wished to limit the further discussion to one speech on each side. This desire for so abrupt a termination he had not expected from those who in the beginning had proposed to adjourn from day to day until everything was fully discussed, but he consented to close with two speeches on each side, on the ground that if it was sufficient for them it was quite sufficient for him.

Mr. Walker then went on to adduce the usual arguments to prove that "pouring and sprinkling are scriptural modes of baptism, urging that the expression 'in water' might be rendered *with water*, and that βαπτιζω did not necessarily signify to dip, but to sprinkle or pour, because in some cases it implies 'to wash.'" In reply, Mr. Campbell quoted the eminent Presbyterian translator and critic, Dr. George Campbell, affirming that βαπτιζω should be rendered immerse or dip, and that in construction with it the preposition εν should be translated *in*, and not *with*. These concessions he corroborated by the authority of a number of the most eminent scholars and by the standard lexicons of the Greek language. To this Mr. Walker made but a feeble rejoinder, closing with a few remarks to the audience. Mr. Campbell then adduced some additional and overwhelming proofs with regard to the action signified by baptism, and in concluding the debate took occasion to speak thus of the course pursued by Mr. Findley:

"I am sorry I cannot compliment Mr. Findley, Mr Walker's moderator, for his impartiality on this occasion.

His partiality has been so manifest to you all as to require no comment from me. I merely wish to let you know that I am conscious of it, and that my not speaking of it sooner was not from the want of perception, but to preserve that decorum in the course of the debate which I considered comely, and from which I was determined not to be forced, even by treatment still more flagrant. . . . I freely forgive him, however, attributing it to a misguided zeal, and hope you also will forgive him."

After noticing some other matters, he then thus, in the presence of Mr. Walker and Mr. Findley, fearlessly expressed his opinion of the clergy:

"You have heard," said he to the audience, "and patiently attended to this tedious debate. What are you now to do? I will answer this question for you: Go home and read your Bibles; examine the testimonies of those holy oracles; judge for yourselves, and be not implicit followers of the clergy Amongst the clergy of different denominations, I charitably think, there are a few good men; but, as a body of men, 'they have taken away the key of knowledge from the people.' And *how*, do you say? By teaching you to look to them for instruction as children to a father; by preventing you from judging for yourselves, through an impression that you are not competent to judge for yourselves. This is a prevailing opinion with many. Of what use, then, is the Bible to the bulk of mankind, if you are not to presume to examine it for yourselves, or to think yourselves capable of judging of it? This is to make you the dupes of haughty leaders, who will cause you to err. To attempt, directly or indirectly, to dissuade you from thinking and examining for yourselves, by putting creeds already framed into your hands, or the works of men instead of the pure Word, is, in my opinion, so far depriving you of the key of knowledge. I do not say that all the clergy are doing so, but I am sure that a vast majority of them are doing so."

It must be confessed that Mr. Campbell's knowledge

of the existing state of religious society, and his acquaintance with the clergy heretofore, in a good degree justified the conceptions he had formed of them. He had found them, both in Europe and America, opposed to reforms; ever on the alert to repress inquiry; ever seeking to exercise complete control over men's opinions, and ever ready to employ against any who presumed to dispute their authority the unchristian weapons of detraction and persecution. In vain had Luther placed the Bible in the hands of the people, if the clergy alone could comprehend it, and were allowed the exclusive privilege of explaining it. It was, therefore, necessary that men should be exhorted to break the seal thus imposed upon the sacred volume, and to read and examine it for themselves.

"Because I have taken this course," he continued, "which I recommend to you, I have been stigmatized with many opprobrious epithets. Sometimes as being very 'changeable,' although I have to this day undeviatingly pursued the same course which I commenced nearly as soon as I was of age, and have now prosecuted it for almost ten years—viz., to teach, to believe, to practice nothing in religion for which I cannot produce positive precept or approved precedent from the word of God. . . . And because I maintain that the New Testament Scriptures are a perfect, complete and perspicuous rule of faith and practice, as far as respects Christianity, I am called an Antinomian and am impeached with utterly throwing away the Old Testament Scriptures. These, and many other insinuations as malicious and unfounded, have been suggested against me, which are as far from my sentiments as the east is distant from the west. These vile slanders may serve the cause of a party for a little while, but will ultimately fall upon the heads of the fabricators of them. If you, then, should think of judging for yourselves, and of following the dictates of the Divine word and your own consciences en-

lightened by it, you must not think that any strange thing has happened unto you if you should become the objects of reproach. But remember, 'the triumph of the wicked is short,' and 'if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye.'"

During the progress of this discussion he seems to have become more and more favorable to such methods of public disputation—a result partly due, perhaps, to his easy triumph over his opponent, and his growing consciousness of the possession of powers peculiarly adapted to such encounters, but still more to the conviction that they afforded a favorable means of diffusing amongst the people a knowledge of those religious principles to which he was himself devoted. On this occasion he felt, moreover, that as the challenge had come from the Pædobaptist ranks, and Mr. Walker had so signally failed to prove infant baptism a divine ordinance, it was becoming in him to return the compliment, and to invite any other Pædobaptist teacher to try to do what Mr. Walker had attempted in vain. He, therefore, in concluding, gave the following general invitation:

"I this day publish to all present that I feel disposed to meet any Pædobaptist minister of any denomination, of good standing in his party, and I engage to prove in a debate with him, either *vivâ voce* or with the pen, that infant sprinkling is a human tradition and injurious to the well-being of society, religious and political."

Such a challenge as this was well calculated to arrest forcibly the attention of society. This was what Mr. Campbell chiefly designed by it, though he was himself fond of bold and strongly-stated propositions. This was in harmony with the character of his mind, which was disposed to take a wide and exhaustive view of

every subject and seize at once upon principles and results. He could not be content with the simple and common theme, that "infant sprinkling is a human tradition." He could not confine his thoughts merely to the validity or invalidity of that ordinance, as was customary. He must take a wider view, and believing that this "human tradition carnalized and secularized the Church," "introduced an ungodly priesthood into it" and "prevented the union of Christians," he could well affirm it to be "injurious" to religious "society." And not only so, but knowing that the confounding of the Jewish and Christian institutions which it required led to national religious establishments, and filled the clergy with an eager thirst for political power, and that persecutions had generally proceeded from Pædobaptist parties, he would assert still further that it was "injurious" to political "society" and inimical to public liberty.

In the frankness and fearlessness of his independent spirit, he, from this time forward, held himself in readiness, accordingly, to meet within the lists of public discussion any worthy champion who might appear in opposition to the truths he taught, or in defence of popular religious error. Such was his love for truth that to it he was ever ready to sacrifice ease and reputation, fortune, and even life.

"We ardently wish for," said he—"we court discussion. Great is the truth and mighty above all things, and shall prevail. We constantly pray for its progress and desire to be valiant for it. *Truth is our riches.* Blessed are they that possess it in their hearts, who know its value, who feel its power, who live under its influence. They shall lie down in the dust in peace, they shall rest from their labors in hope, and in the morning of the resurrection they shall rise in glory and be recompensed for all their trials and sufferings in its support."

As soon as Mr. Campbell had taken his seat, Mr. Findley took it upon himself to give his opinion of the discussion, and when Judge Martin, the other moderator, attempted to express his disapprobation of this violation of the rules agreed upon, Mr. Findley prevented him by telling the audience that the debate was over and that they might now retire. He then took his hat and passed out through the crowd amidst some hisses and other marks of disapprobation. The people, however, with the exception of some two or three persons, kept their places until Thomas Campbell, being called upon to close the meeting, rose and dismissed them in the usual form.

Such were the circumstances and general features of Mr. Campbell's first oral debate, which greatly increased his reputation, and made, at the time, a profound impression on the community around Mount Pleasant. Even the Pædobaptists felt that he had gained the victory, and being greatly chafed at this result, they made various efforts to palliate or remedy the defeat. Mr. Findley was understood to excuse Mr. Walker on the ground of "insufficient preparation." Many, however, were disposed, rather ungenerously, to impute the failure of their cause in his hands to incompetency, and in consequence of the impressions made, Mr. Walker suddenly lost the reputation he had previously enjoyed as a man of superior abilities. The effects of the discussion were much more widely extended by its publication soon afterward from notes of the speeches taken down at the time by Salathiel Curtis, who acted as clerk, and who belonged to neither party. Mr Campbell added also a variety of curious and interesting matter in the form of an appendix, in which, with his accustomed liberality, he invited Mr. Walker

by letter to take part, in order that he might have an opportunity of supplying any deficiencies in his portion of the debate. To this, however, Mr. Walker made no response.

It was while awaiting a reply from Mr. Walker during the month of August (1820), that Mr. Campbell was called to suffer the loss of his youngest child, Amanda Corneigle, who had been born on the 16th of the preceding February. This was the first death in his family, and was deeply felt, for Mr. Campbell was possessed of warm sympathies and strong natural attachments. He found consolation, however, not in dependence upon any religious rite of human invention, but in his firm conviction that the redemption of Christ extended to all dying in infancy and childhood, who were alike incapable of faith and of transgression, but were related to Christ through that humanity which he bore in triumph from the grave, and who were by him even proposed as models to those who sought to enter the kingdom of heaven. Nothing indeed was more striking in Mr. Campbell than his perfect trust in the wisdom, power and goodness of God, so that in all the numerous bereavements he experienced he could say with resignation, "Thy will be done"—a petition which, when uttered in humility and faith, renders all ordinary means of consolation quite unnecessary. Fond as he was of life, and of those around him in the family circle, no one could be more deeply impressed with the uncertainty and transitory nature of earthly ties. Upon this theme he often dwelt with much feeling, both in social converse and in his prayers, as well as in his public addresses, quoting those touching passages of Scripture which describe man's earthly destiny, with a peculiar emphasis and intonation, which showed how fully he

realized their import, and how familiar such reflections were to his own heart.

It was in harmony with these convictions, and with the event which had just occurred, that he at this time selected a piece of ground upon the farm for a family burial-place. Immediately from the public road in front of the house there rose a sloping hill covered in front by the trees of the orchard and passing at its summit into a broad tract of level table-land. A little to the south of the orchard, where the winding Buffalo swept along the base of a precipitous part of the hill, a slightly-isolated eminence, flanked upon the west by a beautiful clump of native oaks and maples, presented itself as well adapted to the purpose, commanding a charming landscape, and by its elevation and distance being sufficiently retired from the public road below. Upon the side of the orchard, however, it could be readily reached by a pleasant pathway, or farther to the right by vehicles, by means of the winding farm-road which ascended gradually to the cultivated table-land. This spot, being accordingly selected and enclosed, became a favorite place of resort for meditation in the evening hour, and the favorite place of interment for all the branches of the family.

During this year various individuals continued to present themselves for baptism, and were subsequently recognized as members of the church at Brush Run, though some lived at too great a distance to attend regularly. Among these may be mentioned Mrs. Bakewell, an English lady at Wellsburg, who was baptized in the fall of 1820. On the 21st of May following, her daughter, Selina Huntingdon Bakewell, came forward and was baptized by Mr. Campbell at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, the Ohio being very high at

the time. This young lady had, some years before, become acquainted with John Brown, from seeing him at Mr. Campbell's meetings in Wellsburg. On one occasion he had invited her to accompany him home to see his family, and a warm mutual attachment had grown up between her and Mrs. Campbell, which, a few years later, led to events not less interesting than unexpected.

The first edition of the Debate with Mr. Walker, consisting of one thousand copies, printed at Steubenville, being after some months exhausted, a second one of three thousand copies was published at Pittsburg, to which were appended some severe strictures upon three letters published in the Presbyterian Magazine at Philadelphia, and written by the Rev. Samuel Ralston. These letters professed to review the debate at Mount Pleasant, and labored to defend and maintain the cause of Pædobaptism, but were shown by Mr. Campbell to contain many misrepresentations of his views, and to abound in false criticisms and assertions without proof. To these strictures Mr. Ralston subsequently replied in a second series of letters, which, together with the first, were published afterward in pamphlet form, and circulated diligently throughout the region of country in which the debate was held. It was soon after this performance that Mr. Ralston received from Washington College the title of Doctor of Divinity.

Mr. Campbell's earnestness to establish correct views of baptism did not proceed from any over-estimate of its importance, but simply from his love of truth and his desire that this institution should be allowed to occupy its proper place in the economy of the gospel. Nor did his pointed exposures of error, or keen retorts in his public discussions of the subject, arise from any

want of kindly feeling for his opponents, but from his native vivacity and his sincere conviction that the errors he was combating had the most injurious influence upon the interests of religion and of society itself. Upon this point he himself remarked in his printed debate with Mr. Walker:

"With regard to the spirit and temper of mind in which this work was written, I can conscientiously say it was that of benevolence and candor. If any things ironical or acrimonious have been said, it has been owing more to a genius naturally inclined to irony, which I have often to deny, than to a spirit of rancor or bitterness, which I am not conscious of possessing toward any party in Christendom. I sincerely pity and cordially deplore the errors of my Pædobaptist brethren in this important ordinance; not only on account of the perversion of the ordinance, but also on account of its obscuring influence and beclouding effect upon their views of the Church of Christ, its government, its discipline, and, I might add, some of its doctrines."

Among the errors involved in Pædobaptist views, which he discusses in the appendix to the debate, he calls attention particularly to that extravagant conception of baptism which makes it *the seal* of the covenant of grace. This had been repeatedly asserted by Mr. Walker, as well as by Mr. Ralston in his letters, and, indeed, was the main position of the Pædobaptist system. Adopting the definition of a *seal* as "a confirmative mark or attestation of some covenant agreement," he shows that baptism could not possibly fulfill this office, and, aware that the best method of confuting error is to present truth, he goes on to exhibit the true seal of the Christian covenant:

"Under the New Testament," says he (Appendix to De-

bate, p. 169–171), "the only seal is that *mark* or *impression* which the spirit of God makes upon the heart of the believer; because the subjects of this convenant are *personally* and not *nationally* considered. The object of *this seal* is the personal satisfaction of the individual, and not an external mark set upon him for the confirmation of others, as circumcision was designed more for the satisfaction of others than for the subject of it—to convince the world that God had actually fulfilled his covenant in raising up a Saviour in the family of Abraham. Hence *the seal* which is stamped under the New Testament is altogether confirmative of the faith of the subject, and is beautifully described in these words: 'To him that overcometh will I give of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and on the stone *a name written which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.*'

"The only seal spoken of in the New Testament as the guarantee and property of all Christians is '*this seal of the Holy Spirit.*' Neither baptism nor the Lord's Supper is ever so called, nor can it be so called in conformity to the meaning of words; yet we admit that both are confirmative of the faith and hope of the Christian. These ordinances have, for a long time, been called 'seals of the covenant of grace;' with what propriety, I confess, I never yet could see. One thing is certain: there is no authority from the Scriptures for so calling them. Nor can I understand how any human being could use them as seals, or as '*sealing ordinances.*' I should be glad to see a scriptural and rational explanation of them as such. I do not wish to derogate, nor do I, in my opinion, derogate, anything from either their solemnity or importance by saying that I do not conceive how they can be called 'sealing ordinances.' Baptism is an ordinance by which we formally profess Christianity. It is the first constitutional act in the profession of Christianity. It confirms nothing in the covenant of Christ that was not confirmed before. It is no stamp nor confirmative mark of that covenant, for *it* was ratified by the blood of Christ. The baptized person carries no mark, no seal of confirmation, that

is visible to himself or to others, in consequence of his obedience to this rite. The Lord's Supper is commemorative of the death of Christ, and an expression of our faith in his atoning sacrifice, by which he has made peace, and by which we enjoy the peace of God in our hearts. It confirms our faith, it promotes our love, it cherishes our hope, and produces benevolence and brotherly kindness. But our participation of it confirms nothing in the covenant of Christ that was not confirmed before. We might, with as much propriety, call all the ordinances of the gospel seals of the covenant of grace as these. The whole blessings of this covenant have been as much enjoyed by many who are now in heaven, who could not, who did not receive these ordinances, as by any other saints in heaven or on earth. The thief upon the cross had as full an enjoyment of them as any other in ancient or modern times. And many, both under the patriarchal and Christian age, have had all the blessings of redemption as fully bestowed upon them as any who have been baptized and have participated of the Lord's Supper. Now, if baptism and the Lord's Supper were *the seals* of this covenant, it would follow that those who never had received them were deprived of the security for the enjoyment of this covenant; and, of course, had no confirmation of it to them. How much more rationally does the apostle speak of *that seal* which all true Christians enjoy (Eph. i. 13)!—'In whom also after that ye believed ye were SEALED *with that holy spirit of promise* which is the *earnest* of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession unto the praise of his glory.' On these words let it be observed:

"1. That all believers, after believing the gospel, are *sealed* by the Holy Spirit.

"2. That this seal or impression of the Spirit is their sole *earnest* or pledge until they enter into the enjoyment of the inheritance of the saints.

"3. That this seal is a sufficient guarantee and earnest, and requires not any external ordinance to perfect it.

"This testimony is further confirmed by the same apostle and

in the same epistle (Eph. iv. 30): 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, *whereby ye are sealed* unto the day of redemption.'

"So full, so uniform in his testimony, and so explicit is the apostle upon this topic, that in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (i. 22) he expresses it very clearly in these words: 'God who hath also *sealed* us and given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.' This inward mark or seal is explained to be an impressing of the *image* of Him who hath created us anew. 2 Cor. iii. 18.

"Such is the seal of which the New Testament speaks. This is sufficient without our *factitious seals*, which at best are a prostitution of language unwarrantable in the highest degree, and tending to perplex and confuse, rather than to compose and enlighten the mind of the Christian.

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"I expect to hear it said that I have denied the 'seals of the covenant of grace' to maintain my cause. Yet the truth is, I have merely volunteered these remarks. My views are established long since in respect to the subject under discussion; and I deny not, but contend for the *true seal* of the covenant of Christ, which I maintain in a few words *to have ever been the same in substance, it never having had any other seal than that of the Spirit.*"

It was thus that Mr. Campbell ever sought for truth alone, and ever preferred to be "taught of God" in the infallible revelations of the inspired Word, rather than to adopt the assumptions and dogmas of sectarian theology. Had he sought, indeed, merely to expose the existing errors of religious society, his work would have been defective, and might have tended to promote infidelity rather than religion, since it is in these errors that unbelief seeks its chief apology. But from the first his work was *positive*. The process of demolition was not with him an ultimate end, for if he sought to remove the awkward and rickety structures of partyism,

or the broken and accumulated rubbish of human tradition, it was that he might build again upon their ancient sites the bulwarks and towers of Zion. He endeavored, therefore, to replace human creeds and confessions by the Divine Testimony; sectarian division by brotherly union; clerical tyranny by Christian liberty; and the pretended "seal" of infant sprinkling by the reception of that "Holy Spirit of promise" which is, to every true believer, the abiding earnest of a heavenly inheritance.

CHAPTER II.

The Bible and the clergy—Mr. Campbell's chief aim—An important interview—Ministers' meetings—Sidney Rigdon—Seminary discontinued—Mr. McCalla—Christian Baptist—Its character—The clergy and their measures—Redstone Association foiled.

THE Bible which set the soul of Luther free was itself fastened by a chain in the cloister at Erfurth. In like manner, each religious party had sought to secure the Bible within its own narrow sectarian cell, not indeed by a metal or material chain, but by the spiritual fetters of partisan interpretation. The clergy of each denomination, arrogating to themselves the claim of being its divinely-authorized expounders, caused it to speak only in the interests of their sect, and the sacred volume was made, in effect, an armory of proof-texts for the defence of each particular creed. Detached sentences, relating to matters wholly distinct and irrelevant, were placed in imposing array in support of positions assumed by human leaders; while in the pulpit a single clause of a text would often be elaborated into a speculation or fanciful theory which would spread itself abroad in a form as expanded and misty as that of the Genius who, in Arabian story, issued from the fabled vase of Solomon.

The people, on the other hand, seemed to have quietly surrendered into the hands of the clergy all power of discrimination and all independence of thought in religious matters. It seemed in vain that Luther had

released the Bible from imprisonment and given it into the hands of the people in their mother tongue. Clerical art had succeeded in imposing upon it a seal which the laity dared not break, so that while Protestants were amused with the idea that they were in possession of the Bible, this cherished distinction became little else than an empty boast, so long as they could be persuaded that they were unable to understand it.

"What is the great difference," asked Thomas Campbell, "between withholding the Scriptures from the laity, as the Romanists do, and rendering them unintelligible by arbitrary interpretation, forced criticisms and fanciful explanations, as many Protestants do, or making the people believe that they are nearly unintelligible by urging the necessity of what is called a learned clergy to explain them? If a translation can only be understood through the originals, might it not as well have been withheld? If the labors of a learned clergy be still necessary to render a translation intelligible, upon whose skill and fidelity as translators and upon whose judgment as expositors the people must still rely, and to whom they must still look up as their religious guides and dictators, of what use is a translation?"

The sacred volume, thus trammeled as it was among Protestant parties, had, nevertheless, as in the case of Luther, set free from spiritual bondage individuals here and there, who were more or less successful in their pleadings for reform. Among them all, however, there had been no one who took hold of the leading errors of the time with so bold and vigorous a grasp as Alexander Campbell. It was his great aim to liberate those to whom he had access from the thraldom of human tradition; to restore the gospel to its primitive simplicity and the Church to its pristine unity; and he sought to accomplish these noble purposes by putting men really and fully into possession of the Bible. In this respect

his work was, as it were, complementary to that of Luther. The German Reformer gave to the people the opportunity of *reading* the Scripture. It was the part of Mr. Campbell to convince them that they could *comprehend* it—a truth which, however plainly *asserted* in Protestant standards, the clergy of no prominent Pædobaptist party were, at this period, willing *practically* to concede.

Acting himself upon the principles he taught to others, he was accustomed to contemplate the Bible as if it had just fallen into his hands from heaven, and utterly disregarding all systems and theories, and even his own previous conclusions, he was wont to study it constantly with a free and unbiased mind. He had thus made surprising attainments in his knowledge of the word of God. Contemplating the Bible as a connected whole, and classifying its facts, precepts and promises under the different institutions, Patriarchal, Jewish and Christian, he reached enlarged and clear views of their mutual relations and dependence, and was enabled to eliminate from the gospel the errors with which modern Judaizing teachers had corrupted it. Hence his views of the "Sabbath" and his "Sermon on the Law." Hence those wide and comprehensive views of the divine plan of salvation which constantly confounded mere textuary preachers. Hence that freshness and even startling novelty, and that persuasive truthfulness, which pervaded all his public efforts, and which everywhere incited men to religious inquiry and diligent searching of the Scriptures.

His debate with Mr. Walker, though mainly confined to a special subject, was by no means wanting in these characteristic traits. In his exposition of the covenants, the temporal and temporary nature of the Jews' religion;

the spirituality and glory of Christ's kingdom; the distinctions between moral and positive institutions; the definite purpose of Christian baptism; the inanity of human traditions and opinions, and the supreme authority of the word of God, he threw into the discussion thoughts and facts as new to the religious mind of that period as they were essential to true conceptions of the gospel of Christ. It was on account of this freedom of investigation—this *undenominational independence of belief*—that many, even of the Baptists, when the debate was published, though pleased with the triumph of their cause, remained extremely dubious in regard to the orthodoxy of their champion. Quite a number of them, however, less enslaved to party principles and more earnest in pursuit of truth, were greatly struck with the new views presented and the new spirit in which their favorite tenet had been so successfully defended.

Among these, Adamson Bentley, of Warren, Ohio, deserves particular mention. He had, eleven years before, accidentally met with Thomas Campbell and his family, as formerly related, on the way from Philadelphia, but without receiving any personal introduction. Being a preacher of considerable ability, a man of piety and of thoughtful, inquiring mind, a sincere lover of the Bible and of good men, he had attained great influence among the Baptist churches on the Western Reserve—a term applied to a large, fertile and remarkably level portion of Northern Ohio, which had been reserved in the original grant of territory by the Government in reference to certain military claims.

Through this now thickly-settled region quite a number of Baptist churches had already been formed, and Mr. Bentley had recently induced a number of their

preachers to hold annually what were called "ministers' meetings," for the purpose of conversing upon the Scriptures and upon their own religious progress, and improving each other by criticisms upon each other's sermons. In these meetings he acted as secretary, and contributed largely to render them profitable and interesting. It was also agreed upon that the churches should unite to form an association, and on the 30th day of August, 1820, a little more than two months after the Walker Debate, the messengers appointed by the churches met and constituted the "Mahoning Baptist Association." In the spring of 1821, Mr. Bentley obtained a copy of the published Walker Debate, with which he was highly pleased; and learning that the Redstone Association was opposed to Mr. Campbell and was endeavoring to injure him, he said to his friends that, in his opinion, Mr. Campbell had done more for the Baptists than any man in the West, and that he intended, on the first opportunity, to go and pay him a visit. This intention he shortly fulfilled, and the interview led to very important consequences. It is thus detailed by Mr. Campbell (Mil. Harb. for 1848, p. 523):

"In the summer of 1821, while sitting in my portico after dinner, two gentlemen in the costume of clergymen, as then technically called, appeared in my yard, advancing to the house. The elder of them, on approaching me, first introduced himself, saying, 'My name, sir, is Adamson Bentley; this is Elder Sidney Rigdon, both of Warren, Ohio.' On entering my house, and on being introduced to my family, after some refreshment, Elder Bentley said, 'Having just read your debate with Mr. John Walker of our State of Ohio, with considerable interest, and having been deputed by the Mahoning Baptist Association last year to ordain some elders and to set some churches in order, which brought us within

little more than a day's ride of you, we concluded to make a special visit, to inquire of you particularly on sundry matters of much interest to us set forth in the debate, and would be glad, when perfectly at your leisure, to have an opportunity to do so.' I replied that, as soon as the afternoon duties of my seminary were discharged, I would take pleasure in hearing from them fully on such matters.

"After tea, in the evening, we commenced, and prolonged our discourse till the next morning. Beginning with the baptism that John preached, we went back to Adam and forward to the final judgment. The dispensations—Adamic, Abrahamic, Jewish and Christian—passed and repassed before us. Mount Sinai in Arabia, Mount Zion, Mount Tabor, the Red Sea and the Jordan, the Passovers and the Pentecosts, the Law and the Gospel, but especially the ancient order of things and the modern, occasionally engaged our attention.

"On parting the next day, Sidney Rigdon, with all apparent candor, said, if he had within the last year taught and promulgated from the pulpit one error, he had a thousand. At that time he was the great orator of the Mahoning Association, though in authority with the people second always to Adamson Bentley. I found it expedient to caution them not to begin to pull down anything they had builded until they had reviewed again and again what they had heard; nor even then rashly and without much consideration. Fearing they might undo their influence with the people, I felt constrained to restrain rather than to urge them on in the work of reformation.

"With many an invitation to visit the Western Reserve, and with many an assurance of a full and candid hearing on the part of the uncommitted community, and an immediate access to the ears of the Baptist churches within the sphere of their influence, we took the parting hand. They went on their way rejoicing, and in the course of a single year prepared their whole Association to hear us with earnestness and candor.

"Ministers' meetings once a year in different parts of that

section of Ohio, for the purpose of making public discourses before the people, and then for criticising them *in concione clerum*, and for propounding and answering questions on the sacred Scriptures, were about this time instituted and conducted with great harmony and much advantage. I became a regular attendant, and found in them much pleasure and profit.

"They were conducted in the following manner: A, B, C, and D were appointed to address the public assembled on the occasion. A at a given time delivered a discourse, B succeeded him. In the evening all the speakers and other ministers met in an appointed room, and in the presence of the more elderly and interested brethren, and those looking forward to public stations in the Church, the discourses of A and B were taken up and examined by all the speakers present, and sometimes strictly reviewed as to the matter of them, the form of them and the mode of delivering them. Doctrinal questions and expositions of Scripture occasionally were introduced and debated. The next day C and D addressed the assembled audience, and so on, until all were heard and all had passed through the same ordeal. These meetings were not appreciated too highly, as the sequel developed, inasmuch as they disabused the minds of the Baptist ministry in the Mahoning Association of much prejudice, and prepared the way for a very great change of views and practice all over those 3,000,000 acres of nine counties which constitute the Western Reserve."

On the 14th of July of this year (1821), about the time of Mr. Bentley's visit, another daughter was born to Mr. Campbell. As her mother greatly admired the articles he had written against social and fashionable follies on his first arrival at Washington, and to which he had appended the signature of CLARINDA, she desired that this name should be given to the child, which was accordingly done. This little incident furnishes a good index to the character of this excellent woman, who highly approved of plainness and simplicity in

dress and manners, and who, like her father, was utterly opposed to the innovations which society was gradually making in the simple customs and modes of life of the early settlers.

Mr. Campbell's attendance at the "ministers' meetings" referred to above gave to them a new and a peculiar interest. His extensive knowledge of the Scriptures, and his clear views of the gospel and its institutions, enabled him to resolve many difficulties presented by the preachers. He led them to perceive that by abandoning the fragmentary and textuary plan of consulting and expounding Scripture, and by taking it in its proper connection, it became its own interpreter and revealed all its truth to the honest heart. Especially did he mark out clearly the important distinction between faith and opinion, previously but dimly perceived, showing that men's conjectures and theories respecting matters of which the Bible does not speak should never be made terms of communion or be allowed to create religious differences.

During this period, Mr. Campbell continued to visit Pittsburg occasionally, and being still connected with the Redstone Association, was accustomed to preach for the Baptist church there, which had now increased to more than one hundred members, many of whom were favorable to reformation. In 1822, through Mr. Campbell's influence, Sidney Rigdon was induced to accept a call from this church to become its pastor. He was a man of more than ordinary ability as a speaker, possessing great fluency and a lively fancy which gave him great popularity as an orator. He was brother-in-law to Adamson Bentley, both having married daughters of a Mr. Brooks, of Warren. As he professed to be favorable to the Reformation, Mr. Campbell was desir-

ous of introducing him to Walter Scott, who, at this time, was still delivering weekly lectures on the New Testament to the little church over which Mr. Forrester had presided. Mr. Campbell desired that the two churches should become united, but these communities continued for a considerable time rather shy of each other, each being sensitive with regard to its own peculiarities.

On the 10th November of this year (1822), Mrs. Campbell presented her husband with a son, who was named John Brown, but who died upon the day of his birth. Soon after, Mr. Campbell's own health began to suffer from the confinement and labors of Buffalo Seminary, and as, from his enlarged intercourse with the Baptist churches, the demand for his services as a preacher was becoming constantly more frequent and more urgent, he concluded to discontinue the school. Although he had always plenty of pupils, and often was unable to receive all that desired to come, he found that it did not subserve to any great extent, for reasons formerly given, the chief purpose for which he had established it, which was the preparation of young men to labor in behalf of the primitive gospel. Having realized in publishing the Debate with Mr. Walker the power of the press to disseminate his views, as he was now in consequence often receiving letters of inquiry and solicitation for visits and preaching from many quarters, he began to think of issuing, in monthly parts, a work specially devoted to the interests of the proposed Reformation.

This project marks the era of a very important change in Mr. Campbell's religious history. The failure of his father's endeavors and his own to effect a reformation of the existing parties upon the principles of the Declaration and Address, had caused him to

despair of ever seeing a favorable and extended change in religious society. He had still labored, it is true, in behalf of the cause he had espoused, but it was without the expectation of being able to do much more than erect a single congregation with which he could enjoy the social institutions of the gospel. His aims were at that time quite limited. He had not the remotest idea of assuming the position of a public reformer, or of involving himself in the strifes of religious society. Influential Baptists, such as Deacon Withington, of New York, and Deacon Shields, of Philadelphia, impressed with his talents, had urged him at the time of his visit to those cities in 1815 to settle in one of them; but he declined on the ground that he did not think any of the churches there would submit to the primitive order of things, and said that he would rather live and die in the backwoods than be the occasion of creating divisions among them. He therefore preferred to pursue the occupation of a farmer, and to instruct gratuitously the people within the range of his personal influence. It was not until after he saw the effect of the debate into which he was reluctantly drawn with Mr. Walker that he began to take new views of his position, and to cherish, for the first time, the hope that something might be done upon a more extended scale to rouse the people from their spiritual lethargy. Guided providentially step by step, he had been brought to an eminence from which he could survey the wide field in which he was destined to labor, and he began at once to nerve himself for the undertaking.

After conferring with his father and with Walter Scott and other friends, who warmly approved his design, he issued in the spring of 1823 a prospectus of the work, which he proposed to call "The Christian

Baptist"—a title adopted not without some debate, since the term "Baptist" was a party designation. As the reformers were, however, at this time identified with the Baptists, it was thought expedient, in order to avoid offending religious prejudice, and to give greater currency to the principles which were to be presented, to make this concession so far as the name of the paper was concerned, qualifying "Baptist" by the word "Christian." In the prospectus the nature and objects of the publication were candidly and clearly stated, as follows:

"The 'Christian Baptist' shall espouse the cause of no religious sect, excepting that ancient sect 'called Christians first at Antioch.' Its sole object shall be the eviction of truth and the exposing of error in doctrine and practice. The editor, acknowledging no standard of religious faith or works other than the Old and New Testament, and the latter as the only standard of the religion of Jesus Christ, will, intentionally at least, oppose nothing which it contains and recommend nothing which it does not enjoin. Having no worldly interest at stake from the adoption or reprobation of any articles of faith or religious practice, having no gift nor religious emolument to blind his eyes or to pervert his judgment, he hopes to manifest that he is an impartial advocate of truth."

Although the number of subscribers at first obtained was not large, he determined to go on with the work and, with his usual energy and enterprise, having concluded to set up a printing establishment near his own house, he purchased the necessary type, presses, etc., and erected a building for the purpose near the creek fording, at the foot of the cemetery hill. Engaging, then, the services of some practical printer his quick apprehension soon made him familiar with all the de-

tails of the office, which thenceforth occupied much of his attention. He became an expert proof-reader; supplied regularly the paper and materials needed, and continued to conduct the printing business with the greatest economy and with surprising activity and success uninterruptedly from this time forward for more than forty years. It may be here mentioned that during the first seven years, ending July 4th, 1830, he issued of his own works, from his little country printing-office, no less than forty-six thousand volumes.

It was in the month of May of this year, while preparing for the printing of the "Christian Baptist," that Mr. Campbell received a letter from Mr. McCalla, a Presbyterian preacher of Augusta, Kentucky, intimating his willingness to accept the challenge or invitation given at the close of the Walker debate. Mr. McCalla had been a lawyer, and had quite a high reputation among the Presbyterians for his argumentative powers. It was therefore greatly desired by his friends and by the Pædobaptist community that he should have an opportunity to repair, if possible, the injury which had accrued to their cause by the generally admitted failure of Mr. Walker.

After ascertaining Mr. McCalla's standing, Mr Campbell agreed to meet him. Mr. McCalla then proposed twenty-one questions to Mr. Campbell, with a view to some modification of the proposition offered. This led to a correspondence, which was continued to the close of the following September, and which was not always distinguished by that becoming courtesy which marked the first communications. From Mr. Campbell's experience with the clergy thus far, and his views of their position and influence in the religious world, he did not, as may well be supposed, entertain

the most reverential feelings toward them; and as they on their part naturally felt indignant at the efforts made to weaken their authority, it became difficult for them, in their intercourse with Mr. Campbell, to avoid betraying the hostile feelings by which they were governed. Mr. McCalla accordingly did not fail in the course of the correspondence to refer to various things slanderously reported of Mr. Campbell, and to intimate that until such rumors were corrected, "no minister of the divine Saviour could desire any other intercourse with him than as an adversary." He consented, however, finally to meet Mr. Campbell on the proposition announced at the close of the Walker debate, but without agreeing to any specific regulations or settled order for the discussion. Mr. Campbell, nevertheless, agreed to meet him, and, in his letter closing the correspondence said:

"It appears that your conscience was not too tender on the subject of my character for orthodoxy and piety to prevent you from insinuating, nay, declaring, that 'Dr. Priestley's disciple was my favorite author,' contrary to all evidence or fact from anything in my writings, or from any *respectable* source. You shall, perhaps, soon know that I have no favorite author in religion except one, and that man who says I am a first or second-hand disciple of Priestley or of any other Socinian author, is a man of no piety or respectability of character, nor is there a man living who can say, or dare say, in my presence, that I ever expressed a sentiment derogatory to the Lord Jesus as a Divine Redeemer—as Emmanuel, God with us. Such insinuations may be circulated in Kentucky by those who would wish to impair my influence in supporting a truth more hated by those of the 'orthodox and pious' than Socinianism, but here we regard them not. As to my piety, I know I have nothing to boast of; God alone is judge. As to my external deportment, men can judge; and whenever

you bring forward any specific charge of immorality or unchristian deportment, we shall refute it. . . . I request that you will meet me at Washington the 14th day of October, in order to arrange the business, for you have not agreed to meet me on any of the terms proposed in my last. At least, you have not informed me so. But you have told me that you are to meet me as an adversary—as 'ho Satanas.' Well, I hope that you will remember that when Michael, the archangel, disputed with the *adversary* about the body of Moses, he durst not bring against him a railing accusation. As you are celebrated for piety and orthodoxy, and I for the want of them, a great deal will be expected of you and very little from your humble servant, A. CAMPBELL."

During the period of this correspondence, clerical enmity and detraction seemed to be constantly accumulating against Mr. Campbell, who, nevertheless, confident in the possession and in the power of truth, manfully braved the storm, and in the "Christian Baptist," the first number of which appeared 4th July, 1823, fearlessly began such an exposition of primitive Christianity and of existing corruptions as was well calculated to startle the entire religious community. This, indeed, was what he designed to do, for he conceived the people to be so completely under the dominion of the clergy at this time that nothing but bold and decisive measures could arouse them to proper inquiry. In his Preface, therefore, he openly announced his intention to pursue a perfectly independent course.

"We expect to prove," said he, "whether a paper perfectly independent, free from any controlling jurisdiction except the Bible, will be read, or whether it will be blasted by the poisonous breath of sectarian zeal and of an aspiring priesthood." His mottoes, too, prefixed to the work, were characteristic: "Style no man on earth your father, for he alone is your Father who is in heaven, and all ye are brethren.

Assume not the title of Rabbi, for ye have only One Teacher; neither assume the title of leader, for ye have only One Leader—the Messiah." Matt. xxiii. 8–10. "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good."—*Paul the Apostle.*

"What a glorious freedom of thought do the apostles recommend! And how contemptible in their account is a blind and implicit faith! May all Christians use this liberty of judging for themselves in matters of religion, and allow it to one another, and to all mankind."—*Benson.*

He commenced the work with a brief view of the Christian religion as first established, showing the lofty expectations entertained from prophecy in relation to the advent of the Messiah, depicting his meek and lowly character as he actually appeared, and the glorious victory he accomplished as a suffering Saviour. He dwelt upon the perfection of his teachings, and upon the conduct and life of the first disciples and of the apostles his ambassadors to the world, so different from those of modern religious teachers. He then described the primitive churches as to their bond of union, the faith and love of Christ: their independence; their mode of acting in a church capacity and not through independent societies, and their devotion to good works. With this picture he then contrasted that of modern Christianity, with its corruptions and divisions.

So great, at this period, was the antagonism between Mr. Campbell and the clergy that he was induced to animadvert with great severity upon their claims and their proceedings. Having entrenched himself in the position that "nothing was to be admitted as a matter of faith or duty for which there could not be produced a divine precept or a Scripture precedent," he made from this impregnable fastness many a sharp foray into the territories over which the clergy had so long exer-

cised almost undisputed sway. That caustic sarcasm and playful irony to which he was naturally disposed, but to which decorum forbade him to give utterance as a *preacher*, found expression through the pen of the *editor*, and much of the earlier numbers of the paper was devoted to lively sketches of the working of the clerical machinery in the manufacture of preachers; in the securing and enlarging of salaries; in the obtaining of high positions and of pompous titles, and in the extending of authority by means of "confederations in the form of general councils, synods, assemblies, associations and conferences." He was at some pains to expose, from official documents, the large expense and small avails of missions to the heathen as conducted by particular sects, and the petty methods resorted to for the purpose of obtaining contributions, which he conceived to be wholly unworthy the character of the gospel. Costly meeting-houses and organs; selling of pews; "missionary wheels," "stalls" and "boxes;" priestly tithes and offerings, with various other features of modern Christianity, were commented on with unexampled freedom, pungency and vigor. Mr. Campbell had become fully convinced, both by observation and experience, that religious bigotry could not be overcome while the clergy were permitted to use their usurped and factitious power in fostering and supporting it, and he therefore sought to deprive them of an influence which they had consecrated to partyism. In order to accomplish this, he had recourse to the Bible alone, being satisfied that the sectarian spirit which then controlled religious society could be cast out only in the name of Christ; and, though he foresaw the violence of the conflict, he justly thought, to use the language of Macaulay, that "the miseries of continued possession

were more to be dreaded than the struggles of the tremendous exorcism."

He continued to fulfill his task, therefore, with unfaltering faith and courage. Neither the calumnies by which his opponents sought to excite public odium against him, nor the gentle remonstrances and cautions of timid friends, availed to move him from his purpose. Thomas Campbell, alarmed at the adventurous boldness of his son in handling so roughly things and persons hitherto considered as sacred by the people, expostulated often, and sought by contributing to the paper milder essays (signed T. W.) to soften or extenuate censures whose substantial justness he could not but acknowledge. But the honest and candid utterances of a soul earnest for truth and right could not be repressed. Utterly denying the propriety of the distinction between the clergy and laity, Mr. Campbell believed that the so-called "clergy" had taken away the key of knowledge from "the people," and "kept them in ignorance" by assuming to be the only authorized expounders of the will of God. He found them, therefore, directly in the way of the accomplishment of his great purpose, which was to convince the people that they could understand the Scriptures for themselves. It was necessary, accordingly, that the claims of the clergy should be disproved, and their assumed authority overthrown, before the people could be released from spiritual bondage.

"We wish," said he, "cordially wish, to take the New Testament out of the abuses of the clergy and put it into the hands of the people. And to do this is no easy task, as the clergy have formed the opinions of nine-tenths of Christendom before they could form an opinion of their own. They have, in order to raise the people's admiration of them for their own advantage, taught them in creeds, in sermons, in catechisms,

in tracts, in pamphlets, in primers, in folios, that they alone can expound the New Testament—that, without them, people are either *almost* or *altogether* destitute of the means of grace. They must lead in the devotion of the people; they must consecrate their prayers, their praise; and latterly, they must even open a cattle-show or an exhibition of manufactures with prayers and religious pageantry!"

It was this view of the position and doings of the clergy that led Mr. Campbell to condemn Sunday-schools, missionary, education and even Bible societies, as THEN conducted, because he thought them perverted to sectarian purposes. In Sunday-schools the denominational catechism was then diligently taught, and the effort was made to imbue the minds of the children with partisan theology. Missionary societies then labored to propagate the tenets of the party to which each belonged, and even Bible societies seemed to him to be made a means of creating offices and salaries for a few clerical managers, who exercised entire control.

". . . I do not oppose, intentionally at least," said he (Christian Baptist, vol. i., p. 208), "the scriptural plan of converting the world. . . . My opponents do represent me as opposing the means of converting the world, not wishing to discriminate, in my case at least, between a person opposing the abuses of a good cause and the cause itself." Of Bible societies he remarks: "In the multiplication of copies of the Scriptures I do rejoice, although I do conceive even the best of all good works is managed in a way not at all comporting with the precepts of the volume itself. And shall we not oppose the abuses of any principle because of the excellency of the principle itself?"

His chief objection, then, to the instrumentalities employed for missionary and other religious purposes was that, in the hands of the clergy, they were perverted to

denominational aggrandizement and to the perpetuation of the yoke which they had imposed upon the people.

His view, on the other hand, was that God's revelation was complete, and that it was able, as it affirms of itself, "to make the man of God perfect and thoroughly furnished to every good work." He taught, furthermore, that the Church of Jesus Christ, formed and organized according to this word, with its elders and deacons, was appointed to be "the pillar and ground" or support "of the truth," and that such a society is "the highest tribunal on earth to which an individual Christian can appeal."

"The Lord Jesus Christ," said he, "is the absolute Monarch on whose shoulders is the government, and in whose hands are the reins. That his *will*, published in the New Testament, is the sole law of the Church; and that every society or assembly meeting once every week in one place, according to this law, or the commandments of this King, requires no other head, king, lawgiver, ruler or lord than this *Mighty One;* no other law, rule, formula, canon or decree than his *written word;* no judicatory, court or tribunal other than the *judgment-seat of Christ.*" (Vol. i., p. 69.) Again, page 205, he says: "I am taught from the Record itself to describe a Church of Christ in the following words: It is a society of disciples professing to believe the one grand fact, the Messiahship of Jesus, voluntarily submitting to his authority and guidance, having all of them in their baptism expressed their faith in him and allegiance to him, and statedly meeting together in one place to walk in all his commandments and ordinances. This society, with its bishop or bishops, and its deacon or deacons, as the case may require, is perfectly independent of any tribunal on earth called ecclesiastical. It knows nothing of superior or inferior church judicatories, and acknowledges no laws, no canons or government other than that of the Monarch of the Universe and his laws. This Church, having

now committed unto it the oracles of God, is adequate to all the purposes of illumination and reformation which entered into the design of its founder."

Such being his view of the position occupied by a Church of Christ, he found in this an additional argument against such missionary and other societies as acted independently of church control. "Every Christian," said he (vol. ii., p. 97), "who understands the nature and design, the excellence and glory, of the institution called the *Church of Jesus Christ*, will lament to see its glory transferred to a human corporation. The Church is robbed of its character by every institution, merely human, that would ape its excellence and substitute itself in its place."

Believing that the primitive Church never transferred any of its duties to other associations, but fulfilled them always in its own character that Christ might be glorified, he was jealous of every separate organization formed to accomplish any of the purposes for which the Church was established.

These were among the radical reforms urged at this time by Mr. Campbell, and in his exposures of prevailing errors, as well as in his developments of the primitive faith and order, he was ably seconded by Walter Scott, who furnished a number of articles for the "Christian Baptist," mostly under the signature of Philip. A series of essays which he commenced in the second number of the paper upon the subject of "Teaching Christianity," may be especially mentioned as developing his favorite theme, the Messiahship of Jesus, in which he shows that this majestic truth constituted the rock on which the Church was founded and the great gospel theme to be preached to the world.

Mr. Campbell has been censured by some for the severity of his strictures at this period upon the clergy

and their proceedings. A milder course and gentler words, they think, would have succeeded better. It is to be remembered, however, that the milder method had already been tried. No gentler words, no kinder remonstrances, no warmer entreaties, no sounder arguments, could have been employed than those addressed to religious society, and particularly to the clergy, by Thomas Campbell and the "Christian Association.' But all these well-meant efforts the clergy had treated with disdain. The soft and harmless missiles of forbearance had been employed apparently to no purpose to induce the clergy to come down from the elevated position they had gained, and from the possession of the spoils they coveted, and it had become necessary to use something more solid and effective in order to compel attention.

It should be remembered, moreover, that Mr. Campbell regarded the Church and the clergy from a point of view very different from the popular one, and did not consider all ministers of religion as "clergy" in the sense he condemned. Hence care is to be exercised in giving to his censures an application no more extensive than he designed. The clergy, in Mr. Campbell's view, consisted of those who, claiming, without credentials, to be "ambassadors of Christ," placed themselves upon apostolic thrones; and, having no new divine revelations, assumed to be the sole authorized expositors of the sacred oracles, denying to the people the right or the power of comprehending or interpreting the Scriptures for themselves, and exercising over men, by means of these false assumptions, a powerful influence, largely devoted to the maintenance of their own usurpations and the religious partyism of the times. He had before his vision the lordly prelates of Europe, and es-

pecially of the Established Church of *England*, whose revenues, he shows from public documents, were nearly forty millions of dollars, being two hundred and eight thousand six hundred and eighty dollars per annum more than those of all the remaining clergy of the whole Christian world. With these he associated all in other churches who arrogated to themselves similar official claims, and who sought, each in his own sphere, a similar priestly domination. It is to be particularly noticed that *he did not include among the "clergy" whom he denounced the ministers of the Baptist and other independent churches.* These, being appointed by the churches, and acting as elders and preachers of the gospel in subordination to just scriptural authority, he constantly recognized as a lawful ministry in the Church, for the accomplishment of the purposes for which it was established on the earth. He thought, indeed, there were some preachers even among the Baptists who were disposed to assume "the airs and arrogance of some Pædobaptist priests," placing themselves, when fresh from college, over the heads of "old and experienced members a thousand times better qualified than they to be overseers." "I hope, however," he adds (C. B. for Oct., 1824), "the number of such among the Baptists is small. Perhaps the whole aggregate number is not greater than the aggregate of good, well-meaning men amongst the Pædobaptist clergy." Again, in the same "address," he says: "Amongst the Baptists it is to be hoped there are but few clergy, and would to God there were none! The grand and distinguishing views of the Baptists must be grossly perverted before they could tolerate one such creature."

It is to be noted, also, that his condemnation of the clergy and their undertakings was not indiscriminate.

In speaking of their worldly ambitions and desire of aggrandizement, he says (C. B., vol. i., p. 48): "To say that every individual of this nation of clergy is actuated by such motives, and such only, is very far from our intention. There have been good and pious kings, and there are good and pious clergy." Again, in speaking of those who sustained the schemes of the clergy, and of his own aims and purposes in opposing them, he says (Id., p. 89):

"Our views of Christianity differ very materially from the popular views. This we fearlessly and honestly avow. But while we remember our own mistakes and the systems and teaching of our time, we must acknowledge many to be Christians who are led away and corrupted from the simplicity of Christ." Referring to the missionary plans, he says (Id., p. 208): "I am constrained to differ from many whom I love and esteem, and will ever esteem, if we should never agree upon this point, as well as from many whom I cannot love for the truth's sake. At the same time I am very sorry to think that any man should suppose that I am either regardless of the deplorable condition of the heathen world or opposed to any means authorized by the New Testament for either the civilization or salvation of those infatuated pagans." Again, of his motives and designs, he thus speaks (Id., p. 90): "Many will, from various motives, decry the clergy. . . . In opposing and exposing them and their kingdom, it is not to join the infidel cry against priests and priestcraft; it is not to gratify the avaricious or the licentious; but it is to pull down their Babel, and to emancipate those whom they have enslaved; to free the people from their unrighteous dominion and unmerciful spoliation. We have no system of our own, or of others, to substitute in lieu of the reigning systems. We only aim at substituting the New Testament in lieu of every creed in existence, whether Mohammedan, Pagan, Jewish or Presbyterian. We wish to call Christians to consider that Jesus Christ has made them kings and priests to

God. We neither advocate Calvinism, Arminianism, Socinianism, Arianism, Trinitarianism, Unitarianism, Deism nor Sectarianism, but *New Testamentism*."

Mr. Campbell, furthermore, would be greatly misunderstood if he were supposed to have cherished feelings of personal unkindness toward those whom he so sternly arraigned before the bar of Scripture on account of their assumptions. While he denounced their errors as a class, he had a very high regard for many of them individually, and exercised Christian benevolence toward them all as *men*, while he repudiated them as *clergymen*. Among them he had many warm personal friends, who understood and esteemed him too well to take umbrage at his essays. There was a charm about Mr. Campbell in his personal intercourse which speedily disarmed all the prejudices which his writings were calculated to excite. In these, like Paul, he appeared in a guise wholly different from that which invested his personal character. For religious errors and for classes of errorists he had in his writings nothing but cold, incisive logic; the crushing strength derived from his singular knowledge of unwelcome facts; the shafts of piercing satire and the sharp, two-edged sword of the divine word. But for men, individually, he had the most affectionate and almost reverential feelings. He could say nothing to wound their sensibilities or to detract in any degree from their real or supposed position. He was the same kind, sympathizing friend, and the same lively, agreeable companion to the clergy of his acquaintance that he was to others, and with that delicate courtesy which always characterized him he forbore to make in their company any direct application of his well-known views. He loved, indeed, to converse with them upon the great themes of nature and

religion; and he delighted to give them a sharp thrust or a sly rub occasionally in his pleasant, humorous way, in order to set them to thinking, but he never exceeded the boundaries of the most cordial good feeling. In this sort of skirmishing he was almost invariably triumphant, and his keen, flashing wit never shone to greater advantage than in such encounters. Occasionally, however, he would be foiled with his own weapons. One day, Dr. Joseph Doddridge, the Episcopal minister at Wellsburg, for whom he had a very high esteem, was out at his house on a visit. As they were taking a stroll in the orchard, the bell rang for dinner. Having been conversing pleasantly on various subjects and nearing the topic of church government, Mr. Campbell said to the Doctor as they were passing over to the house, and with a sly twinkle in his eye: "Doctor, that is a very ugly story they tell us about Harry the Eighth and Queen Boleyn!" The Doctor, perceiving his drift, and that he meant a blow at the origin of episcopacy, replied instantly: "Yes, sir; a very ugly story. But, Mr. Campbell, we have a good many ugly stories in the BIBLE!" At this repartee they both laughed heartily and came to dinner in high humor, and ever afterward Mr. Campbell's cheery laughter would make the welkin ring when he related, as he often did to his friends, how readily and adroitly the Doctor had parried and returned his thrust.

Mr. Campbell's bold attacks upon the popular clergy, roused, as may well be supposed, on their part an intense indignation. Instead, however, of trying to reform a single abuse, they continued to abuse the individual who dared to urge reform, and all their influence was exerted to put down one whom they regarded as a most dangerous "adversary." In attempting to do this,

they resorted, unfortunately, to personal detraction and misrepresentation, rather than to truth and Scripture argument, and preferred, in general, to circulate privately such reports as were likely to excite public odium against Mr. Campbell, rather than to accept his liberal offer of page for page in the "Christian Baptist" for manly discussion of the questions involved. They reported that he was a Socinian, because he refused to adopt the terms of scholastic divinity. To this he replied: "We regard Arianism, semi-Arianism and Socinianism as poor, blind, miserable and naked nonsense and absurdity" (C. B. vol. i., p. 443). They charged him with being a "disorganizer." But it was not his aim merely to overthrow the existing order of religious society. He was well aware of the vast benefits resulting to mankind from Christianity, even in its most corrupt forms, and was far from proposing, as seen in the above extracts, to accomplish the merely negative work of subverting these. He desired to dethrone the false, that he might re-establish the true; to replace the traditions of men by the teachings of Christ and the apostles, and to substitute the New Testament for creeds and human formularies. Said he (p. 89):

"To see Christians enjoy their privileges, and to see sinners brought from darkness to light, are the two great objects for which we desire to live, to labor and to suffer reproach. In endeavoring to use our feeble efforts for these glorious objects we have found it necessary, among other things, to attempt to dethrone the reigning popular clergy from their high and lofty seats, which they have been for ages building for themselves. While we attempt to dethrone them, it is solely for this purpose—that we might enthrone the holy apostles on those thrones which Christ promised them; or rather that we might turn the attention of the people to them placed upon thrones by the Great and Mighty King."

His work was thus, as said before, eminently positive, designed to restore the pure, primitive gospel with all its ordinances and administrations, and he was careful, therefore, in the "Christian Baptist," to present this for consideration and adoption on the one hand, while, on the other, he exposed the errors of modern systems.

Thus to separate truth from error in relation to the most important of all subjects was certainly the greatest service that any one could have rendered to the world. Under the peculiar circumstances of this period, nothing could have been more desirable or more needed than to bring religious teaching and religious enterprises into exact conformity to the Word of God. Providence had evidently raised up in Alexander Campbell the man for the times. It needed one of an intrepid spirit to brave theological odium and clerical denunciation, and to rebuke the bigotry, sectarianism and venality which existed in the religious world. It needed one, too, of supreme regard for truth and uncompromising fidelity to the teachings of the Bible to exhibit boldly the simple apostolic gospel and the primitive Church order, in opposition to the corruption and spiritual despotism which then prevailed. His fine natural abilities; his previous training; his enlarged experience and observation of the actual condition of religious society; his social and worldly circumstances,—all contributed to fit him for the work assigned him. Even his early resolve to labor in the gospel without charge gave him in the conflict with a salaried clergy a marked advantage, and led him, doubtless, to employ a freedom of censure in which he would not otherwise have indulged. Believing, however, as he did, that a distinct order, such as the clergy, was wholly unauthorized, everything connected with their position became legitimately a subject of re-

mark; while on the other hand, taught by the Scripture that every congregation should have its own elders and deacons, and that its divinely-appointed rulers and laborers should be duly honored and supported, he did not fail to urge this duty and to distinguish these officers from the clergy, against whom alone he directed his shafts. On this subject he says (p. 209):

When I arrived a stranger in this Western country, without any other property than my education, I did, from a confirmed disgust at the popular schemes—which I confess I principally imbibed when a student at the University of Glasgow—determine that I should, under the protection and patronage of the Almighty, render all the services I could to my fellow-creatures, by means of the Bible, without any earthly compensation whatever. On these principles I began, and having no other prospects than to turn my attention to some honest calling for a livelihood, I prosecuted this design without looking back. At the same time I did not censure nor do I censure any Christian bishop who receives such earthly things as he *needs* from those to whose edification and comfort he contributes by his labors.

Aware, indeed, of the danger of being misunderstood on this subject, he, in the very first number of the "Christian Baptist," prefixed to an article referring to the clergy, the following: "*Nota Bene.*—In our remarks upon the Christian clergy we never include the elders or deacons of a Christian assembly, or those in the New Testament called the overseers and servants of the Christian Church. These we consider as very different characters, and shall distinguish them in some future number."

In spite of all the hindrances interposed by the clergy and their supporters, the reformatory views urged by Mr. Campbell found access to many minds, and in various quarters began to produce marked results.

At the time, however, they were but imperfectly apprehended. They were far in advance of the age, and their spread served but to intensify the opposition of the clergy and their adherents. His opponents in the Redstone Association were particularly incensed and, as for the past six years he had been too much confined by the duties of Buffalo Seminary to visit often the churches belonging to the Association, the opportunity afforded by his absence had been diligently used to increase the prejudice against him. The "Sermon on the Law," which had been printed, furnished a favorite ground for charges of heresy, and the minority, led on by Elders Brownfield, Pritchard and the Stones, was full of expedients to gain an ascendency in the association, and to thrust Mr. Campbell and his friends out of it. In the month of August, 1823, he learned that they had determined to make a strong effort for this purpose, and, in order to ensure success, that special brethren traversed all the churches in the Association, and had induced many of them to appoint as messengers to the next meeting such persons as were unfriendly to him, in order to secure a majority against him. Considered in itself, Mr. Campbell cared but little for this impending excommunication on the part of the Association, but as he was to engage in a public debate shortly with Mr. McCalla, he thought it best to evade the denominational discredit designed by his enemies, lest this should mar his success, or possibly prevent the discussion altogether. He determined accordingly, though the time for action was but short (the Association having appointed to meet in September), to defeat the project, in a way his enemies little expected, but which was in strict accordance with Baptist usages.

As he had been occasionally pressed by Elder Bentley

to leave the Redstone Association and unite with the Mahoning, and as a number of the members of the Brush Run Church lived in Wellsburg and its vicinity, he concluded to form there a separate congregation in which he would have his membership, and which might afterward unite with the Mahoning Association. He announced, therefore, to the church at Brush Run that for special reasons, which it was not at that time prudent to disclose, he desired from them letters of dismission for himself and some thirty other members, in order to constitute a church in Wellsburg. This request, in deference to Mr. Campbell's judgment, was granted, and the second church of the Reformation was at once constituted in the town of Wellsburg, and continued to assemble regularly thenceforward in the house which had been previously erected.* The church at Brush Run meanwhile appointed Thomas Campbell and two others as messengers to Redstone, while Alexander resolved to attend the meeting as a spectator.

When the letter from Brush Run was, in the usual order of business, called for in the Association and read, a good deal of surprise was manifested that Alex-

* The following is a copy of the letter of dismission in the handwriting of Thomas Campbell:

"Be it known to all whom it may concern, that we have dismissed the following brethren in good standing with us, to constitute a church of Christ at Wellsburg, namely:

"Alexander Campbell, Margaret Campbell, John Brown, Ann Brown, Mary Sayres, Mary Marshall, Mary Little, Richard McConnel, Stephen Priest, Mr. Jones, John Chambers, Mary Chambers, Jacob Osborne, Susan Osborne, Mrs. Bakewell, Selina Bakewell, Mrs. Dicks, William Gilchrist, Jane Gilchrist, Mr. Brockaw, Nancy Brockaw, Alexander Holliday, Joseph Freeman, Margaret Parkinson, Jane Parkinson, Mrs. Talbot, George Young, Daniel Babbit, Catharine Harvey, Mrs. Braley, Solomon Salah, Delilah Salah.

"Done at our meeting, August 31st, A. D. 1823, and signed by order of the church. THOMAS CAMPBELL."

ander Campbell was not named in it as one of the messengers. On this ground objection was made to a motion to invite him to a seat, and a debate ensued which occupied much time. At length Mr. Campbell, who had listened in silence, was requested to state why he was not, as usual, a messenger from Brush Run.

Upon this he arose and expressed his regret that the Association should have spent so much of its precious time upon so trifling a matter, and observed that he would at once relieve them from all further trouble by stating that the reason why he had not been appointed a messenger from Brush Run was simply this: that the church of which he was then a member was not connected with the Redstone Association.

"Never," said he, in relating the incident, "did hunters, on seeing the game unexpectedly escape from their toils at the moment when its capture was sure, glare upon each other a more mortifying disappointment than that indicated by my pursuers at that instant, on hearing that I was out of their bailiwick, and consequently out of their jurisdiction. A solemn stillness ensued, and, for a time, all parties seemed to have nothing to do."

Mr. Campbell, having thus checkmated his opponents in the Association and escaped the excommunication, by which it was hoped the ears of the Baptists would be closed against him, remained still free as before to advocate amongst them those principles of reformation which, he thought, if adopted by them, would rapidly regenerate the whole of religious society.

CHAPTER III.

Journey to Kentucky—Debate with Mr. McCalla—Workings of religious bigotry—Design of baptism—Incidents—Results—Candor of Mr. Campbell—His reputation in Kentucky—Effects of his labors.

THE Ohio river, in the beginning of October, 1823, being too low for steamboat navigation, Mr. Campbell was compelled to set out on horseback in order to meet his appointment with Mr. McCalla in Kentucky. On this journey he was accompanied by the pastor of the Baptist church in Pittsburg, Sidney Rigdon, who wished to be present at the discussion. As they journeyed along for nearly three hundred miles through the intervening State of Ohio, Mr. Campbell felt his health and strength improve, and took great pleasure in seeing the rich valley of the Scioto, and the new districts of country which he had never before visited. For the last one hundred miles, however, from New Lancaster through all the fertile level land to Wilmington, in Clinton county, he found the country overspread with gloom, owing to the prevalence of a fatal form of autumnal fever which pervaded town and country, and of which many were dying. Reaching Washington, Ky., on the 11th, he thus writes home:

"My Dear Margaret: Through the mercy and kindness of our heavenly Father we have arrived in safety and in health at the ground of debate. . . . This is a healthy and fine country, and everything is cheerful and animating. I

have no news relative to the debate. Great expectations on all sides, and much zeal. Too much party spirit. I hope and pray that the Lord will enable me to speak as I ought to speak, and cause the truth to be glorified. I intend, if my health will permit, to visit Lexington and Cincinnati after the debate, and therefore you need not expect to see me for nearly six weeks from my departure from home. I will write in a few days again. Remember me to all the children—to Joseph Freeman, James Anderson and all inquiring friends. May grace, mercy and peace be multiplied unto you! Your loving husband, A. CAMPBELL."

After resting for a time, he was introduced, on the evening of the 14th, to Mr. McCalla by Major Davis, and endeavored to arrange the preliminaries of the discussion. He found Mr. McCalla unwilling to agree to such rules as he thought requisite, or even to leave the matter to the moderators. Finally it was thus arranged:

"1. Each of the parties shall choose a moderator, and these two a third person, who belongs to neither party, for the purpose of merely keeping order. 2. Alexander Campbell shall open the debate. 3. Each disputant shall have the privilege of speaking thirty minutes without interruption, unless he chooses to waive his right. 4. Whatever books are produced upon the occasion shall be open to the perusal of each disputant. 5. The debate shall be adjourned from day to day until the parties are satisfied."

Mr. Campbell chose Bishop Jeremiah Vardeman as moderator on his part.* Mr. McCalla chose the Rev.

* Jeremiah Vardeman was, beyond question, the most popular preacher in Kentucky. Although without much education, he had, by his energy and zeal, and his fine hortatory powers, aided by his noble personal appearance and social qualities, acquired immense influence. He had heard many things about Mr. Campbell, and was anxious to see and hear him for himself. He used to relate afterward that as he was on his way to the debate, traveling in a gig, he overtook, about eleven miles from Washington, a man on foot, and, hailing him, inquired whither he was going. He said he was on his way to

James K. Birch; and these two chose Major William Roper, and appointed him president of the board of moderators. The debate was to have been held in the Baptist meeting-house in the town of Washington, but, as the concourse was great and the weather now clear and pleasant, it was concluded to have the discussion, for the time, in an adjacent grove, where a Methodist camp-meeting had recently been held, and where the people were well accommodated.

At the appointed hour (12 o'clock), both parties appeared upon the ground, Mr. Campbell having only a few books with him, such as he could conveniently carry in his portmanteau. In personal appearance there was considerable difference between the two disputants, Mr. McCalla being lower in stature and more slender than Mr. Campbell, with dark hair, a self-possessed and solemn aspect and much of the clerical air.

Mr. Campbell's exordium was as follows:

MEN, BRETHREN AND FATHERS:

"Through the goodness and mercy of God, I appear before

Washington. "Why," said Vardeman, "you must have very urgent business to walk so far in such roads as these;" for, as it had been raining recently, the roads were very muddy. The man replied that he had no call of business, but that he was going to hear the debate that was to come off on the 15th. Surprised at this, Vardeman took him at once to be a very zealous Baptist, and, affecting to be on the other side, he said: "Is not our man likely to whip your man Campbell?" The man gave him a searching look, and asked: "Can you tell me if this is the same Mr. Campbell who debated with Mr. Walker at Mount Pleasant, Ohio?" Elder Vardeman said he believed he was. The stranger then said: "I am not a member of any church. I am going to the debate on the supposition that this is the Mr. Campbell who debated at Mount Pleasant three years ago. I heard that debate, and all I have to say is, that all creation cannot whip that Mr. Campbell." Elder Vardeman, who was noted for his power in defending the practice of immersion, was not a little gratified with this unexpected and very decided testimony to Mr. Campbell's ability, and came on to the debate, full of cheerful expectation as to the fortunes of his favorite tenet.

you, at this time and in this place, for the purpose of contending for a part of that faith, and an item of that religious practice, once delivered to the saints. My prayer to God is, that for the sake of his Son Jesus Christ I may speak as I ought to speak; that in the spirit of the truth I may contend for the truth; that with humility and love, with zeal according to knowledge and unfeigned devotion, I may open my lips on every occasion when I address my fellow mortal and immortal creatures on the subject of religion. Expecting that they and I will soon appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, may I speak in such a way that I may not be ashamed nor afraid to meet them there. May I ever act under the influence of that 'wisdom which cometh from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and of good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy.' And may you, my friends, examine and 'prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.'"

He then went on to detail the circumstances which led to the discussion, and, after adverting to the importance of the subject, called upon his opponent to point out any advantages resulting from the practice of infant sprinkling.

Mr. McCalla, after some just remarks upon the value of religion, went on to descant upon the propositions in the challenge given by Mr. Campbell, speaking of him as an "adversary," and endeavoring to excite religious prejudice against him. Then, after saying that Mr. Campbell had not as yet offered any argument in proof of his propositions, he announced the method he himself intended to pursue in proving their contraries.

"In the first place," said he, "I will produce a divine command for infant baptism—a command of God authorizing infants to be baptized—the infants of believers.

"In the second place, I will produce *probable* evidence of apostolic practice of infant baptism.

"In the third and last place, under this head, I will produce *positive* evidence of apostolic practice of infant baptism."

In Mr. Campbell's next speech he expressed his regret that Mr. McCalla should have attempted to prejudice the feelings of the audience by representing his challenge as "an accusation against the whole Pædobaptist world," and as imputing to them "a crime worthy of punishment by the civil law."

"Our design, my Pædobaptist friends," said he, "is not to widen the breach, or to throw stumbling-blocks in the way, by inflaming your passions; but to lead you to understand this most important institution of the Lord of glory, that whosoever of you feareth God may unite with me in keeping his commandments as delivered unto us by his holy apostles."

After some further remarks, he then submitted his proposed method of procedure, laying down, first, certain principles to which he might appeal in any pertinent case. These principles he adopted from the "Confession of Faith," and said he took for granted Mr. McCalla's assent to them, since he had, as a Presbyterian minister, solemnly vowed to teach that Confession and declared it to be, according to his belief, "the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures." He then quoted the Presbyterian Confession:

"'All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the *unlearned*, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.' You will then bear in mind, my friends," added he, "that my opponent considers you all competent judges of Scripture testimony, in a due use of the

ordinary means; and without any commentator or religious teacher, his Confession of Faith declares that, though you were *unlearned*, you may attain unto a knowledge of the things necessary to be known, believed and *observed* for salvation; because all those things are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other. In the same Confession, and in the same chapter, section 9, you will find the following most excellent sentiment: 'The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and, therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture which is not manifold, but ONE, it may be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly.' This article embraces one of the best rules of interpretation we have seen. The sense of every passage of Scripture is ONE, not two or three or manifold. How many thousands of volumes of sermons and interpretations of Scripture would it send to the flames or to the moths if it were duly recognized and acted upon? There is but ONE meaning in every passage of Scripture, and that *one meaning* must be always found from its context. This golden rule of interpretation recognized and acted upon, and controversy about the meaning of Scripture becomes fair and easily managed. To these articles we shall appeal in all matters of disputation about the meaning of Scriptures adduced in this controversy. I feel myself happy to think that my opponent must admit them or abjure his allegiance to the Presbyterian Church."

By means of these two principles, that Scripture is comprehensible even by the unlearned, and that its sense is not manifold, but ONE, he subsequently exposed various attempts of Mr. McCalla to impose fanciful and unauthorized meanings upon various passages of Scripture. Taking, furthermore, as a text the declaration of the Confession (chap. xxviii.) that "Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ," and defining "sacrament" as meaning a "holy ordinance," he announced his method thus:

"We will go, then, to the NEW Testament and not to the *Old*, to ascertain the nature, design and subjects of this ordinance.

"II. We shall appeal to the words of Jesus Christ for the institution of baptism, as our text says it is an ordinance of Jesus Christ; we shall have nothing to do with Moses in this matter, however useful he may be in others. No doubt our opponent will feel his creed honored and will acquiesce in our method as correct."

He then produced from the New Testament the *law* of baptism, which requires faith as a prerequisite, and adduced a number of cases showing that in the *practice* of the primitive Church believers only were baptized, as the law required. He then gave place to his opponent to produce the records of infant baptism from the New Testament.

Instead of attempting this impossible task, however, Mr. McCalla began to read from Robinson various extracts about the baptism of cats and colts, showing how infant baptism had been derided in different ages by those whom he called its "adversaries." In the midst of this tirade he was called to order by Bishop Vardeman for his frequent application of the terms "accuser" and "adversary" to Mr. Campbell, and for representing the Baptists as "accusers" and "adversaries."

"Mr. McCalla must know," said he, "that these are the names given in Scripture to Satan, who is called the '*adversary*' and 'the accuser of the brethren.' He thought that Mr. McCalla should treat his opponent as a gentleman and as a Christian, although he differed from him on the questions under discussion. He hoped, therefore, that he would substitute the term *opponent*, or any term less acrimonious and more consistent with candor and justice, in place of those offensive terms."

The matter being referred to Major Roper, and he having expressed the hope that Mr. McCalla would dispense with the use of such terms as applied by him to the Baptists, Mr. McCalla consented to desist from using them. He then went on to make a distinction between Divine commands as *express* and *not express*, striving to show that many things were divinely commanded which were not express, but were to be learned and taught from the import of sundry declarations in which there was much scope given to the rational faculties of man, and which were to be ascertained by a minute attention to many circumstances.

"For instance," said he, "there is no express declaration of the unity of God to be found in the Old Testament—no express proof in so many words; yet we know this proof to be a part of Divine revelation as certainly as though it were expressly declared in so many words. Nor is there any express command against *dueling* in all the word of God; yet we are as certain that God has prohibited this mischievous practice as though it were expressly prohibited. Nor is there any express command against gaming in the Bible, and what Christian is there who does not know that it is divinely prohibited? There is no express law authorizing Christians to *eat pork*, and does not every Christian *eat pork* with a good conscience, with as much liberty as though God had expressly said, *Ye may eat pork!* Nor is there any express command for independent church government for which many so earnestly contend as divinely appointed. There is no express law for the observance of the first day of the week as the Christian Sabbath, for female communion, and many other points zealously contended for by the Baptists and Pædobaptists. In the same manner we affirm that although there is no express command for infant baptism, though it is not mentioned in the Old Testament, yet we can find a Divine command for it there. When we propose to produce a Divine command

for infant baptism, you are not, my friends, to expect that we shall produce in so many words a command for parents to have their children baptized."

He then laid down several propositions, asserting that Abraham and his seed were constituted a true and visible Church of God — That the Christian Church is a branch of the Abrahamic — That Jewish circumcision before Christ and Christian baptism after Christ are one and the same seal, though in different forms, etc. Thus, as Mr. Campbell then showed, the Divine *command* for infant baptism which Mr. McCalla had in the beginning positively and ostentatiously promised to produce, after first becoming attenuated into one "*not express*," had finally resolved itself into the old shadowy inference drawn from circumcision. He did not fail to remark also on Mr. McCalla's singular assertion that there was no express affirmation of the unity of God in the Bible. "He would place," exclaimed he, "the unity of God and infant baptism upon the same obscure footing! No express revelation of either! Did he ever read, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.' But in fact there can be nothing more absurd than to place the 'eating of pork' and the 'baptizing of infants' upon one and the same footing, or the prohibition of gaming and dueling upon the same basis with the sprinkling of infants."

Upon the propositions which he had laid down, Mr. McCalla had prepared beforehand a large quantity of manuscript, from which he now continued reading day after day, paying little or no attention to the arguments and refutations which Mr. Campbell from time to time presented. There being little needing reply in Mr. McCalla's labored disquisitions upon the Jewish and Christian churches, etc., Mr. Campbell then occupied

a portion of the time allotted to him in presenting his views of the Christian Church; the calling of the Gentiles, the nature of Messiah's reign, and other grand topics which placed in bold relief the essential differences between the Jewish and Christian institutions, triumphantly overturning the chief foundations of Pædobaptism, and delighting the audience by new and comprehensive exhibitions of the Divine dispensations and their gradual increase in spiritual light, from the starlight patriarchal age to the moonlight age of Moses, and then to that of the twilight and the brilliant day-star of John the Baptist, ushering in the glory of the Sun of Righteousness, the promised Messiah.

It would be unnecessary to detail minutely the progress of this discussion, which continued during *seven* days. Suffice it to say that Mr. McCalla continued reading from his manuscript most of the time, and that Mr. Campbell, having in vain sought to induce him to reply to his arguments, went on finally, in advance, to establish his own propositions, making short replies occasionally to Mr. McCalla. It would not, however, be proper to omit Mr. Campbell's exposition of the *design* of baptism, from which he deduced an argument against infant baptism, as he had done in the debate with Walker, but which he now renewed with a definiteness and fullness which marked the progress of his own convictions upon this important subject. Thus, on the second day of the discussion, he said,

"Our third argument is deduced from the design or import of baptism. On this topic of argument we shall be as full as possible, because of its great importance, and because perhaps neither Baptists nor Pædobaptists sufficiently appreciate it. I will first merely refer to the oracles of God, which show that baptism is an ordinance of the greatest importance and

of momentous significance. Never was there an ordinance of so great import or design. It is to be but *once* administered. We are to pray often, praise often, show forth the Lord's death often, commemorate his resurrection every week, but we are to be baptized but *once*. Its great significance can be seen from the following testimonies: The Lord saith, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.' He does not say, He that believeth and keeps my commands shall be saved, but he saith, 'He that believeth and is *baptized* shall be saved.' He placeth baptism on the right hand of faith. Again, he tells Nicodemus that 'unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Peter, on the day of Pentecost, places baptism in the same exalted place. 'Repent,' says he, 'and be baptized, every one of you, FOR the remission of sins.' Ananias saith to Paul, 'Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord.' Paul saith to the Corinthians, 'Ye were once fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, effeminate, thieves, covetous, drunkards, rioters, extortioners, but ye are WASHED in the name of the Lord Jesus,' doubtless referring to their baptism. He tells Titus, 'God our Father *saved* us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit.' See again its dignified importance. Peter finishes the grand climax in praise of baptism: 'Baptism doth now also save us by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.'"

Again he remarks: "I know it will be said that I have affirmed that baptism *saves* us. Well, Peter and Paul have said so before me. If it was not criminal in them to say so, it cannot be criminal in me. When Ananias said unto Paul, 'Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord,' I suppose Paul believed him and arose and was baptized, and washed away his sins. When he was baptized, he must have believed that his sins were *now* washed away in some sense that they were not before. For, if his sins had been already, in every sense, washed away, Ananias' address would have led him into a mistaken view of himself, both before and after baptism. Now, we confess that the

blood of Jesus Christ alone *cleanses* us who believe from all sins. Even this, however, is a metaphorical expression. The efficacy of his blood springs from his own dignity and from the appointment of his Father. The blood of Christ, then, *really* cleanses us who believe from all sin. Behold the goodness of God in giving us a formal token of it, by ordaining a baptism expressly 'for the remission of sins.' The water of baptism, then, *formally* washes away our sins. The blood of Christ *really* washes away our sins. Paul's sins were *really pardoned* when he believed, yet he had no solemn pledge of the fact, no *formal* acquittal, no *formal* purgation of his sins until he washed them away in the water of baptism.

"To every believer, therefore, baptism is a *formal* and *personal remission*, or purgation of sins. The believer never has his sins formally washed away or remitted until he is baptized. The water has no efficacy but what God's appointment gives it, and he has made it sufficient for this purpose. The value and importance of baptism appear from this view of it. It also accounts for baptism being called the '*washing of regeneration*.' It shows us a good and valid reason for the despatch with which this ordinance was administered in the primitive Church. The believers did not lose a moment in obtaining the remission of their sins. Paul tarried three days after he believed, which is the longest delay recorded in the New Testament. The reason of this delay was the wonderful accompaniments of his conversion and preparation for the apostolic office. He was blind three days; scales fell from his eyes; he arose then forthwith and was baptized. The three thousand who first believed, on the selfsame day were baptized for the remission of their sins. Yea, even the jailer and his house would not wait till daylight, but the '*same hour of the night in which he believed he and all his were baptized*.' I say this view of baptism accounts for all those otherwise unaccountable circumstances. It was this view of baptism *misapplied* that originated infant baptism. The first errorists on this subject argued that if baptism was so necessary for the remission of sins, it should be administered to in-

faith, whom they represented as in great need of it on account of their 'original sin.' Affectionate parents, believing their children to be guilty of 'original sin,' were easily persuaded to have them baptized for the remission of 'original sin,' not for washing away sins actually committed. Faith in Christ is necessary to forgiveness of sins, therefore baptism without faith is an unmeaning ceremony. Even the Confession of Faith, or at least the Larger Catechism, says that baptism is a sign of the remission of sins. How then can it be administered to those without faith? Is it with them 'a *sign* and *seal* of engrafting into Christ, of remission of sins by his blood and regeneration by his Spirit,' as the answer to this question declares?

"One argument from this topic is, that baptism being ordained to be to a believer a formal and personal remission of all his sins, cannot be administered unto an infant without the greatest perversion and abuse of the nature and import of this ordinance. Indeed, why should an infant that never sinned—that, as Calvinists say is guilty only of '*original sin*,' which is an unit—be baptized for the remission of sins?" . . . .

Thus the design of baptism and its true place in the economy of the gospel had gradually become clearer, and its importance proportionally enhanced, in his estimation, since the debate with Walker. Often, during the intervening period, had this particular point been the subject of conversation between him and his father, as well as with Walter Scott, and of careful Scripture examinations, and these utterances in the McCalla debate presented the views they had beforehand agreed upon as the true and obvious teachings of the New Testament. Thomas Campbell had, indeed, in the second or September number of the "Christian Baptist," in an article intended for the first number, but delayed for want of room, briefly stated them in treating of "the primary intention of the gospel," which he

shows to have been a complete reconciliation of the sinner through the atonement of Christ, and that the effect of this was the belief of a full and free pardon of all his sins received in baptism. Thus, in 1823, the design of baptism was fully understood and publicly asserted. It was, however, reserved for Walter Scott, a few years later, to make a direct and practical application of the doctrine, and to secure for it the conspicuous place it has since occupied among the chief points urged in the Reformation.

Upon the third day, the weather having become colder, the debate was thereafter held in the Baptist meeting-house in the village. Upon the last day a somewhat amusing passage occurred. Mr. McCalla had dwelt at length upon the alleged dangers and indelicacies of immersion, insisting that it was pernicious not only to the subject, but to the administrator. "The administrators," he said, "were exposed to sickness, and it must unavoidably be injurious to them to be plunging into cold water at all seasons, and continuing in it so long as they often did; and miraculous escapes were not to be expected." To this Mr. Campbell replied:

"Benjamin Franklin, when minister in Paris, dined with a number of French and American gentlemen. A learned French abbé, at dinner, entertained the company with a learned disquisition on the deteriorating influence of the American climate on the bodies of all animals, alleging that the human body diminished in size and energy, and that even the mind itself shared in the general deterioration. Dr. Franklin made no reply; but after dinner, having told the company with what pleasure he had heard the learned disquisitions of the philosopher, he moved that the company be divided, observing that the fairest way of testing the correctness of the abbé's theory was to place all the Americans on

one side of the room and the French on the other. The motion was carried, and behold a company of little, swarthy, insignificant Frenchmen on one side, and a row of little giants on the other! 'Ay,' says the Doctor, 'see, here is a striking proof of the correctness of your theory!' Now let us take the philosopher's way of testing the correctness of the theory of my opponent. There sits on the bench a Baptist and a Pædobaptist teacher, both well advanced in years; the former has, we are told, immersed more persons than any other person of the same age in the United States; the other, from his venerable age, may be supposed to have sprinkled a great many infants. Now, see the pernicious tendency of immersion on the Baptist, and the happy influence of sprinkling on the Pædobaptist!"

As Mr. Birch, the Presbyterian moderator, was a small and somewhat sickly-looking person, and Bishop Vardeman was of magnificent proportions, being upward of six feet in stature, weighing three hundred pounds and of a remarkably florid aspect, possessing uncommon and undiminished energy and vigor, though fifty years of age, the striking contrast thus presented, and the ironical illustration it furnished, greatly amused the audience at the expense of Mr. McCalla and his argument.

This debate during its continuance took a very wide range, and as Mr. McCalla's discomfiture was manifest notwithstanding his adroitness, the effect of the discussion upon the community was very decided, and many were convinced by it that infant baptism was merely a human tradition. Mr. Campbell, accordingly, near the close, thought it proper to give the Pædobaptists another opportunity to redeem the credit of their cause. He accordingly renewed his challenge, and as his estimate of the clergy had by no means been improved by his experience with Mr. McCalla, he engaged also to

prove that the clergy were unauthorized as a distinct order in the Church.

On the seventh day, Mr. McCalla stipulated for the last speech, which Mr. Campbell conceded, on condition that Mr. McCalla would make no misstatements of facts; but he nevertheless attempted to excite the prejudices of the people against Mr. Campbell by charging him with being an enemy to all morality, to the observance of the Sabbath, and to the good cause of sending the gospel to the heathen.

He then concluded by giving his challenge—viz., "that he would never discuss this question again until an opponent would come from the regions discovered by Captain Simmes, and until a moderator would come from Holland weighing five hundred pounds." After haranguing the people a few minutes on these topics he sat down. Mr. Campbell then made these closing remarks:

"Mr. McCalla, in stipulating, before he began to speak, that I should not reply, appeared to have been actuated by good policy, but bad motives. His last effort was to blast my reputation, as the only expedient left to heal the wound inflicted on his pride and on his cause, and thus to weaken the convictions of truth on the minds of the audience. I said that I was no enemy to morals, but that I had remonstrated against those little, persecuting, fining, confining, anti-republican confederations called moral associations; that I advocated the best means, as I conceived, of sending the gospel to the heathen, and was conscientiously opposed to the present popular, moneyed, speculating schemes of hiring missionaries; that I religiously regarded the first day of the week to the Lord, not as the Jewish Sabbath, but according to the spirit and scope of the religion of our Lord. But, said I, if any present wish to become better acquainted with my views on all these topics, as I make no secret of them, they can be made fully acquainted with them by perusing a monthly pub-

lication, entitled the 'Christian Baptist,' which I have lately commenced publishing. I hoped the congregation would know how to appreciate the last accusations of Mr. McCalla, who had now descended to that vile slander which was the dernier resort of those who neither possessed nor could wield the sword of truth."

As Mr. McCalla, for a considerable time prior to the discussion, had greatly annoyed the Baptists by assailing occasionally their distinctive tenets, his defeat gave them great satisfaction and raised Mr. Campbell very highly in their estimation. It was not Mr. Campbell's aim, however, to advocate the peculiarities of the Baptists, or to seek popularity among them by fostering their favorite but defective views of the gospel and its institutions. True to his own special mission, he made no concealment of the principles of the Reformation, or of the great truths which these had already developed; and accepted the discussion in the beginning rather in order to introduce these than merely to defend the baptism of believers. As a large number of Baptists were present at the discussion, and many of their most influential preachers, he felt that a favorable opportunity was afforded of leading them forward to more enlarged and correct views of Christianity, and of promoting the great object of his life, the union of Christians upon the Bible alone. Believing himself, also, comparatively unknown in Kentucky, and having purposely withheld the "Christian Baptist" from this State, he hoped to obtain a more impartial hearing for the views he wished to present. Hence during the debate it was a point of great interest with him to develop the *design* of baptism, which was quite a novelty to the Baptists. He sought, also, to lead them to a more rational mode of reading, interpreting and using the Bible than that to which

they had been accustomed under the textuary system, and to more extended and correct views of the nature and polity of the kingdom of Christ. During the progress of the discussion, finding the denominational spirit growing stronger and stronger, and being almost overwhelmed by a profuse outpouring of Baptist compliments, he had thought it best on the evening of the fifth day to state candidly and fairly to the principal Baptist preachers the exact position which he occupied. Being all assembled in a room at Major Davis', where he stayed, he introduced himself fully to their acquaintance in the following manner, as related by himself:

"'Brethren, I fear that if you knew me better you would esteem and love me less. For let me tell you that I have almost as much against you Baptists as I have against the Presbyterians. They err in one thing and you in another; and probably you are each nearly equidistant from original apostolic Christianity.' I paused; and such a silence as ensued, accompanied by a piercing look from all sides of the room, I seldom before witnessed. Elder Vardeman at length broke silence by saying: 'Well, sir, we want to know our errors or your heterodoxy. Do let us hear it. Keep nothing back.' I replied, 'I know not where to begin; nor am I in health and vigor, after the toils of the day, to undertake so heavy a task. But,' said I, 'I am commencing a publication called the *Christian Baptist*, to be devoted to all such matters, a few copies of which are in my portmanteau, and, with your permission, I will read you a few specimens of my heterodoxy.' They all said, 'Let us hear—let us hear the worst error you have against us.' I went up stairs and unwrapped the first three numbers of the 'Christian Baptist' that ever saw the light in Kentucky. I had just *ten copies* of the first three numbers. I carried them into the parlor, and sitting down, I read, as a sample, the first essay on the clergy—so much of it as respected the '*call to the ministry*' as then taught in the 'kingdom of the clergy,' and especially

among the Baptists. This was the first essay ever read from that work in Kentucky. After a sigh and a long silence, Elder Vardeman said, 'Is that your worst error, your chief heterodoxy? I don't care so much about that, as you admit that we may have a providential call, without a voice from heaven or a special visit from some angel or spirit. If you have anything worse, for my part I wish to hear it.' The cry was, 'Let us hear something more.' On turning to and fro, I next read an article on 'Modern Missionaries.' This, with the 'Capital Mistake of Modern Missionaries,' finished my readings for the evening.

"On closing this essay, Elder Vardeman said: 'I am not so great a missionary man as to fall out with you on that subject. I must hear more before I condemn or approve.' I then distributed my ten copies amongst the ten most distinguished and advanced elders in the room, requesting them to read these numbers during the recess of the debate, and to communicate freely to me their objections. We separated. So the matter ended at that time."

At the close of the debate the Baptist preachers were so much pleased with the results, and so tolerant of what they found in the "Christian Baptist," that they requested Mr. Campbell to furnish them with the printed proposals for its publication, in order to extend its circulation, and urged him to make an immediate tour through the State. This his engagements forbade, and he could only comply with their wishes so far as to visit and preach at Mayslick, Bryant's Station, in the vicinity of Elder Vardeman's residence, and at Lexington, promising to make a tour, if possible, during the ensuing autumn through a considerable portion of the State.

As Mr. McCalla's character for ability was well established and equally well sustained by his Presbyterian brethren, the result of the discussion was less damaging to his reputation than to the cause he advocated, which,

throughout the entire West, never recovered from the blow which it then received. Mr. McCalla, nevertheless, labored for some time afterward to change public opinion by preaching upon the subject in various parts of Kentucky, endeavoring, at the same time, to prejudice the minds of the people in advance against the report of the debate, which it was understood Mr. Campbell intended to publish. From his closing remarks in the discussion and his mock challenge, intended as a sarcasm upon Elder Vardeman's portly figure, he was evidently conscious of his own failure, and naturally sought to obviate the results as far as practicable. However unsuccessful in this, his persevering zeal in behalf of the Pædobaptist cause was fully appreciated by his friends, in evidence of which he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and, after a time, removed to Philadelphia.

Unlike his opponent, who seemed to be entirely satisfied with his controversial experience, Mr. Campbell was by this debate rendered still more favorable to public discussion. "This," said he afterward, "is, we are convinced, one of the best means of propagating the truth and of exposing error in doctrine or practice. We now reap the benefit of the public debates of former times, and we have witnessed the beneficial results of those in our own time. And we are fully persuaded that a week's debating is worth a year's preaching, such as we generally have, for the purpose of disseminating truth and putting error out of countenance. There is nothing like meeting face to face, in the presence of many witnesses, and 'talking the matter over;' and the man that cannot govern his own spirit in the midst of opposition and contradiction is a poor Christian indeed."

As to the effect of the debate upon Mr. Campbell's

reputation and influence, these were very largely extended by it. So many preachers from a distance had been present during the discussion, and so many lawyers and other persons of intelligence capable of appreciating Mr. Campbell's extraordinary dialectic power, that his talents became at once generally recognized throughout the State. This result was also largely promoted by his short visit to the interior immediately after the discussion. At David's Fork Church, in Fayette county, one of the four to which Elder Vardeman ministered, Mr. Campbell was astonished at the vast concourse assembled to hear him, and, as the presence of a large audience always roused him to his best efforts and seemed to waken up his latent powers, the people were still more surprised at the extraordinary abilities manifested by the speaker.

Among other points, Mr. Campbell was to visit Lexington, which, in a literary point of view, was, at this period, regarded as the "Athens of the West." Transylvania University was now in a most flourishing condition under the presidency of Dr. Horace Holley, a fine classical scholar, and greatly admired as an orator in a community passionately fond of oratory, and which possessed such men as Clay, Crittenden, Barry, Rowan, S. P. Sharp and Ben. Hardin. As Dr. Holley was a man of popular manners and liberal principles, the University had risen rapidly in public esteem, and was filled with students from the South and West in all its departments—its school of medicine, which then numbered among its professors Charles Caldwell and B. W. Dudley, being regarded as second only to the Philadelphia medical institutions. Lexington could also, at this time, boast of one of the ablest literary periodicals of the West, edited by William Gibbs Hunt.

Mr. Campbell was to preach in the capacious meeting house used by the Baptist church in charge of Dr James Fishback. The doctor was a man of superior talents, elegant manners and remarkably fine personal appearance, being far above the ordinary height, well-proportioned and with dark hair and regular and expressive features. He had fine didactic powers—was a close reasoner, and independent and somewhat original in his way of thinking. He had been once a successful practitioner of law, but abandoned this for the study of medicine, which, however, he soon left for the Presbyterian ministry. Becoming afterward convinced that immersion was the proper action denoted by "baptism," he did not hesitate to unite with the small and contemned Baptist church at Lexington, which, by means of his zeal, energy and ability, soon became one of the largest, most active and prosperous churches in the West. He had published, some time before, a work on the human mind, which displayed unusual power of thought, and was considered a valuable contribution to mental science. He thus occupied a very high position, not only among the Baptists, but in the intelligent and cultivated society of Lexington, before which Mr. Campbell was now to appear, a comparatively unknown stranger, from an obscure creek called Buffalo among the silent hills of Western Virginia.

At the hour of meeting, the house was crowded to its utmost capacity. When Mr. Campbell rose, he appeared pale and exhausted, owing to the dyspepsia from which he had not yet fully recovered, and was unable to stand entirely erect during the delivery of his discourse. This was based on the first chapter of Hebrews, and led the speaker to dwell upon the divine glory of the Son of God—a theme upon which he was always surpassingly

eloquent. It lasted two hours, during which the audience sat in rapt attention. Dr. Theodore S. Bell, now a distinguished physician of Louisville, but then a youth, was present, and thus speaks of it:

"I never had heard anything that approached the power of that discourse, nor have I ever heard it equaled since. Under the training of my mother, one of the most thorough scholars in the Bible that I ever knew, and of Dr. Fishback, although I then made no pretensions to Christianity, I was almost as familiar with the Bible as with my alphabet. But that speech on Hebrews lifted me into a world of thought of which I had previously known nothing. It has been forty-five years since I heard that pulpit discourse, but it is as vivid in my memory, I think, as when I first heard it."

The impression made upon the entire audience was very marked. They recognized at once in Alexander Campbell the mightiest intellect that had ever visited their city. The freshness of his thoughts, the extent and accuracy of his biblical knowledge, and his grand generalizations of the wonderful facts of redemption opened up trains of reflection wholly new, and presented the subject of Christianity in a form so simple and yet so comprehensive as to fill every one with admiration. Nor were they less struck with the perfect ease with which he developed and illustrated the most profound and enlarged conceptions, seemingly by an inexhaustible interior power, unaided by the slightest gesture or any of the arts of elocution. Nor did his unassuming, humble and unobtrusive deportment in the social circles of the most eminent citizens whom he met, especially in the elegant mansion where Dr. Fishback and his amiable Christian lady dispensed a munificent hospitality, make a less favorable impression; so that from this time forward Mr. Campbell was esteemed

by the people of Kentucky as great among the greatest of her public men, and without a rival in the department to which he had devoted his powers. The consideration which he thus received from the intelligent citizens of Kentucky, their genial hospitality and frank and simple manners, so accordant with his own, made a deep impression upon him, and he was wont always to speak in the most feeling terms of the kindness and love shown him by the people of Kentucky, whom he often visited in after years, and among whom the reformatory principles soon became very widely diffused.

Prior to the discussion with McCalla, Mr. Campbell, however, was by no means so little known in Kentucky as he imagined. His published debate with Walker had been read by some of the Baptist preachers there, as Wm. Vaughan, Vardeman and others, with great satisfaction, and they had been wont ever afterward to speak of Mr. Campbell in the highest terms. It was these encomiums which as early as the years 1820 and 1821, had made a most favorable impression in reference to Mr. Campbell upon the mind of a young minister, recently from England, P. S. Fall, who had already acquired distinction among the Baptists of Kentucky, and was destined to exert no inconsiderable influence upon the fortunes of the Reformation. His refined manners and unblemished character gave him a high standing in society, while his cogent reasoning, clear enunciation and remarkably correct use of words rendered him popular as a preacher. During 1822, while preaching for a church which he had gathered at Louisville, he met with Mr. Campbell's Sermon or Law, and was led by it to clearer views of the distinction between the law and the gospel. This distinction

he clearly traced in a discourse delivered to a large audience at Frankfort in the winter of 1823, and which proved quite unpalatable to some Baptist preachers present, with whose theology it conflicted. Continuing his efforts, however, Mr. Fall became the first resident Baptist minister in Kentucky to take his stand openly in favor of the principles of the Reformation.

Upon his return home from the McCalla debate, Mr. Campbell made immediate preparation for its publication from his own notes and those taken at the time by Sidney Rigdon, and, notwithstanding Mr. McCalla's effort to discredit it before its appearance, its general accuracy was fully attested by those who had heard the discussion. With some animadversions on the publications of Messrs. Ralston, Walker and others, it formed a volume of over four hundred pages, containing a large amount of interesting matter in regard to the subject in controversy. Mr. Campbell observed in his Preface: "If the whole of this work were a forgery, it combats every argument advanced by the Pædobaptists, and if the arguments impugned in this volume are refuted, the reader may rest assured there are no others to exhibit." This discussion, indeed, thus reported and circulated, proved to be the severest blow that Pædobaptism had ever received in any part of the world.

At the same time, Mr. Campbell continued to urge his plea for Reformation through the pages of the "Christian Baptist" and in his public addresses with undiminished vigor. Many persons, released from clerical rule, were incited to religious inquiry and were induced to commence the study of the Scriptures for themselves. To these, Mr. Campbell endeavored to render all possible aid, by directing attention to the differences between ancient and modern Christianity,

and by furnishing useful hints as to the proper method of studying the word of God.

"Such readers of this paper," said he, "as believe *that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God*, and consequently wish to understand his word, to do and to enjoy his will, we address, in a subserviency to our grand design, in the following words:

"That you may relish and understand the New Testament is our earnest desire. We will, therefore, suggest to you a plan of reading the blessed volume, which reason, common sense, and the experience of all who have tried it, recommend and enforce. We will only premise one sentence, viz.: that as God kindly revealed himself, his will, and our salvation in human language, the words of human language which he used for this purpose must have been used by his Spirit, in the commonly received sense among mankind generally; else it could not have been a revelation, for a revelation in words not understood in the common sense is no revelation at all. You will then take, say, a New Testament and sit down with a pencil or a pen in your hand. Begin with Matthew's gospel; read the whole of it at one reading or two; mark on the margin every sentence you think you do not understand. Turn back again, read it a second time in less portions at once than in the first reading; cancel such marks as you have made which noted passages which on the first reading appeared to you dark or difficult to understand, but on the second reading opened to your view. Then read Mark, Luke and John in the same manner, as they all treat on the same subject. After having read each evangelist in this way, read them all in succession a third time. At this time you will be able, no doubt, to cancel many of your marks. Then read the Acts of the Apostles, which is the key to all the Epistles; then the Epistles in a similar manner. Always, before reading an epistle, read everything said about the people addressed in the epistle which you find in the Acts of the Apostles. This is the course which we would take to understand any book. You will no doubt see,

from what you read, the necessity of accompanying all your readings with supplications to the *Father of Lights* for that instruction which he has graciously promised to all that ask him, praying that 'the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him; the eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places.' Eph. i. 17–20. 'That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.' Eph. iii. 17, 19.

"In pursuing this plan, we have no doubt, in getting even three times through the New Testament, that you will learn much more of the Christian religion than a learned divine could teach you in seven years. It will add, however, considerably to your advantage should you find two, three, ten or a dozen similarly disposed, who will meet and read and converse and pray with you, and you with them, once a week, or should you be a member of a church, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord. Do, we entreat you, make the experiment, and if it prove not so useful as we have hinted, remind us of it; tell us your disappointment, and then we will be deservedly worthy of blame. Beware of having any commentator or system before your eyes or your mind. Open the New Testament as if mortal man had never seen it before. Your acquaintance with the Old Testament will incalculably facilitate your proficiency in the New. The time requisite will be redeemed time. It will not interfere with your ordinary duties. Oh remember that this knowledge is better than all acquisitions! that happy is the man

that 'findeth wisdom and the man that getteth understanding; for the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left, riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace. She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy is every one that retaineth her.'" Prov. iii. 13, 18.

Such directions were really needed at this period by the religious community, as few amongst them deemed themselves authorized or competent to derive religious instruction directly from the Bible. Men had converted religion into the science of theology. Each party had its own theories, which its own clergy were appointed to inculcate, and in harmony with which the Scripture must be constantly explained. "Divinity" had become one of the "learned professions," and as the client presumed not to judge the law for himself, but relied upon the opinion of his lawyer, or the patient upon that of his physician, so the laity ventured not to determine the meaning of the Scripture for themselves, but depended upon their clergy for its interpretation. As each sect, however, had a different theory, and by consequence a different interpretation of the Bible, many were disposed to say to each as Mary Queen of Scots said to John Knox, in referring to his teachings and those of the priests: "You interpret the Scriptures in one way, and they in another; whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?" Mr. Campbell's response to such inquiries was simply the noble reply which the uncompromising Reformer made to the queen: "You shall believe God," said Knox, "who plainly speaketh in his word; and further than the word teacheth you, you shall believe

neither the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in itself, and if there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, who is never contrary to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places, so that there can remain no doubt but unto such as are obstinately ignorant."—*McCrie's Life of John Knox*, p. 228.

As the "Christian Baptist" began now to be more extensively circulated, and the Scriptures more carefully studied, many minds became freed from the religious systems and theories of the times. In Pittsburg, after the meeting of the Redstone Association in 1823, a greater degree of intimacy took place between Walter Scott and Sidney Rigdon, and their respective congregations, so that, in 1824, a union was consummated between them. A few members of the Baptist church who refused to unite were then recognized by the committee of the Association as the only legitimate Baptist church in Pittsburg. These results of the principles urged by Mr. Campbell greatly provoked his opposers, who renewed their efforts to excite the public against him. Taking advantage of the prejudices thus created, an impostor, called Thomas T. Counceil, claiming to be a Baptist preacher, and with forged credentials in his pocket in the name of Messrs. Frey, Wheeler, Luse and Brownfield, traveled about through Western Pennsylvania, railing against Mr. Campbell and urgently soliciting contributions. Another individual, who made himself quite notorious about this time, was Lawrence Greatrake, a regular Baptist preacher, of a restless spirit and strong passions, who occupied himself in itinerating through the country, wherever he could obtain a hearing, either in Baptist or Pædobaptist congregations, breathing forth misrepresentation and abuse of

Mr. Campbell and his teachings. The bitter spirit, however, by which he was characterized, rendered his reckless assertions doubtful to thoughtful and impartial hearers, and served rather to further the Reformation by exciting their curiosity to read Mr. Campbell's writings or to hear him for themselves. As to Mr. Greatrake, he continued his itinerant labors for a considerable time, and published a scurrilous pamphlet against Mr. Campbell; but afterward, falling into disgrace, became an apostate, and finally, in passing through a piece of woods on his way to a place of shelter, was suddenly crushed to death by a falling tree.

In the Association on the Western Reserve, meanwhile, the new views were making rapid and comparatively peaceful progress. Hence when, in September, 1824, Mr. Campbell was sent, in conjunction with John Brown and George Young, as a messenger from the church at Wellsburg, now consisting of forty members, to propose a union with that body, he was very kindly received. The meeting this year was held at Hubbard, in Trumbull county. Adamson Bentley, who had been moderator at the previous meeting, preached the introductory sermon from John iii. 16, 17. Thomas Miller was then chosen moderator, and E. Leavitt clerk. Upon the minutes it is entered as the sixth item: "At the request of the Church of Christ at Wellsburg it was received into this Association." In conformity with the rules of the Association, Mr. Campbell presented on this occasion a written statement of belief which he had prepared, and which was duly received and entered upon the records. The simple declarations of this document, and its constant reference to the Scriptures, form quite a contrast with the detailed enumerations of theological and speculative questions always found in the

church creeds of this period. In the character of the queries sent up from the churches to this meeting the working of the reformatory principles may be readily traced, and their progress may be still more distinctly observed in the answers appended, which, however, were postponed to the next meeting of the Association, and are here added from the minutes of that year (1825):

"*Queries from Nelson Church.*—1. Will this Association hold in its connection a church which acknowledges no other rule of faith and practice than the Scriptures? Answer: Yes, on satisfactory evidence that they walk according to this rule. 2. In what manner were members received into churches set in order by the apostles? Answer: Those who believed and were baptized were added to the churches. 3. How were members excluded from the church? Answer: By a vote of the brethren.

"*Query from New Lisbon Church.*—Is it scriptural to license a brother to administer the word and not the ordinances? Answer: We have no such custom taught in the Scriptures.

"*Query from Randolph Church.*—Can Associations in their present modifications find their model in the New Testament? Answer: Not exactly.

"*Query from Youngstown Church.*—Was the practice of the primitive Church an exact pattern to succeeding ages, and is every practice designed for good to be receded from which was not the practice of the primitive saints in their peculiar circumstances? Answer: It is the duty and high privilege of every Christian to aim at an exact conformity to the example of the churches set in order by the apostles, and to endeavor to imitate them in all things imitable by them."

The attention of these churches had thus evidently been strongly directed to the primitive Church as the

true model for succeeding ages; the spirit of inquiry had been awakened; there was manifestly a searching of the Scriptures, under the impression that these were intelligible to the common mind; and a disposition to call in question such religious customs and opinions as were destitute of Divine authority.

CHAPTER IV.

Visit to Kentucky—Experimental Religion—Virginia and Kentucky Baptist preachers—"Christian Baptist"—Work of the Spirit—Ancient order of things—Tour in Virginia—R. B. Semple—Christian communion—Progress of truth.

SOON after his return from the meeting of the Mahoning Association in September, 1824, Mr. Campbell paid his promised visit to Kentucky. During his tour, which occupied nearly three months, he visited a large portion of the State, addressing everywhere large audiences, and greatly extending his influence and acquaintance with the Baptists. The notions he had entertained concerning them as a people in the early part of his ministry had been greatly changed by his intercourse with them, so that he had learned to esteem them very highly, and to regard them as much nearer the primitive pattern than any other religious denomination. He regarded their conceptions of the Church of Christ as essentially correct, and thought it would not be difficult to eliminate from the Baptist churches such erroneous theories and usages as had gained admission.

It was with these convictions that he now visited the Baptists of Kentucky, in order to impart to them, as well as to the community at large, those clearer views of the gospel to which his own mind had been conducted by the careful study of the Sacred Oracles. These, to some extent, he had already presented during the past year in the successive numbers of the "Christian Baptist,"

which had been read throughout Kentucky with great avidity, and had produced considerable excitement among the churches. Some individuals were favorably impressed with the plea for reform; others remained in perplexity and doubt, while not a few were disposed to cling tenaciously to their cherished opinions. All were ready to admit that a bright star had risen in the East among the Baptists, but whether it would guide them nearer to Jesus, or, like a passing meteor, leave them in greater darkness, none seemed as yet able to determine. When at length, in the March number of the first volume, with that truthful candor so characteristic of him, Mr. Campbell discussed the subject of "Experimental Religion," showing the expression itself, as well as the popular notion connected with it, to be unscriptural, a great number became offended, and many misrepresentations of his real sentiments were circulated abroad. He was charged with "denying the necessity of being born again by the Spirit of God;" with "confining all grace to the apostolic age;" with being "an enemy to heart-religion," etc.

It will not appear strange, indeed, to one familiar with human nature, that such impressions should have been made in the existing condition of religious society by so direct an assault upon one of the most favorite notions of the time. Theological systems had then entire control of the public mind. Through these alone men were accustomed to look at the Scripture, which in all cases received its law of interpretation from the particular theory which had been previously adopted. The various points of Calvinism or of Arminianism, and the metaphysical speculations of ingenious theological writers, such as John Gill and Andrew Fuller, were then the great themes of public discourses and of private

converse. Among the theories in vogue there was no one so generally popular as that which attributed conversion to "the direct and irresistible power of the Holy Spirit." Such were the views entertained of man's utter depravity and inability that he was supposed to be incapable even of receiving the gospel, or of believing aright the testimony of God without a special operation of the Spirit, which was supposed to be withheld or granted according to the sovereign will and pleasure of God. It was conceived to be the great and chief work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men thus to create the soul anew by an overwhelming power, a sudden and mysterious spiritual baptism, wholly apart from the influence of the word of God, which, like the sinner himself, was supposed to be "dead" until specially applied and made effective by the Spirit. The minds of men were thus directed, not to the evidences and assurances furnished by the word of God, but to the varying moods of the mind and the fitful feelings of the heart. On these, when adjudged by some fanciful standard to be genuine, they were led to rely, and hence to such inward impressions was naturally transferred the office which baptism subserved in the primitive Church, and of which it had been divested in the modern; and every one who had a "religious experience," as it was termed, was accustomed to refer to it as the assurance of his pardon and acceptance with God, as well as his title to church membership and Christian fellowship. It can be easily seen, therefore, how a free criticism upon that which, in the popular view, constituted the very essence of true religion, must necessarily give offence and create misapprehension.

Mr. Campbell, however, desired simply to vindicate the claims of the word of God, which he believed to be

set entirely aside by the doctrine in question, and to induce men to "look off to Christ," rather than to trust in their own frames and feelings. Like the Haldanes and their pious coadjutor, John Campbell, he had learned to rest on the promises of God, and desired that all should enjoy the permanent and blessed assurance thus afforded. He occupied, indeed, a very different point of view from the preachers of the time, and his mind ranged in a much wider sphere. As, before the time of Bacon, the facts of nature were explained or perverted to suit the theories of philosophers, so now the facts and teachings of the Bible were applied and interpreted to suit the various systems of theology. Lifting himself above all human theories and speculations, Mr. Campbell strictly applied the inductive method to the Bible, and made *its* facts and revelations the great basis of religious thought and the sure foundation of all religious trust. His method of discoursing was hence totally unlike that of other preachers. In discussing the great themes of salvation, he manifested a breadth of view, a depth of biblical knowledge, a freshness of thought and a grandeur in his combinations of facts and arguments which imparted instruction and delight. At his bidding, the facts of Scripture seemed to acquire new force and meaning; a connected train of scriptural truths and illustrations opened up unexpected and lofty views of the Divine plan of redemption; while, ascending to higher planes of thought, he left far beneath him the controversies and difficulties of all human systems, as the eagle soaring aloft in the sunlight leaves far below him the stormy clouds that darken the mountain's brow or overspread the valley with gloom and desolation.

Under the circumstances above detailed Mr Camp-

bell's tour among the Baptist churches in Kentucky gave rise to a great diversity of feeling. This may be best conceived, however, from the impressions he made on some prominent individuals who subsequently acted an important part in favoring or opposing the Reformation. Among the former, John Smith deserves particular mention. He was a Baptist preacher, who without education, and amidst many difficulties and trials, had raised himself, by his extraordinary natural abilities, to great and merited distinction. He possessed a practical sagacity, a largeness of heart and mind and a clearness and quickness of insight such as are rarely found. To these he added an unfailing memory, a remarkable talent for genial humor and unequaled skill at repartee, so that his witty replies became familiarly known throughout the State. He possessed withal great candor, a deep and fervent love of truth, and had a mind so constituted that he could not feel satisfied with any doctrine or system if it appeared to him in any way inconsistent with itself. Hence, it was that although he had adopted the Calvinian theory held by the Baptists, and was thoroughly conversant with the points of controversy debated with Arminians, he never could fairly reconcile in his own mind, in their practical aspects, some of the tenets which his system obliged him to teach. On one occasion in 1822, at Spencer Creek meeting-house, while in the midst of a warm exhortation, he was suddenly so struck with one of these inconsistencies of doctrine, between the freeness of the gospel and the Calvinian theory, that he stopped short, and after a pause, exclaimed to the surprised audience, "Something is wrong among us, but how to get it right I know not!" Well assured, however, that no such contradictions could

exist in the Scriptures, he from this time devoted himself to a more careful examination of the word of God, in order to discover, if possible, where his theological system had departed from it.

He had heard of Mr. Campbell's debate with Walker, and had desired to attend the McCalla debate, but was hindered by sickness in his family. Being presented with a prospectus of the "Christian Baptist" by Buckner H. Payne of Mount Sterling, and finding that Mr. Campbell intended to discuss certain questions which had given him much trouble, he at once subscribed for it, and read the numbers with much interest, though greatly doubting many of the positions which were taken. When the essay on "Experimental Religion" appeared, he hardly knew what to think of it, but, though some of his Baptist friends were much displeased and withdrew their subscriptions, he was so fascinated by Mr. Campbell's perspicuous and lively style of writing that he continued to take the paper. When he heard of Mr. Campbell's arrival in Kentucky in 1824, and learned that he designed to visit Flemingsburg, he thought it proper to go and meet him there and conduct him to Mount Sterling, where he himself then lived, and where Mr. Campbell had his next appointment. On entering the town, he met with William Vaughan, who had been with Mr. Campbell for eight days and nights, during his tour through Mason and Bracken counties, and had heard him preach every day. The introduction that followed, and the succeeding incidents, may be best given as related by John Smith, himself, to his friend Albert Allen of Fayette county:

"'Well,' said I to Elder Vaughan, 'what *are* his religious views on doctrinal points? Is he a Calvinist or Arminian, an Arian or a Trinitarian?'

"His answer was, 'I do not know; he has nothing to do with any of these things.'

"I answered, *I* could tell when I heard him, what he was.

"'How?' said he.

"I replied, he is a man of *sense*, and, if he takes a position and does not run out into any of these *isms*, I can tell where he would land if it was run out. I asked again, 'But do you think he knows anything about heartfelt religion?'

"'God bless you, Brother John!' said he; 'he is one of the most pious, godly men I was ever in company with in my life.'

"'But do you think he knows anything about a Christian experience?'

"'Why, Lord bless you! he *knows everything*. Come, I want to introduce you to him.'

"We went to the house. Says Brother Vaughan, 'Brother Campbell, I want to introduce you to Brother John Smith.'

"'Ah,' said he, 'is this Brother Smith? Well, I know Brother Smith pretty well, although I have never seen him before.'

"I then felt as if I wanted to sit down and *look* at him for one hour, without hearing a word from any one. I wanted to scan *him* who had been so much talked of, and who had, in the 'Christian Baptist,' and in his debates, introduced so many *new* thoughts into my mind. Time had now come, however, to start to the meeting-house, and we all started On reaching there, the house being small, we found preparations had been made for seating the congregation on logs and planks in the rear of the house. A small stand of planks, laid on blocks against the wall, had been erected for the speaker. These accommodations, however, were not sufficient for the immense crowd, and many had to stand up. I took my seat on one end of the plank on which he stood, determined *now* to find out to what *ism* he belonged in point of doctrine, for I was full of doubt and suspicion.

"He commenced in the usual way, and read the allegory of Sarah and Hagar in the fourth chapter of Galatians.

After a general outline of the whole epistle, and how it ought to be read, in order to a correct understanding of the apostle's meaning, he commenced directly on the allegory. I watched all the time with my whole mind to find out to what *ism* he belonged, but he seemed to move in a higher sphere than that in which these *isms* abounded. In a simple, plain and artless manner, leaning with one hand on the head of his cane, he went through his discourse. No gesture or any kind of mannerism characterized him, or served to call off the mind from what was being said.

"The congregation being dismissed, I said to Brother Vaughan, 'Is it not a little hard to ride thirty miles to hear a man preach thirty minutes?'

"'Oh,' said he, 'he has been longer than that. Look at your watch.'

"On looking, I found it had been *two hours and thirty minutes*, and simply said, 'Two hours of my time are gone and I know not how, though *wide awake*.'

"Returning to Brother Reynolds', Brother Vaughan asked me, 'Did you *find* out whether he was a Calvinist or an Arminian?'

"'No; I know nothing about him, but, be he devil or saint, he has thrown more light on that epistle and the whole Scriptures than I have heard in all the sermons I ever listened to before.' Soon after dinner, in company with four or five other preachers, among whom were Brothers Payne, Vaughan and old William Moss, we started for Brother Cannon's, who lived some three or four miles off, on the road to Mt. Sterling.

"Going along, I threw myself in company with Brother Campbell, to ride with him. In the commencement of our conversation, I made a remark to him like this: 'Brother Campbell, I do not wish to meet any man in judgment, having entertained an unfavorable opinion of him without good grounds, and I will now say to you what I have never said to any man before—that, religiously speaking, I am *suspicious* of you, and having an unfavorable opinion of you, I am willing to give the reasons why.'

"'Well, Brother John,' said he, 'if all my Baptist brethren would treat me as candidly as you have done, I would think more of them, as it would afford me an opportunity to explain my views.'

"But before I could reply, he laughed and said, 'I expected when I saw you, to know all you thought of me;' and then told me he had heard that during the Bracken Association, held in Carlisle last September, a number of preachers went to a certain house for dinner, and were abusing *me* terribly for the attack I had made upon the clergy, when you said that 'the clergy needed so much of such abuse that you were willing to be whipped almost to death to get the others killed.'

"I told him I had so said, and did it sincerely, too. I then mentioned the strange piece before alluded to, on 'experimental religion,' and suggested that something must be hidden behind that, as I knew he understood as well as any one what the 'populars' meant by experimental religion, and was not so ignorant as the piece would seem to intimate.

"'My father,' said he, 'gave me a scolding for publishing that piece too soon, as he thought the people were not ready for it. But I have a series of essays on hand on the work of the Holy Spirit, which will explain the whole matter, and this was only thrown out to call the attention of the clergy.'

"On the next morning we parted company with the balance of the preachers, and Brother Campbell and myself started for Mt. Sterling. Much interesting conversation took place on the way, and conduced much to my correct understanding of his views. I will not attempt to relate all that passed. One little incident I will relate. Having crossed Licking River and riding slowly up the bank, I asked Brother Campbell to tell me *his experience*. He readily did so, and in turn asked a relation of mine, which was given.

"After hearing his experience, I would cheerfully have given him the hand of fellowship. It was one which any Baptist church would have cheerfully received, and was almost substantially such as mine. He took occasion to say

that he had never discarded the existence of such experiences on the part of the sinner, but objected to the use made of such things, as determining the proper prerequisites of baptism, and went on to explain the necessity of taking the *word of God*, rather than our feelings, as guides in such things.

"Many other questions were asked by me, and explained by him, till we reached Mt. Sterling. Here I heard from him three discourses, and going on as far as North Middleton, I parted with him.

"This, to me, interesting sojourn with Brother Campbell, led to the removal of many obstacles and to the solution of many difficulties of a religious kind, and left me persuaded of better things of him than when we first met. But it was not until after a year of careful examination of the Scriptures that I was fully convinced of the scripturality of his views, and commenced the advocacy of the Bible as a sufficient rule of faith and practice."

From this narrative it will be seen that Mr. Campbell was not opposed to "religious experiences," but to the use made of them as substitutes for that assurance which is derived from the word of God—that simple trust in Jesus which the gospel requires. He believed, as Moses Stuart, of Andover, said upon his deathbed, that "feelings in religious experience are deceptive;" and, like that eminent man, sought to rescue the Bible from its slavery to theological systems, to restore its free meaning as the true reliance of the soul, and to direct the attention to the *life* as the proper evidence of faith and the true test of fealty. He was convinced, to use the language of the great and good Dr. Wayland, that "the moral sense of men and the Bible were, by the power that originated both, adapted to each other." Hence, he believed with the latter "that if the truths of the word of God were brought near to

the soul, the effect must be felt," and in harmony with this belief, like the primitive laborers, he "ceased not to preach and to teach CHRIST," being divinely assured that "faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Whatever metaphysical theories men might adopt as to the operations of the mind, he could see no propriety in the attempt to make conversion, in all its details, conform to such human systems, in order to secure an acceptance which, *in the beginning*, was accorded to all those who "hearing, believed and were baptized."*

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* The account which Dr. Wayland gives of his own religious struggles is so striking a commentary on the views advocated by Mr. Campbell, and so strongly confirmatory of their correctness, that it is here subjoined: "I had marked out for myself," said he, "a plan of conversion in accordance with the prevailing theological notions. First, I must have agonizing convictions, then deep and overwhelming repentance, then a view of Christ as my Saviour, which should fill me with transports, and from all this would proceed a new and holy life. Until this was done, I could perform no work pleasing to God, and all that I could do was abomination in his sight. For these emotions, then, I prayed, but received nothing in answer which corresponded to my theory of conversion. I devoted I know not how much time to prayer and reading the Scriptures, to the exclusion of every other pursuit. This, however, could not be continued always. I recommenced my usual duties, making this, however, my paramount concern. I attended religious meetings and derived pleasure from them. I read only religious books. I determined that if I perished, I would perish seeking the forgiveness of God and an interest in the Saviour.

"At the time when I thus resolved to seek in earnest the salvation of my soul there was in none of the churches of Troy any religious interest. It was a period of unusual indifference to religion. But while I was in this condition a very extensive revival commenced. I was deeply interested in it, and attended all the meetings, hoping to hear something that would tend to my spiritual good. I found that I loved the doctrines of the Gospel, that I earnestly desired the salvation of souls, and felt a love for Christians such as I never felt before. But I could not believe that the light which had gradually dawned upon my soul was anything more than was taught by the precepts of men. Everything in religion seemed to me so reasonable that all which I felt seemed to arise from the mere logical deductions of the intellect, in which the heart, the inmost soul, had no part. I met with the young converts, and

Continuing, during his tour, to meet his daily appointments, and occupied at night often to a late hour with crowds of anxious inquirers who sought religious in-

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with them engaged in devotions, but could not believe that the promise of the Gospel was intended for me.

"I remember at this time to have had a long and interesting conversation with the Rev. Dr. Mattison, a Baptist minister from Shaftsbury, Vermont. It was of the nature of an earnest argument, in which he endeavored to prove that I was a regenerate person, and I as strenuously contended that it was quite out of the question. I could not deny that there had been a change in me, but the change had been so reasonable and so slight in degree that I could not be a child of God. Yet the conversation did me good. In looking back upon this period of my life, I perceive that much of my doubt and distrust was owing to the pride of my own heart. I had formed my own theory of conversion, and I did not like to confess that I was wrong. I wished to have a *clear and convincing* experience, so that I might never doubt of myself nor others doubt concerning me. I desired to be the subject of a striking conversion, and was not willing to take, with humility and gratitude, whatever it should please God to give me. He in mercy disappointed me, and made me willing to accept his grace in any manner that he chose to bestow it.

"Whenever I now have occasion (as I often have) to converse with persons in this state of mind, I do not argue much with them. I set before them the love of God in Christ, the fullness and freeness of the offer of salvation, and the sincerity of God in revealing it to us, and I urge them at once to submit themselves to God; not to be *willing* merely to do it, but *to do it.* If they will do this, I know that God will accept them, and that the evidence that he has done so will soon be manifest. I also urge them, without delay, to begin at once to serve God, to do what they know will please him, to do good to others, to make sacrifices for Christ, to ask with Paul, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' and do it."

Dr. Wayland finally, upon hearing a sermon from Luther Rice upon the text, "The glorious gospel of the blessed God," became convinced that "the sentiments of his heart were in harmony with the Gospel," and was thenceforward freed from the mental perplexities created by theology.

How applicable here the remarks made by Mr. Campbell in the "Christian Baptist" (vol. iii., No. 7)! —"The numerous speculations on the different kinds of faith have pierced, with many sorrows, innumerable hearts. In all the varied exhibitions of Christianity much stress is laid on *faith.* And as soon as it is affirmed that he that believeth shall be saved, and that care should be taken that faith should be of the *right kind*, the attention of the thoughtful is turned from the *truth* to be believed to the *nature of faith.* The fears and agonies which are experienced are not unfrequently about believing right. The great *concern* is about *true* faith. This person is looking in himself for

formation or counsel, Mr. Campbell spent, during more than two months, at least *five hours* per day in these arduous labors. He formed thus a very extensive acquaintance, both with the people and with the state of religion among them, which corroborated more and more his sense of the importance of a return to the simplicity of the primitive faith. Yet he found the Baptists of Kentucky a highly-intelligent people, deeply interested in the subject of religion, and having amongst them many pious and devoted preachers, some of whom were eminently distinguished for their abilities. The pioneers of the Kentucky Baptists had come from the eastern part of Mr. Campbell's own State, Virginia; from whence, indeed, the greater part of the early settlers in Kentucky had emigrated, carrying with them their princely hospitality, their indomitable energy and their love of civil and religious freedom. David Thomas,

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what he has been taught are the true signs of regeneration, or of the faith of regeneration. He is distressed to know whether his faith is the fruit of regeneration, or whether it is mere *historic faith*. Unable to find such evidences as he is in quest of, he is distracted, he despairs, he agonizes. He tells his case. He is comforted by being told that these are the pangs of the new birth. He draws some comfort from this consideration, which increases or decreases as these pangs are supposed to be genuine or the reverse. Thus he is tossed to and fro in awful uncertainties, which are more or less acute according to his moral sensibilities. By and by he hopes he is regenerate, and a calm ensues, and he is joyous because he fancies he has been regenerated. Thus his comforts spring not from the Gospel, but from his own opinion of himself.

"Another, under the same system, receives no comfort, because he has not found the infallible signs in himself of being a *true believer*. He despairs—he is tormented. He concludes he is one of the reprobates. He is about to kill himself. What about? Not because there is no Saviour, no forgiveness, no mercy. Not because the Gospel is not true, *but because it is true*, and he cannot find in himself the true signs of genuine conversion. Thousands have been ruined, have been shipwrecked, here. This the Bible never taught. This case never occurred under the apostles' teaching. It is the genuine offspring of the theological schools. It is the *experience* of a bad education."

who, about 1750, planted the first regular Baptist church in Virginia, had emigrated to Kentucky when he was nearly seventy years of age, and had become, in June, 1799, the second pastor of the church at Washington, where, a quarter of a century later, Mr. Campbell had held his debate with Mr. McCalla. David Thomas was of Welsh parentage, but a native of Pennsylvania, and had been highly educated, receiving the degree of A. M. from Rhode Island College, now Brown University. Abundant in his labors, amidst many persecutions, he had established the Baptist cause along the shores of the Shenandoah and Rappahannock, from the Potomac to James' River, from the unsettled wilderness of the West to Richmond. Following some of his children to Kentucky, he found here his friend and former fellow-laborer, John Gano, and being sent as one of the first messengers from the newly-formed Braken Association to that of Elkhorn, he there found the eloquent David Barrow, known for his sufferings in Virginia—John Shackelford, also, who had been there imprisoned for his faith, together with the Craigs, and John Taylor and the influential Dudley. Most of these early laborers had long since gone to their reward—the mortal remains of David Thomas, who became blind during the later years of his ministry, and was known as the "Blind Preacher," reposed a few miles from Nicholasville—but their names were held in grateful remembrance, and the doctrines and usages they had advocated still retained their hold of the Baptist community.

Among the preachers from Virginia still living in Kentucky at the time of his visit, Mr. Campbell formed an agreeable acquaintance with Jacob Creath, Sr., who was born in Nova Scotia, Feb. 27, 1777, but emigrat-

ing to North Carolina when ten years of age, united with the Baptists at twelve and commenced preaching at eighteen. He was ordained at Roundabout meeting-house, in Louisa county, Virginia, by John Poindexter and Wm. Basket, in 1798, and was a member of the Dover Association with Robert B. Semple and Andrew Broaddus, but emigrated to Fayette county, Kentucky, in 1803, succeeding John Gano as pastor of the Town Fork Church. He was a man of fine personal appearance, regular features, an ample forehead and remarkably keen and penetrating dark eyes. He had a musical yet strong and commanding voice, and, though quite uneducated, possessed such command of language and such fertility of fancy and illustration that he had been pronounced by Henry Clay to be the finest natural orator he had ever heard.* Another

* Elder Creath occupied quite a conspicuous and influential position, and had been a few years previously intimately connected with one of those unhappy schisms which have occasionally occurred among the Baptists when associations have transcended their proper limits and interfered with the discipline of churches. "A difficulty having arisen in relation to a matter of business between Elder Creath and Jacob Lewis, a member of his congregation, the friends of each party took sides, and the contention spread and created parties in the Association. At this crisis, Elijah Craig, preacher at East Hickman, was induced by some personal grudge to publish a pamphlet so severe and acrimonious against Creath that the latter convoked a council of eighteen churches, who met by their messengers at Town Fork meeting-house, July 28, 1807. This council, after hearing testimony, acquitted Creath of all the charges made against him. The Town Fork Church then preferred charges against Craig before the Hickman Church, which, after hearing the whole case, took part with Craig and justified his charges against Creath. As the contention was carried on in a bitter spirit, it spread from church to church, and when the Elkhorn Association met, as Town Fork and Hickman churches had refused to fellowship each other, and both were members of the Association, the case came up for decision. On this occasion Elder Creath delivered an address so powerful as to carry a majority of the Association with him, and the arguments of Ambrose Dudley, who replied to him, failed to prevent a decision in his favor. Upon this, church after church decided to leave the Association, but as in most of these there were minorities who approved the decision

preacher of considerable influence was his nephew, also from Virginia, Jacob Creath, Jr., a man of less mildness of disposition, but of earnest purpose and fearless in his advocacy of what he believed to be the truth.

Mr. Campbell during this tour became acquainted also with Silas M. Noel, a Baptist Doctor of Divinity, who seemed at first to coincide with him in views, but soon after became a virulent opposer. The Warders, the Wallers, the Paynes and Thomas Bullock, long moderator of the Elkhorn Association, with many other influential Baptists, were introduced to him and heard him courteously. While at Georgetown he formed the acquaintance of Barton W. Stone, already noted as well for his eminent Christian virtues as for his efforts to effect in Kentucky a religious reformation almost identical in its leading principles and aims with that in which Mr. Campbell was himself engaged. The two laborers in the same great field formed at once a warm, personal attachment to each other, which continued through life, and tended greatly to promote a subsequent union between the two yet distinct bands of reformers.

One of the political papers, "The Monitor," at Lexington, where Mr. Campbell was to preach, had recently published the third Epistle of Peter, which had greatly exasperated the clergy, and they had endeavored to close the ears of the people against Mr. Campbell by publishing in return a portion of Mr. Greatrake's de-

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and determined to adhere to Elkhorn, divisions occurred in these churches, each party claiming to be the original church. Such parts of them as seceded from Elkhorn then formed the Licking Association, which, adopting stricter views and opposing missions, declined all fellowship with Elkhorn." At the time of Mr. Campbell's visit this division still existed, and Elder Creath remained still connected with the Elkhorn Association, in which he wielded a large influence.

famatory pamphlet. This, however, only excited the more the curiosity of the people to hear, and brought together an immense audience, comprising the best educated and most intelligent persons in all that section. Among them was a young man, about the medium height, with dark hair and eyes and thoughtful aspect, who, on account of the crowd, stood up just before the pulpit, looking up at the speaker and drinking in his words with such avidity that a discourse of two hours seemed to him to have lasted only a few minutes. This was a student of Transylvania University, who was a Baptist and preparing himself for the ministry. He had read several numbers of the "Christian Baptist," and was a good deal prejudiced against Mr. Campbell on account of what he had said against the clergy and other matters; but the discourse to which he then listened, which was in reference to Christ as the Rock (Matt. xvi.), so enlarged his vision with respect to Christianity that all his prejudices were swept away as by a torrent, and he became quite captivated with the principles of the Reformation. This youth was James Challen, who subsequently, by his faithful and valuable labors, rendered most efficient aid to the cause.

Mr. Campbell having an appointment at Versailles and one also two miles in the country, Mr. Challen attended on the latter occasion. A pretty large audience was present, and Jeremiah Vardeman was with Mr. Campbell in the pulpit. The text was, "Now the end of the commandment is charity," etc. 1 Tim. i. 5. Entering at once into the very of heart of his subject, as was his wont, Mr. Campbell presented such a magnificent view of the simplicity and glorious purposes of the Christian institution as perfectly entranced his auditors. At the close, Elder Vardeman dismissed the

people, remarking, "We have heard strange things to-day. My advice to you is, Search the Scriptures and see if these things be so."

On the way to dine with a gentleman living in the vicinity, Mr. Challen was riding in company with Elders Vardeman and Creath, conversing about the strange light that had risen among them, when Mr. Campbell, on a fleet horse, overtook and passed them. Elder Vardeman then remarked: "I once thought I could preach, but since I have heard this man I do not seem, in my own estimation, to be any larger than my little finger." As he said this he held up his hand, and the comparison drawn from the contrast between the enormous bulk of the gigantic elder and his little finger, was at the time and ever afterward, when referred to, a source of great amusement to his companions.

Upon reaching Louisville in November, Mr. Campbell called at the residence of P. S. Fall, with whom he had had some correspondence, but no previous personal acquaintance.

"After a slight repast," says Mr. Fall, "he attended our regular Friday night meeting. The services were opened by me, by singing the hymn, 'The law by Moses came,' etc., and prayer. Brother Campbell, a total stranger, was then asked to address the audience. My school-room was well filled, and five Presbyterian ministers, Dr. Gideon Blackburn, his two sons and two sons-in-law, were present. Brother Campbell read a portion of the epistle to the Hebrews and spoke nearly two hours, every person present giving him the utmost attention. His method of reading the Scriptures, of investigating their truths and of exhibiting their statements, was so entirely new and so perfectly clear as to command the respect if not the approval of all that listened. Dr. Blackburn was asked to offer prayer at the close, which he did. On our return to the house, Brother Campbell remarked:

'Dr. Blackburn does not understand the Christian religion.' He was asked how he knew. 'Oh,' said he, 'his praying clearly declares that.'

"On Lord's day morning he addressed a large congregation in the old court-house, on the subject of *spiritual gifts.* This discourse was listened to with the same admiration as the other by all who had the power to discriminate between proving doctrines already assumed and sitting at the feet of our Lord and his ambassadors to hear their words.

"At night, agreeably to the invitation of Dr. Blackburn, he addressed, in the Presbyterian church on Fourth street, a large and attentive audience upon the evidences of the Messiahship. He had contracted a bad cold and sore throat in his rambles about the city on Saturday, and spoke with much difficulty, but he enchained the attention of the audience by his masterly exhibition of the claims of our Lord to the homage of mankind. These discourses, all that were delivered at that time, opened up to the thoughtful a new field of exploration, and developed a method of studying the Scriptures so thoroughly superior to the textuary system that it commended the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God. It was seen at once that it was the duty of the speaker and the privilege of the hearer to ascertain simply *what the divine Word says, and why it is said.* We had been accustomed to make the Scriptures a book of text-proofs of our doctrines. We now saw that we had everything to learn, but *nothing to prove* in using God's word. On the former plan we knew as much when we came to the Bible as when we left it. We might have been more fully confirmed in what we had accepted as scientific religious truth, but this was all. For the connection in which every proof-text stood we had not much use, and thus a great portion of God's word was not only neutralized, but rendered absolutely worthless. Upon the new plan we had use for every word the Holy Spirit had spoken. We supposed ourselves to know nothing when we approached the sacred books, and were to be mere listeners and thereby learners. We had no

proof-texts before us, implying a preoccupied mind, but accepted simply the *statements* of divine truth in the connection in which the Holy Spirit had placed the words and sentences he had uttered. We now became followers of our Lord and of his apostles, of the churches of God, and of those who through faith had inherited the promises. 1 Thess. i. 6; ii. 14; Heb. vi. 12."

After this visit, Mr. Fall continued to advocate earnestly the Reformation. Visiting soon after, by request, the Enon Baptist Church in Cincinnati, he there delivered several discourses upon the themes then under discussion, which excited great interest not only among the Baptists there, but with other parties, and led to various interesting private discussions with their ministers. During this visit, Mr. Fall was invited to dine with Jacob Burnet, Esq., the mayor of the city, and witnessed the baptism of his son David S. Burnet, who soon after, entering the ministry at the age of sixteen, became known as the "boy-preacher." He was quite low in stature, but erect in carriage. His head was large and finely formed; his eyes prominent, full and sparkling, his features regular with a mouth somewhat large, but firmly set, while in his bearing he was remarkably self-possessed, dignified and courteous. Giving himself wholly to the cause of the Reformation, after a few years he became one of its most distinguished and successful advocates, delighting large audiences by his elegant and copious diction, and his able presentations of the principles of the gospel, which he widely disseminated, not only in Cincinnati, but through many of the States, from Maryland and Virginia to Kansas.

About three weeks after his return from his Kentucky tour, Mr. Campbell was presented (Dec. 16, 1824) with

another daughter, who was named Margaretta, being the eighth child in less than thirteen years. During the ensuing year (1825) he devoted himself with renewed earnestness to the "Christian Baptist," the circulation of which was rapidly extending. Among the prominent subjects then under discussion may be mentioned "The work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men." This theme Mr. Campbell had already introduced during the preceding year, and continued now to treat in a manner altogether novel. Utterly disregarding all theological theories and all speculations in reference to the work of the Holy Spirit, he confined his inquiries to the office which the Spirit of God occupies in the salvation revealed in the New Testament. Without calling in question directly any of the popular notions of the operations of the Spirit, he presented alone the simple teaching of the Scriptures, showing occasionally where these had been perverted and misapplied in order to sustain modern errors. Dealing alone with facts and express Scripture statements, he traced the work of the Spirit in revealing all that was known of God, and in attesting and confirming, by prophecy, by miracle and by supernatural gifts, the mission of Christ and of the apostles, thus providing the infallible testimony by which alone faith can be produced. Stating that these manifestations of Divine wisdom and power were confined to the apostolic age, and to a portion of the saints then living, he shows, further, that "the influences of the Spirit as the *Spirit of all goodness* were *felt* and *realized* by *all* the primitive saints, and are *now* felt by all true believers." He was ever cautious and reticent as to his views of the *manner* in which the Holy Spirit accomplished his work. He rejoiced in the promise that God would "give his Holy Spirit to them that ask

him;" he believed in the reality of this gift as the true seal of the covenant and the source of the fruits that adorn the Christian life, but he forbore to offer any opinion or to propound any theory as to the manner in which the Holy Spirit exerted its power, except so far as this could be seen in the *moral fitness* or adaptation of the truth itself revealed by the Spirit, when this was presented to men and sincerely believed. What special or added influences might be exerted he presumed not to say, though he clearly admitted the *existence* of such influences.

"I am not to be understood," said he, speaking of converting influences (C. B. for April, 1825), "as asserting that there is no divine influence exercised over the minds and bodies of men. This would be to assert in contradiction to a thousand facts and declarations in the volume of revelation; this would be to destroy the idea of any divine revelation; this would be to destroy the idea of any divine government exercised over the human race; this would be to make prayer a useless and irrational exercise; this would be to deprive Christians of all the consolations derived from a sense of the superintending care, guidance and protection of the Most High. But to resolve everything into a 'divine influence' is the other extreme. This divests man of every attribute that renders him accountable to his Maker, and assimilates all his actions to the bending of the trees or the tumults of the ocean occasioned by the tempest.

"There are many things which are evident, yet altogether inexplicable. . . . Until we know more of God than can be revealed or known in this mortal state, we must be content to say of a thousand things, a thousand times, we cannot understand *how*, or *why*, or *wherefore* they are so. But he would be a foolish husbandman who, going forth with precious seed to cast upon his field, would cease to scatter it because a philosopher had asked him some questions about its germination and the influences requisite to its vegetation which he

could not explain. As foolish would a hungry man be who would refuse to eat bread because he could not explain the process of digestion, nor tell how it conduces to the preservation of life. And just as foolish he who refuses to meditate upon the revelation of God, and to practice its injunctions, because there are some *whys* or *wherefores* for which he cannot give a reason."

He thus sought to confine the attention to that which was immediately necessary to faith, and to avoid unprofitable discussions respecting remote or accessory causes.

During this year Mr. Campbell began to publish a series of articles entitled "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things," in which he urged, first, the abandonment of everything not in use among the early Christians, as creeds and confessions, unscriptural words and phrases, theological theories, etc.; and second, the adoption of everything sanctioned by primitive practice, as the weekly breaking of the loaf, the fellowship, the simple order of public worship and the independence of each church under the care of its bishops and deacons. This "ancient order" had, as yet, been introduced only into the churches at Brush Run, Wellsburg and Pittsburg, though the church at Louisville, over which Mr. Fall presided, was induced this year to replace its covenant and confession of faith by the New Testament as the only and all-sufficient law of life, and to break the loaf and attend to the contribution for the poor at every Lord's day meeting. As most of the active members of the church at Pittsburg were from Scotland and Ireland, and sympathized largely with the views of church order adopted by some of the Haldaneans, the practice of mutual exhortation and teaching on the Lord's day was here fully carried out, with much the same effect as occurred in Scot-

land upon its first introduction by William Ballantine. Debates and dissensions arose frequently between members, while that watchful surveillance, amounting almost to inquisitorial scrutiny, which each thought it his duty to exercise over others occasioned numerous cases of discipline, by which the public religious meetings were disturbed and the cause discredited. These things were warmly disapproved by Mr. Campbell and Walter Scott, who, although they fully admitted the perfect equality of all members, and their liberty to speak in the church at proper times and under proper regulations, insisted that a proper direction should be given to the gifts of all, and that none should teach publicly except those capable of edifying the church.

The new-born spirit of liberty, however, was for a while not to be repressed; the less competent proved often the most forward, and, converting a mere privilege into a duty, felt it incumbent on them to occupy much of the time allotted to the Lord's day meeting, to little profit. About this period Mr. Scott was one day accompanying Mr. Campbell on his way from Pittsburg home, and they attended together the meeting of the church at the Cross Roads, in which the order of the Pittsburg Church had been to a considerable extent adopted. A number of the members having read various Scriptures and spoken at length, Mr. Scott was finally called on to say something. With this invitation he at once complied, by boldly taking the ground that it was unscriptural to have so many teachers, that the liberty conceded was carried to license, and that each member should be confined, according to the Scripture analogy of the human body, to the particular function for which he was best fitted. At the close of his remarks he inquired with emphasis, in the broad Scotch

he sometimes used, "What, my brethren! is the Church to be a' mouth?" "But," said James Foster to him after meeting, "what will you do with the apostle's declaration to the Church, 1 Cor. xiv. 31: 'Ye may all prophesy, one by one, that all may learn and all may be comforted?' The answer given to this inquiry was not fully satisfactory to James Foster, who earnestly desired that everything should be conducted strictly according to Scripture precedent, and who leaned considerably to the views of the Scottish Independents.

Mr. Campbell, however, fully concurred in the justness of Mr. Scott's admonitions on this occasion, being exceedingly desirous that everything should be conducted according to the ultimate or higher law given by the apostle: "Let all things be done to edification." He entirely approved of mutual exhortation and instruction, but thought it best that a general permission to speak should be confined to private or social meetings of the church, and that at the Lord's day meetings, when the public were expected to attend, only those should be set forward who were best able, from their knowledge of the Bible and their natural gifts, to speak acceptably and profitably to the assembly. To discharge this duty properly required, he thought, careful previous study and preparation. In overthrowing clerical power, he sought to check the tendency to an extreme in the direction of individual independency. He endeavored, therefore, to secure to the elders or bishops of the church not only their proper position and authority, but also the pecuniary support enjoined in Scripture. This, accordingly, he took care again to urge in his "Essays on the Ancient Order of Things."

"The bishop of a Christian congregation," said he, "will find much to do that never enters into the mind of a modern

preacher or minister. The duties he is to discharge to Christ's flock in the capacity of teacher and president will engross much of his time and attention. Therefore, the idea of remuneration for his services was attached to the office from the first institution. This is indisputably plain, not only from the positive commands delivered to the congregations, but from the hints uttered with reference to the office itself. Why should it be so much as hinted that the bishops were not to take the oversight of the flock '*for the sake of sordid gain*,' if no emolument or remuneration was attached to the office? The abuses of the principle have led many to oppose even the principle itself." ("Christian Baptist," vol. iii., No. 9, p. 360.)

In the case of the church at Pittsburg, however, it was some time before this portion of the "ancient order of things" was practically recognized, and before the disorders incident to the transition state were fully corrected. During this year (1825) Sidney Rigdon returned to Ohio, and the church there continued under the care of Walter Scott, who was still engaged in school-teaching, and had some time before been united in marriage to a highly-esteemed member of the church, a Miss Whitsett, who had formerly been a Covenanter. In 1826, however, he removed to Steubenville, Ohio, where he opened a school and lectured to the small Baptist church there. After his departure from Pittsburg, the contentions in the church increased, and unruly and vain talkers, as in the primitive ages, occasioned discord and strife. Repudiating the clergy and the pope, each member became not only his own pope, but disposed to assume this office in regard to others; and it was not until after many dissensions, which greatly hindered the spread of the truth in this region, that Samuel Church, leaving the Independent congregation under Mr. Tassey, united with the disciples at

Pittsburg, and succeeded finally in reducing them to order.

Another custom, zealously adopted by the church in Pittsburg, which also extended to other churches, was the use of the "holy kiss" as the proper Christian salutation. To this Mr. Campbell was opposed, alleging that the Scripture injunction, "Salute one another with a holy kiss," merely indicated the feelings and motives which were to govern the use of the mode of salutation then common in the East, and which were equally applicable to whatever kind of salutation obtained in other countries, in which he thought Christianity designed to make no change. The practice, accordingly, was after some time abandoned. The washing of feet was also a custom observed by the Pittsburg Church, not, however, as a church ordinance, but privately, as an act of brotherly affection, humility and hospitality. In this Mr. Campbell agreed, although he did not think that proper occasions for such a duty could often arise in Europe or America, as they did in regions where men wore sandals, and where washing of the feet was a common and daily observance.

The introduction of the primitive order of Christian worship, and especially of the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper, engaged at this time much attention among those Baptist churches which had adopted the principles of the Reformation. Several of them in Ohio and the western part of Pennsylvania, rejecting the Philadelphia Confession, decided to take the Bible as the only standard of faith and practice. A meeting was held also at Warren, Ohio, at the close of May, composed of preachers and brethren from different parts of the country, in order to discuss the "ancient order of things." Mr. Campbell attended this meeting, and

was gratified to find that so much zeal, candor and harmony obtained throughout the investigation, and that most of those present were very desirous of seeing the primitive order fully restored.

In his essays on this subject, Mr. Campbell had confined himself entirely to the interior affairs of the Church, and had not dwelt upon the instrumentalities to be employed in sending the gospel abroad. He seemed, indeed, for a short time to have favored the views of those who thought the mere internal order of the Church itself sufficient for the conversion of the world, but he soon became sensible of the correctness of his former view, that the practice of committing this work to *evangelists* or *special messengers of the Church* was essential to success. When questioned, soon after, by one of his correspondents on this subject, he said:

"'That the work of an evangelist or a preacher is requisite, not to the order of a Christian Church, but to the *present state* of the new dispensation,' is a position on which I will not contend with you. The Holy Spirit saith, '*Let him that heareth say, Come,*' and why should I say to him that heareth, 'Do not *say, Come;* hold your tongue.' No: forbid it, Heaven! '*Let him that heareth say, Come,*' is a license which the Holy One gave when he was closing the canon, sealing up the law and the testimony. And, thanks be to his name, he left no tribunal on earth to contravene this decision. While then there are any who have not come to the fountain of life, and when any one who has heard and come and tasted and findeth such an opportunity to say, Come, let him say it in word and deed." C. B., vol. iv., p. 37.

In the summer, he made a short visit to Eastern Virginia, where he was kindly received, and where he formed an acquaintance with Robert B. Semple, Andrew Broaddus and other eminent Baptist ministers. The few

discourses he delivered during his visit made quite a strong impression. The leaders of the Baptists in Eastern Virginia, however, though struck with Mr. Campbell's great abilities, were by no means prepared to receive his reformatory views. They earnestly desired, on the other hand, to win him over to their own sentiments and usages, in order that his influence might enure to the benefit of the Baptist cause.

After his return home, he received a kind letter from Bishop Semple, objecting to the spirit in which the "Christian Baptist" seemed to be conducted, and to some of the sentiments attributed to Mr. Campbell, intimating that he seemed to be a Sandemanian or a Haldanean both in his views and spirit.

"Among the Haldaneans," said he "(judging from writings), a gentle spirit is rarely to be found. Harsh and bitter sarcasms are the weapons with which they fight their opponents. This, too, I am the more disposed to think applies to them as a sect, because I have known some of their party, who have appeared in private conversation to be mild and gentle indeed and every way pleasant, but when brought out in writing or public speaking, seemed to have another kind of temper. If you will bear with me, it seems to me that this is the case with the editor of the 'Christian Baptist.' As a man, in private circles, mild, pleasant and affectionate—as a writer, rigid and satirical beyond all the bounds of Scripture allowance."

Bishop Semple was a most estimable man, and stood deservedly high in influence and reputation. Being of a very mild and amiable temperament, Mr. Campbell's strictures seemed to him quite too severe. In reply, the latter reminded him that while the general spirit of the New Testament was mild, its denunciations of those who corrupted the gospel were severe, and that Christians

were even enjoined in certain cases to rebuke with sharpness. He also remarked that the class of subjects discussed in the "Christian Baptist" necessarily gave a general character to the work, whose limited size prevented him from introducing, as fully as he desired, such other topics as might exhibit the Christian spirit to a better advantage. Utterly denying that he was a follower of Sandeman or any other human leader, and expressing the opinion that there "lived not upon the earth a more pious, godly, primitive Christian than James Haldane, of Edinburgh, and few, if any, more intelligent in the Christian Scriptures," he thus spoke of the charge of want of forbearance alleged by the Bishop against the Haldaneans:

"You say, 'those people have many excellent things among them—things you would gladly see among us.' So say I. You think 'they are very defective in forbearance.' This may be still true, for anything I know; but one thing I do know, that several congregations in this connection are far more 'forbearing' than the Baptists of Virginia; for several of them receive unbaptized persons to the Lord's table on the ground of forbearance. The congregation in Edinburgh in connection with James Haldane, and that in Tubermore in connection with Alexander Carson, two of the most prominent congregations in the connection, do actually dispense with baptism on the ground of '*forbearance*.' I believe there are some others who carry '*forbearance*' thus far These people have been much slandered at home and abroad by an interested priesthood, and I do know that many things reported of them are false. They say that when a Pædobaptist gives evidence that he is a Christian, and cannot be convinced that infant baptism is a human tradition, he ought to be received into a Christian congregation as a brother, if he desires it, irrespective of this weakness. They were once more tenacious of their peculiar views than at present.

"But on the subject of forbearance, I have to remark that there is not a greater misapplication of a word in our language than of this one. In strict propriety, it does not apply at all to the subject in relation to which it is commonly used. No man can be said to forbear with another except in such cases as he has done him an injury. Now when Christians differ in opinion on any subject, unless it can be made to appear that the opinion of B is injurious to A, the latter cannot forbear with the former. There is no room or occasion for forbearance, for A is not injured by the opinion of B. To say that Christians must exercise forbearance with one another because of difference of opinion, is admitting that they have a right to consider themselves injured, or that one Christian has a right to consider himself injured because of another man's difference in opinion. It is precisely the same mistake which is committed by those who ask the civil authorities to *tolerate* all or any religious opinions. The mere asking for *toleration* recognizes a right which no civil authority possesses, and establishes a principle of calamitous consequences—viz., that opinions contrary to the majority or the national creed are a public injury, which it is in the power of government to punish or tolerate according to their intelligence and forbearance. Civil rulers have no right to tolerate or punish men on account of their opinions in matters of religion. Neither have Christians a right to condemn their brethren for difference of opinion, nor even talk of forbearing with one another in matters of opinion. The Scriptures speak of the forbearance of God, and teach that Christians should forbear with one another in cases of injury sustained, but never, that I can see, on account of matters of opinion. A person might as well be said to forbear with his natural brother because he was only ten years old or five feet high or because he had gray eyes, as to forbear with a Christian brother because he differed from him in some of his opinions. I know that we all use the term *forbearance* in a very unwarrantable sense, and that it is difficult to find a term appropriate to communicate correct ideas on this subject. To

bear with or allow a brother to exercise his own judgment is no doubt all that you can intend by the term, and this is certainly inculcated in the apostolic writings. And I am willing to carry this principle to its greatest possible extent, though, as you say, 'there is and must be a stopping-place.' So long as any man, woman or child declares his confidence in Jesus of Nazareth as God's own Son, that he was delivered for our offences and raised again for our justification—or, in other words, that Jesus is the Messiah, the Saviour of men—and so long as he exhibits a willingness to obey him in all things so far as his knowledge extends, so long will I receive him as a Christian brother and treat him as such."

The novel position which Mr. Campbell now occupied in relation to the religious community, and especially to the Baptists, exposed him to criticisms and attacks from all quarters. Charges of Socinianism and heterodoxy were diligently circulated among the Baptist churches in different places, in order to deprive him of influence and create a feeling of hostility. These, when brought to his notice, Mr. Campbell promptly repelled, and candidly and manfully avowed his real sentiments. In regard to the Baptists, indeed, he had always exercised the greatest frankness, concealing neither his views nor his purposes While he desired to lead them on to clearer views of the gospel, and was cheered by many tokens of success, he was yet well aware that his position among them was precarious, and that there remained yet much to do in order to overcome existing denominational prejudices. Of his wishes and designs in relation to the Baptists he thus openly speaks to a correspondent from Missouri:

"I do intend to continue in connection with this people so long as they will permit me to say what I believe; to teach what I am assured of, and to censure what is amiss in their views or practices. I have no idea of adding to the catalogue

of new sects. . . . I labor to see sectarianism abolished and all Christians of every name united upon the one foundation upon which the apostolic Church was founded. To bring Baptists and Pædobaptists to this is my supreme end. But to connect myself with any people who would require me to sacrifice one item of revealed truth, to subscribe any creed of human device, or to restrain me from publishing my sentiments as discretion and conscience direct, is now, and I hope ever will be, the farthest from my desires and the most incompatible with my views. And I hope I will not be accused of sectarian partiality when I avow my conviction that the Baptist society have as much liberality in their views, as much of the ancient simplicity of the Christian Church, as much of the spirit of Christianity about them, as are to be found among any other people. To say nothing of the things in which they excel, this may be said of them without prejudice to any. And that they have always been as eminent friends of civil and religious liberty as any sect in Christendom will not, I presume, be denied by any. But that there are among them some mighty *Regulars* who are as intolerant as the great pontiff of good order and regularity, no person will deny. But that there is in the views and practices of this large and widely-extended community a great need of reformation and of a *restoration of the ancient order of things*, few will contradict. In one thing they may appear, in time to come, proudly singular and pre-eminently distinguished. Mark it well. Their historian, in the year 1900, may say, 'We are the only people who would tolerate, *or who ever did tolerate*, any person to continue as a reformer or restorer among us. While other sects excluded all who would have enlarged their views and exalted their virtues, while every Jerusalem in Christendom stoned its own prophets, and exiled its own best friends and compelled them to set up for themselves, we constitute the only exception of this kind in the annals of Christianity—nay, in the annals of the world.' I think it not a very precarious *perhaps* that this may yet be said of this ancient and singular people. But

should it come to pass that neither they nor any other people could say that of themselves, then, most assuredly, if ever there be a united and a happy state of the Church upon this earth—if ever there be a millennium—the Baptist society, as well as every other, will have to be immersed in that general catastrophe which awaits every sect which holds a principle incompatible with this millennial state of the Church." (C. B., vol. iii., p. 320.)

While Mr. Campbell thus felt and expressed a special regard for that religious community which, in his judgment, approached most nearly to the apostolic standard, and desired to continue in communion with it, he constantly maintained his own independent position. When accused of inconsistency as a restorer of primitive Christianity in having communion with the Baptists, who had not adopted the ancient order of things, he thus plainly expressed his views of what is called "full communion:"

"When I unite in prayer with a society of disciples, I have full communion with them in certain petitions, confessions and thanksgivings, but requests may be presented, confessions made and thanksgivings offered in which I have not full communion. The same may be said of any other social act of worship. All that I intend by the phrase is, that I will unite with any Baptist society in the United States in any act of social worship, such as prayer, praise or breaking bread in commemoration of the Lord's death, if they confess the one Lord, the one faith, the one hope and the one baptism; provided always that, as far as I can judge, they piously and morally conform to their profession. . . . I consider every act as only expressing approbation of the thing represented, and of them in so far as they conform to it. Therefore, I frankly and boldly declare to them, as Paul did to the Corinthians, the things in which I praise them, and the things in which I praise them not. And I know of no way, of no course that any Christian can pursue consistently with the

New Testament, consistently with his serving God and his own generation, but this one. Therefore, I advocate it and practice it."

Referring to the more rigid views to which he was led in 1811 on the subject of religious fellowship, he continues:

"I have tried the pharisaic plan and the monastic. I was once so straight that, like the Indian's tree, 'I leaned a little the other way.' And however much I may be slandered now as seeking 'popularity' or a popular course, I have to rejoice that to my own *satisfaction*, as well as to others', I proved that truth and not popularity was my object; for I was once so strict a separatist that I would neither pray nor sing praises with any one who was not as perfect as I supposed myself. In this most unpopular course I persisted until I discovered the mistake, and saw that on the principle embraced in my conduct there never could be a congregation or church upon the earth." (C. B., vol. iii., p. 373.)

Mr. Campbell thus thought there was great inconsistency among professors of religion in regard to the subject of communion. He did not think this confined to a participation in the Lord's Supper, but that there was also Christian communion in uniting in prayer or praise, or other acts of religious worship.

"There is," said he, "a certain place, called *The Family Altar*. Baptists and Pædobaptists of different name often meet at this 'family altar,' and there unite all in one communion. In their monthly concerts for prayer, etc., there is another 'altar,' at which all sects sometimes meet, and all have full communion in prayer and praise. But if, on the next day, the Lord's table was furnished, they would rather be caught in company with publicans and sinners than sit at the side of those with whom they had full communion in prayer and praise a few hours before. Their consciences would shudder at the idea of breaking bread in full com-

munion with those with whom, yesterday or last night, they had full communion in adoring, venerating, invoking and praising the same God and Redeemer. . . . It must be confessed, too, that the New Testament presents baptism as prior to social prayer and praise, as indispensably preceding these as the Lord's Supper." . . .

These passages afford a clear insight into the state of Mr. Campbell's convictions at this time in regard to the vexed question of communion. Remembering the earnestness and faith in which the church at Brush Run sought to know and to do the will of God, while yet mistaken in regard to baptism, his feelings led him to wish to have communion with any similar churches, though they might be yet Pædobaptist. Nevertheless, he remained fully satisfied that the New Testament presented baptism as "indispensably preceding" social communion in religious acts. Thus he was placed in a strait between his conviction on the one hand that there were saints of God in all parties, and on the other that obedience to the ordinances of the Gospel was necessary to church membership. His feelings led him to recognize all as Christians who gave evidence of faith and piety, while his views of the Gospel restricted him to formal communion with those only who had publicly professed to put on Christ in baptism. In practice he was governed exclusively by his conscientious convictions, and was thus often obliged to do violence to his feelings; nor was it until after some years that a somewhat different view of the subject finally relieved him from the practical difficulties connected with this communion question.

Mr. Campbell was, upon the whole, during this year (1825) greatly encouraged by the progress of the views he advocated.

"We are happy to find," said he, after his return from a tour (C. B., iii., 267), "that, in spite of the reigning doctors of tradition, the people are gradually awakening to a sense of their religious rights and privileges. We find a large majority of most religious communities are quite unsettled in their views of religious principles and practices. They have lost the greater part of that confidence which was the characteristic of every sect some quarter of a century ago. Many who thought their Church almost infallible readily admit that she not only *may*, but that she frequently *does*, err. And there is a spirit of inquiry marching forth, before which, most assuredly, the rotten systems of tradition and error must and will fall."

These anticipations were strongly corroborated by passing events. John M. Duncan, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Tammany street, Baltimore, about this time published a book "On the Rise, Use and Unlawfulness of Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Church of God." He boldly controverted the doctrine taught by Dr. Miller of Princeton a short time before, in a pamphlet advocating creeds, and declared his view to be that "God alone is lord of the conscience, and that his Bible is the only rule of faith and practice; or, if the reader pleases, that church courts and human creeds are not entitled, in any shape or form, to control the human conscience." This able and conclusive work of Mr. Duncan created considerable excitement, which was in no wise lessened when he and Charles McLean, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Gettysburg, both declined the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, on the ground of their objections to creeds and confessions of faith. The Synod of Baltimore then declared their congregations "*vacant*;" but these, with great unanimity, took part with their pastors, who continued to minister to them as usual. Not long

afterward, for similar reasons, the Presbyterian church on Thirteenth street, Philadelphia, renounced the authority of creeds and Presbyterian church courts, and with their pastor, Mr. Chambers, continued to meet as before, receiving numerous accessions.

In several Baptist associations which Mr. Campbell visited during the fall he was also much pleased to observe the progress of liberal views and the good spirit which prevailed. On the Western Reserve, all things seemed to be moving on favorably, and in the Stillwater Association, which had been shortly before formed of churches in the counties of the same State contiguous to the Ohio river, he found most of the messengers disposed to adopt the reformatory views. The case was far different in the Redstone Association, to which James Philips, a Welsh Baptist preacher, was sent as a messenger from Stillwater, and denied admission because of his open opposition to creeds. The Redstone Association, indeed, under the leadership of Mr. Brownfield and others, refused at their meeting to receive the messengers from any churches which did not in their letters expressly recognize the Philadelphia Confession of Faith. They undoubtedly had the constitution of the Association in their favor, for in this there was a clause requiring the churches to recognize the Philadelphia Confession. This, however, had not been adopted by the majority of the churches of the Association individually, and had remained heretofore entirely inoperative.

In Kentucky a spirit somewhat similar to this marked the course of the Long Run Association, meeting in Bullitt county. P. S. Fall, who, from ill health, had given up his charge in Louisville, and was now in Frankfort, had been clerk of this Association, to which the Louisville Church belonged in 1824, and had been

appointed to write the circular letter for 1825, and to deliver the introductory address. This address, which was on the "Opening of the Reign of the Messiah," was so novel in its subject, and so different from the usual theological disquisitions in its style, that it excited much remark. The Circular Letter, however, which maintained that "the Scriptures of the New Testament were the only and all-sufficient rule of faith and manners," was regarded with still greater suspicion, and met with much hostility. After having been violently assailed and placed in the hands of a committee for investigation, by whom some slight verbal changes were made and an explanatory sentence added, it was again read and discussed in the Association, and finally rejected by the casting vote of the moderator, Elder George Waller. On his return to Frankfort, Mr. Fall read the letter to Dr. Noel and Jacob Creath, Sr., who both warmly approved it, the former remarking, "If I had been there, it should have passed."

The opposition, however, of a few leaders among the Baptists, who feared innovation, and desired to maintain the usages of the party, had but little effect in arresting the progress of the reformatory principles among the churches. At the very meeting of the Long Run Association which rejected the circular letter advocating the Bible as the only rule of faith and manners, the queries presented by some of the churches were quite significant of approaching change. Among those referred to the churches for *investigation* were the following:

"1. Is there any authority in the New Testament for religious bodies to make *human creeds and confessions of faith the constitutions or directories* of such bodies in matters of faith or practice?

"2. Is there any authority in the New Testament for

Associations? If so, what is it? If not, why are they held?

"3. Are our Associations, as annually attended, of *general utility?*"

Such inquiries indicated that the New Testament was beginning to be recognized among the Kentucky churches also as the true religious standard, and that there was a waning faith in the existing order of things.

Soon afterward, in the beginning of 1826, Mr. Fall removed to Nashville at the earnest invitation of the church in that city. Some of its members were already deeply interested in the proper method of studying the New Testament. Others had become alarmed at a rumor that Mr. Fall was abandoning the Baptist faith. Dr. John C. Ewing, however, the clerk of the church, wrote to him (Aug. 28, 1825): "You need have no apprehensions on this ground, and you will find enough here to support you who are tied to no doctrines but those that are indubitably scriptural." He accordingly removed to Nashville, and in addition to his labors in the church, which soon became entirely favorable to the reformatory principles, took charge of a female academy—an occupation for which he was eminently fitted, and in which he became highly distinguished both here and at Frankfort, to which he returned after some years.

CHAPTER V.

The new version—Its reception—Andrew Broaddus—Spiritual influence—R. B. Semple—Disruption at Redstone—Brush Run Church—Tour to Nashville—Stillwater Association—Mahoning Association—Death of Mrs. Campbell—Religious movements.

A SECT is characterized by a marked stagnation of religious thought. The theological system of each party surrounds it with fixed boundaries which afford no outlet to free investigation. A special orthodoxy, like the hardened shell of a mollusk, prohibits any further growth or development, and the sect is walled in by an incrustation derived from itself, from which there is no escape except by casting off the entire covering. The feelings, views and aims of each party acquire a monotonous uniformity within the narrow precincts to which its creed confines them. Even the word of God fails to impart a single free ray of knowledge through the opaque investiture which forbids its entrance, and which opposes itself equally to light from without and growth from within. Hence it is that advances toward higher and nobler views of religion are never made by the partisan or the bigot, but by men who have been emancipated from spiritual thraldom, and who are either disconnected from all sects or but loosely attached to any. Such men have appeared at various periods in the history of the Church, and it has been through their instrumentality that broader and better conceptions of divine truth have been presented—that there has been

from time to time an enforced readjustment of parties, and upon the whole a certain amount of progress toward simpler and truer views of the gospel.

Such reformers, however, have been usually so far in advance of their times that they have been neither countenanced nor comprehended by the people with whom they happened to be associated. But an instinctive and unerring sympathy has ever united such independent thinkers with each other, and however separated they may have been by time and space or accidental differences, they have recognized each other as fellow-laborers in God's husbandry, and have admired and cherished the products of each other's toil. Thus Mr. Campbell loved the memory of the great and good, and availed himself of whatever influence and authority a calmer judgment or an advancing knowledge on the part of religious society had conceded to their works, to continue the structure they had partly reared and carry forward the common purpose of religious reformation. Hence it was that having for several years highly esteemed the character of George Campbell, of Aberdeen, and his admirable critical dissertations upon the gospels, as well as his new version from the Greek text, and being greatly pleased with the free renderings and annotations of Macknight on the Epistles, and of Doddridge on the Acts of the Apostles and Revelations, he concluded to compile from these three sources a complete translation of the New Testament, with the addition of such hints and aids as might be conducive to a true comprehension of the sacred writings.

To this work he therefore devoted every spare moment during the winter of 1826. Having collected all translations of any note, he carefully examined every word, comparing the various renderings, and adding

such notes and observations as would serve to elucidate the text and assist the English reader. He had formed previously a very inadequate idea of the amount of labor thus involved, but from his great interest in the subject it became to him a labor of love, or, as he termed it, "a delightful and profitable employment," a "happy necessity" of reading, comparing and examining all the various translations for the purpose of understanding more fully the blessed volume. In accordance with his plan, he reserved to himself the right of placing in the text the rendering of one translator in preference to that of another if it seemed more clear and accurate, placing, however, the rejected version in the margin or appendix, so that the reader might have both before him. He also expressly announced in his prospectus that he would introduce "one improvement" in order to render the version complete. "Sundry terms," said he, "are not *translated* into English, but *adopted* into those translations from long usage. These terms are occasionally translated into English by Campbell and Macknight, but not always. We shall uniformly give them the meaning which they have affixed to them wherever they occur, and thus make this a *pure* English New Testament, not mingled with Greek words, either adopted or anglicized."

This work appeared in the spring, in one volume octavo, of some five hundred and fifty pages, well printed on good paper and in large type, with general and special prefaces, hints to readers, and notes, constituting the most important aid to the study of the New Testament ever published in so compact and cheap a form. Mr. Campbell well knew how much a new version would tend to promote the private reading and examination of the Scriptures, and to overcome that

slavish attachment to particular words and phrases which were supposed to favor party tenets. He earnestly desired to bring individual minds into contact with the word of God, free from all sectarian bias and from the influence of the phraseology of favorite proof-texts, which seemed to carry conviction rather from their familiar *sound*, than from their actual meaning or their relevancy. In short, he wished to foster that spirit of inquiry which had been aroused, and to present to the people at large a version of the New Testament free from antiquated and transferred terms, and accurately expressed in modern English, in order that no veil might be interposed between men's understandings and the sacred teachings. He believed, furthermore, that as the translation was the work of Congregational and Presbyterian "divines," it would have thus a passport to public confidence which no Baptist version could possess.

The "one improvement," however, which he made, as announced in his prospectus, was of such a nature as to make it difficult to decide whether most to admire in it his ingenuity, his frankness or his intrepidity. Each one of the translators had declared that the word rendered baptism meant immersion, yet in deference to usage they continued the anglicized Greek term. Taking them at their word, Mr. Campbell simply gave the English meaning, which they had authorized, for this word and its cognates, so as to avoid ambiguity and make the work complete as a translation. He wished the version to express freely and fully the idea to be conveyed, just as it did to those to whom, in the original Greek, it was first addressed; and he could not consent conscientiously to furnish for corruptions, against which he had so successfully battled, the covert of untranslated

words in which they had so long sought shelter. He therefore boldly and fearlessly placed in the text the English of the words in question, and evinced at once his supreme love of truth and his superior moral courage *in being the very first to furnish to the English reader a version of the New Testament completely rendered into his own vernacular.* From the momentous issues involved in simply rendering these words into English, all others had shrunk in dismay, and though conscientiously compelled, as scholars, to admit their true signification, they dared not venture, by manfully adopting it, to condemn unchristian practices at which they had themselves connived. There is, accordingly, perhaps, no act of Mr. Campbell's life which exhibits in bolder relief the noble independence of his character than this "one improvement" which he made in thus completing the translation of the New Testament as given by Doctors Campbell, Macknight and Doddridge.

As was to be expected, the Pædobaptists were far from being pleased with a work which gave such a clinching to the arguments with which Mr. Campbell had already transfixed their favorite tenet; for the sacred volume itself now spoke in plain English, and every subterfuge was swept away. As the translation was, however, substantially that of their own great men, they were unable to make any effective opposition. On the other hand, the Baptists as a people were not much better satisfied with the "improvement" which Mr. Campbell had made, since, while it sanctioned their exclusive practice of immersion, it took away from them the cherished Scripture authority for their name as a denomination. In this version, John was no longer "the Baptist," but simply "the immerser," and they

felt reluctant to lose from their *party* so famous a character and so honored a title. In some of their periodicals, therefore, those among them who were indisposed to change, began to oppose the reformatory movement, and to create suspicion and hostility by misrepresentations of Mr. Campbell and appeals to denominational prejudices. Foremost among these were sundry correspondents of the "Baptist Recorder," edited at Louisville by Messrs. George Waller and Spencer Clack. Others, in the "Western Luminary," assailed the new version with great bitterness, endeavoring to make the impression that Mr. Campbell had made many alterations in the text in order to favor his own views, etc. One writer asserted that he had made at least eighty variations from Dr. George Campbell's translation on the single subject of baptism, because he found that Mr. Campbell had, according to his prospectus, changed the word baptism and its cognates wherever they occurred into immersion and immerse, etc. Here it was simply the repeated change of a single word or the repetition of one change, but the desire was to make the impression that there were eighty distinct and different alterations. Mr. Campbell observed in reply that the writer "had told eighty lies in telling one truth, as if a man should say he had seen eighty pigeons when he had only seen one pigeon eighty times." Again, because he had in Acts xx. 28, adopted the reading of Griesbach—"Church of the Lord," instead of "Church of God," in harmony with his plan to place the most approved reading in the text, giving the others in the appendix, it was insinuated that he was an Arian, though the orthodoxy of Griesbach, the author of the change, was never called in question. Such was the general character of the pitiful and pigmy

efforts to discredit and oppose the reformatory principles which were now making themselves very widely felt and were changing the sentiments and the practice of entire religious communities.* In hardly any case did the opposition assume a frank and manly character. On the contrary, it was almost invariably carried on by means of misrepresentation and calumny; by anonymous and irresponsible writers, and by editors who carefully excluded from their columns Mr. Campbell's exposures of the sophistries and perversions they had eagerly published against him. The cause, nevertheless, advanced with rapid strides; the circulation of the "Christian Baptist" was month by month extending itself; new editions of the earlier volumes were demanded, and before the end of October nearly the whole of the first edition of the New Testament was disposed of, a number of copies being taken both by Baptist and Pædobaptist preachers of liberal views, and the work being highly praised by many persons of learning and critical discernment. The "prefaces" to the different parts of the work, and especially the "Hints to Readers," were much commended. These were, indeed, extremely valuable, as they gave a connected view of the *design* of each of the sacred books and of the circumstances under which these were written.

* One of the singular facts connected with the opposition about this period, was the burning of the new version of the Testament by Elder Edmund Waller, a brother of one of the editors of the "Baptist Recorder." Having kept the book for some six months, he then prayed ten days to know whether he should burn it or not, and upon mature reflection came to the conclusion to do so; so that having a good fire one day, and his family being out, he shook the leaves well and burned it to ashes with a clear conscience. Such an incident reveals more fully than any description could do, the state of mind engendered by religious bigotry, which, according to circumstances, can celebrate its *auto-da-fé* as well in burning the New Testament as in committing a heretic to the flames.

It was quite a novel discovery to most readers to find that these writings had really each a special purpose—the Gospels, to show that Jesus was the Son of God; the Acts, to relate the planting of the Christian Church; and the Epistles, to develop the duties of the Christian life. They were surprised to see that in each there was a consecutive train of reasoning or array of facts, so greatly had men's minds been mystified and their understandings confounded by the textuary system and the speculations of theology. People now felt that they could understand the divine revelations without the aid of priests, and became everywhere engaged in the diligent study of the word of God.

Among those Baptist ministers who approved the new version, and who especially commended the "Hints to Readers," was Andrew Broaddus, one of the most talented and eloquent preachers of Eastern Virginia. He was a man of highly-cultivated intellect and of liberal spirit, though of a somewhat fastidious and timid temperament. Some months after the appearance of the letter from Bishop Semple, who, notwithstanding the courtesy of Mr. Campbell's reply, seemed disposed to decline further correspondence, Mr. Broaddus had sent a communication for the "Christian Baptist," in which he expressed his approval of Mr. Campbell's views of the Christian religion as a dispensation, and his general agreement with the sentiments in the "Sermon on the Law" as to the Mosaic institution. In regard to the "Christian Baptist," he said:

"I find in it much to *approve*, something to *doubt*, and something, too, from which I must *dissent*. Possibly, however, my dissension may be owing (in part at least) to the want of a full and correct understanding of your sentiments. I said, much to *approve;* I might use a stronger term and say,

much to *admire.* With several of your essays I have been not only pleased but delighted. Many of your remarks, too, in opposition to the errors and follies too prevalent in the religious world, meet my own views and receive my warm and hearty commendation. In a word, I am greatly pleased with what appears to be your drift and aim—viz., to clear the religion of Jesus of all the adventitious lumber with which it has been encumbered, and bring back the Christian Church to its primitive simplicity and beauty."

Concurring with Mr. Campbell as to Christianity considered as a dispensation, he goes on to say:

"I do hope that, upon a more explicit declaration of your sentiments, I may find no cause to disagree with you as to what more nearly concerns the *nature* of that religion—the *agency*, I will say, which produces it in us. I do not wish you to consider me, at this time, as really differing from you on this point: I only desire to be better satisfied. Let me explain myself.

"There are some among us possessed of strong apprehensions that you are disposed to deny the existence of the regenerating and sanctifying operations of the Holy Spirit on the spirit or the heart of man, and that you would ascribe all the religious effects produced in us solely to the influence of the written Word or the external revelation of God. And these apprehensions, permit me to add, are not, in all cases, the effect of any prejudice against you. For myself, I have said to others, as I now say to you, that I cannot think this of you. I have seen, indeed, many things in your writings which appear inconsistent with such a sentiment—a sentiment which obviously goes to the annihilation of all hope for gracious aid in the Christian warfare, and, of course, to the annihilation of prayer for any such aid. A sentiment which would thus cut off communion with God, and let out, as I may say, the very life's blood of religion, I cannot think you would maintain. Still, however, I would rather see you more explicit upon this point: it appears to be due to your-

self as well as to others: and to a compliance with this wish I should suppose you can have no objection.

"That the word of God is the instrument of our regeneration and sanctification, I have no doubt; nor would I think of saying it is his usual method (whatever he may in some cases choose to do) to operate on the soul *independent of the Word.* But that there is a living, divine agent, giving life and energy to the Word, and actually operating on the soul, is, in my view, a truth which forms one of the glorious peculiarities of the religion of Jesus: and thus I would say, in the language of the apostle, we are 'born again not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.'"

This communication, elegantly written and marked by the utmost Christian courtesy and candor, was received by Mr. Campbell with great pleasure, and he remarked that there had not appeared in the "Christian Baptist" a letter from any correspondent "more evangelical in its scope; more clear and luminous in its object; more unexceptionable in its style; more perfect in its soul, body and spirit."

"I am not conscious," said he, in reply, "that there is one point of controversy between us in all the items of practical truth embraced in your letter. Whatever diversity of opinion might possibly exist between us in carrying out some principles to their legitimate issue, I am conscious of none in the premises." . . . Speaking of the "agency" which produces the Christian religion in men, he remarks: "Were it not for the pernicious influence of the theories afloat on this subject, I would assert my concurrence in opinion with you. This may appear a strange saying, but it is in accordance with the spirit of this work. I have taken a stand which I am determined, by the grace of God, not to abandon. I will lay down no new theories in religion, contend for no old theories, nor aid any theory now in existence. For why? Because no theory is the gospel of Jesus the Messias. Nor can the

preaching or teaching of any theory be the preaching or teaching of the gospel. And—please mark it well—NO MAN CAN BE SAVED BY THE BELIEF OF ANY THEORY, TRUE OR FALSE: NO MAN WILL BE DAMNED FOR THE DISBELIEF OF ANY THEORY. This position I hold worthy to be printed in majestic capitals. . . . Whatever the Scriptures say, I say. The only question with me is to understand each sentence in the light of its own context. . . . To make *new* theories is the way to make *new divisions*. To contend for the *old* is to keep up the *old divisions*, either of which would be in direct opposition to all my efforts, and, what is still worse, in direct opposition to the decisions of the Holy Spirit."

We have here a clear statement of the principle which governed Mr. Campbell throughout his entire life as to his utterances on the subject of spiritual influence. Knowing how the minds of the people were engrossed with theories of regeneration to the neglect of Scripture teaching, and how much such speculations contributed to maintain religious dissensions, he had resolved to discountenance every thing of this nature, and to confine attention to the plain declarations of the word of God. He could not be induced, therefore, to go beyond its simple statements into any inquiries respecting the unrevealed links in the chain of causation. By no means denying that influences were exerted in answer to prayer in regard to the conversion and sanctification of men, he presumed not to define their nature, and would neither propose a new theory on the subject, nor give his assent to any of those already in vogue. Mr. Broaddus had made a very near approach to Mr. Campbell's position when he said, as above quoted, "that the word of God is the instrument of our regeneration and sanctification," and that he would not say it was God's "usual method to operate on the soul *independent*

of the Word." But when he added, "there is a living divine agent giving life and energy to the Word, and actually operating on the soul," he passed quite out of Mr. Campbell's field of view, the Bible alone, and entered the domain of theological speculation. Mr. Campbell could see no practical utility in this theory, as the reception of it did not in any wise tend to induce the supposed agency, and therefore availed nothing. On the other hand, its adoption at once changed the relations of those who embraced it to the word of God. Men could no longer esteem this "worthy of all acceptation," "greater" than the "testimony of men," "able to make 'them' wise unto salvation," or "quick and powerful;" for the *theory* declared it to be deficient in energy and to be actually "dead," requiring some undefined agency to give it "life." This Mr. Campbell could never for a moment admit, and it was in opposition to this very theological dogma that, adopting the language of the proto-martyr, and in harmony with the saying of Christ, "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life," he entitled his later editions of the New Testament, "THE LIVING ORACLES." His love for that sacred volume rendered him jealous of every philosophy which would in the slightest degree derogate from its power and its sufficiency when brought into contact with the human mind. Such were his conceptions of the "glorious gospel of the blessed God," that he regarded it as embodying in itself "the power of God for salvation to every one who believed it," and as presenting, in the demonstrations of the Spirit and of power which attended its introduction, all the evidences necessary to the production of faith. He by no means doubted or denied the impartation and aids of the Holy Spirit, but as the promise of the Spirit was to *believers*

only, he could not admit that it was given to unbelievers in order to produce faith, as the theory in question required. He, therefore, thus expressed himself in his reply to Mr. Broaddus:

"If any man accustomed to speculate on religion as a mere science should infer from anything I have said on these theories that I contend for a religion in which the Holy Spirit has nothing to do; in which there is no need of prayer for the Holy Spirit; in which there is no communion of the Holy Spirit; in which there is no peace and joy in the Holy Spirit, —he does me the greatest injustice. . . . All whom I baptize, I baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. I pray for the love of the Father, the grace of the Son and the communion of the Holy Spirit to remain with all the saints. A religion of which the Holy Spirit is not the author, the subject-matter and the perfecter is sheer Deism. To a man who teaches otherwise I would say: 'Art thou a teacher in Israel, and knowest not these things?' . . . The uncontrovertible fact is, men must be born from *above*, and for this purpose the glad tidings are announced. Let us simply promulgate them in all their simplicity and force, unmixed with theory, uncorrupted with philosophy, uncomplicated with speculation and unfettered by system, and mark the issue."

However clear the view Mr. Campbell thus gave of his position, and however proper, and, in a *practical* point of view, sufficient the course he so earnestly advocated in the interests of Christian peace and union, it must be confessed that the point of real difficulty remained still untouched, and that, for want of a full explanation of this, his views continued to be misapprehended and misrepresented. For it was undeniable that "influences" independent of the gospel were exerted in regard to unbelievers in order to the production of faith. Admitting that the "power" was in the gospel

or word of God, the question which demanded elucida tion still recurred—Why do not all who hear the gospel believe and obey it? Why, out of a large audience who hear the gospel announced, will perhaps only one or two individuals receive it and act upon their convictions? Where all have alike the opportunity of hearing, why is the gospel brought into contact with the heart and mind of some and not of others or of all? Most assuredly there is a special influence here to be accounted for—an influence admitted by Mr. Campbell himself equally with his opponents, since with them he felt it his duty to offer up prayers for the conversion of sinners, which necessarily supposed a special divine intervention in their behalf. It was the conviction that such aid was to be expected, coupled with the natural and just longing of the human heart for some tangible, personal and sensible evidence of acceptance with God, that first gave rise to the mystical theory of regeneration, which, engrafted by Jacob Bœhler upon the more simple faith of Wesley, had at length pervaded almost the entire religious community. As this difficulty, therefore, still remained to be elucidated in the further progress of the Reformation, Mr. Campbell's reply at this period failed to prove entirely satisfactory to Mr. Broaddus.

Hence, in his next letter, he said:

"While many things in your answer, and many incidental remarks in reference to this very point, met my admiring approbation, I felt some degree of disappointment at the manner in which you considered it proper to shape your reply in this particular case. Your reasons are no doubt satisfactory to yourself; perhaps they ought to be so to me and to all. I have heard much said about your answer to *Paulinus*, for it has excited among us a high degree of attention. Some of

your readers are satisfied; some are not. And though, upon a candid, careful reperusal of your letter, I think it justly due to you to say *that you are an avowed friend to the Spirit's operations in the production of genuine religion*, I must own that I could still wish you had found in your heart to dispense with what I consider an over-degree of scrupulosity, and to answer in a more *direct* manner. . . . I must think you carry your scruples on the subject of theories and systems to some excess." After expressing his own disapprobation of mere theorizing, he adds the following just remarks: "It is to be lamented, indeed, that systems seem to please some professors of religion more than the good news of salvation by Christ, and that they manifest more solicitude for the preservation of their beloved plans than for the maintenance of vital and practical godliness. Touch every chord in the lyre of salvation, they still remain listless, unmoved, till the darling notes be sounded to which their spirits are in unison. Oh for the time when divine truth—the *whole* of divine truth—shall be relished as coming from God!—when the souls of professed Christians, tuned by grace, shall respond to every declaration of the will of God; now with holy *fear*, now with lively *hope*, now with '*joy* unspeakable and full of glory,' and always with obedient '*faith* that works by love.' This will not be till the Bible is taken in good earnest as the standard of faith and practice. Oh, sir, may God speed your efforts to call the people to this only standard! May he assist us to plant this standard, this milk-white banner, on the heights of Zion, no more to be insulted by the parti-colored flags of creeds and confessions of faith waving over it!"

While Mr. Broaddus was quite agreed with Mr. Campbell in his opposition to creeds as standards of faith, and in regard to the need of reformation among the Baptists, and, in some measure, even to the restoration of the "ancient order of things," he still clung tenaciously to his theory of spiritual operations in conversion, to which he seemed earnestly desirous of

winning over his highly-esteemed friend, the editor of the "Christian Baptist." In reference to the wish he had expressed that Mr. Campbell had given a more direct reply to his assertion that there was a spiritual agency, "giving life and energy to the Word and actually operating on the soul," the latter replied:

"There may be questions proposed on subjects of which the Bible speaks which the Bible will not answer. For example, *How does the Spirit influence the minds of men?* is a question I cannot answer from the Bible. But if I be asked, Does the Spirit regenerate the human heart? Does it influence the minds of men? I answer, the Bible teaches it does. But I have a great scrupulosity of mind in going beyond what is written on this subject in particular. The reason is, some speculative theory of spiritual operation is the very essence, the very soul, of every system of religion in Christendom. . . . If any man ask me *how* the influence and aid of the Spirit is obtained, I answer, By prayer and the word of God. Thus I will give direct answers so far as I think the Oracles authorize.

"But I am governed more in speaking upon this subject by the following than by all other considerations: THE APOSTLES PREACHED CHRIST, AND NOT THE HOLY SPIRIT; or, rather, *they preached the Holy Spirit when they preached Christ.* So the Saviour instructed and commanded them. *They preach the Spirit with most success who say nothing about his work in conversion.* So did the apostles. In all the sermons pronounced by the apostles to unregenerated persons, of which we have so many samples in the Acts of the Apostles, they never once spoke of the work of the Spirit in conversion. *Not one example in all the volume—not one model of the discourses we every day hear about the work of the Spirit.* The apostles remembered that the Spirit was not to speak of himself, his own office and work, but of Christ. Their good news, therefore, was about Christ crucified."

His earnest pleading, however, for the simple teachings of the word of God availed but little with the leading Baptist preachers in Virginia, so long as he refused to commit himself to their favorite theory of spiritual operations. Some speculative view of this subject had indeed become, as Mr. Campbell well remarked, "the very essence, the very soul," of modern systems of religion; and because he would not go beyond the actual statements of the Bible in reference to the work of human salvation, it was natural that those opposed to him should avail themselves of the popularity of the theory of "spiritual operations" in order to create prejudice against him, and that even good and pious men, accustomed to rely on what they called their "Christian experience," should stand in doubt of his religious position. As he continued, in perfect consistency with the principles with which he set out, to maintain the ground he had taken, this subject became a very prominent theme of discussion throughout his entire ministry, recurring again and again in various forms. In order to avoid a too frequent reference to it, it may be here stated that in the following year (1827) Bishop Semple wrote a letter to Silas M. Noel, D.D., of Kentucky, which was published in the "Baptist Recorder," in which he remarked in relation to the letters of Mr. Broaddus, above quoted: "He [Paulinus] wrote something last year in which he certainly went too far. He is now convinced (I am persuaded), and is guarded against our friend Campbell's chimeras."

A writer, signing himself "Querens," in the "Christian Baptist," then publicly called upon Bishop Semple to point out the "chimeras" which he attributed to Mr. Campbell. This Bishop Semple declined, saying that Sandeman, Glas and the Haldanes had been master

spirits upon the same system many years ago, and had been effectually answered by Fuller and others. He added:

"If I am called upon, then, to establish my assertions as to Mr. Campbell's views, I refer 'Querens' and all such to Fuller's work against Sandeman," etc. He says he is indisposed to controversy, but adds: "If, however, I should be disposed to become a controversialist, I believe I should as soon enter the lists with my friend Campbell as any other, for three reasons. One is, on the points on which we differ I am persuaded he is palpably on the wrong side, and it would not be a hard task to make it manifest. A second is, he is so much of a champion that to be beaten by him would not be so discreditable as it might be with some other antagonists. A third is, I think him a generous combatant with one who wishes nothing but fair play."

To this letter, which Mr. Campbell transferred from the "Recorder" to the "Christian Baptist," he made a very kind and respectful reply, showing that the bishop's plan of disposing of the matter was wholly unsatisfactory to the public.

"The reflecting part of the community," he observed, "will say, Why not show that Campbell is wrong by the use of reason and Scripture, rather than by defaming him?" He concludes his answer thus: "As you have more than once commended many excellent things in the 'Christian Baptist,' and as you are now *brought out* or *dragged out* to oppose me, it behooves you to discriminate the things which you disapprove from those you approve in the 'Christian Baptist.' And now, Brother Semple, I call upon you as a man, as a scholar, as a Christian and as a Christian bishop, to come forward and make good your assertions against your 'friend Campbell.' My pages are open for you. You shall have line for line, period for period, page for page with me. I pledge myself to address you and treat you as a gentleman and a Christian ought to do. You will not find an insinua-

tion nor a personality in all I may say of you. I wish to give you a fair specimen of that sort of discussion which I approve, and to show what reason, demonstration and Scripture declaration can achieve with an able and an honorable opponent. There is no man in America I would rather have for an opponent, if I must have an opponent, than thee. Come forward then, Brother Semple—choose the topics, one at a time; numerically arrange your arguments and proofs; make everything plain and firm, and in good temper, spirit and affection show me where I have erred; and if I cannot present reason, Scripture and good sense to support me, I will yield to your superior discernment, age and experience, one by one, the points in which we differ. And as this work is generally bound in volumes, your essays, the antidote or the remedy, will descend with the poison to its future readers."

As Bishop Semple paid no attention to this earnest appeal, Mr. Campbell, after waiting some months, thought it due to the cause he advocated to analyze the bishop's two letters to Dr. Noel, in which he had spoken disparagingly of his views, and advocated creeds, etc. This analysis, though kind in manner, was searching in its range, and the result of the whole affair was decidedly unfavorable to Bishop Semple's reputation for ability and wisdom, while his character as a pious and devoted Christian remained unquestioned. During this period Mr. Broaddus thought it due to himself to state that Bishop Semple was mistaken in supposing that he had at all changed his views in reference to the questions he had treated in his essays in the "Christian Baptist." He also took occasion to renew his effort in behalf of the theory of "spiritual operations," and forwarded for the "Christian Baptist" two very elegantly and carefully written articles on the work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men, in which he considered the reality of a divine influence, its principal effects

and its practical importance. He did not advocate "irresistible operations," or any of the particular systems of the day, nor did he contend for a divine influence of a mere physical nature detached from revealed truth, but admitted that there dwelt in the word of truth "a living principle which, when that word is received, has a never-failing tendency to bring forth the fruits of holiness in heart and life." The leading sentiment of the essays, however, was, in substance, "that we are dependent on the influence of the Holy Spirit to render the word of truth effectual to our conversion and final salvation."

In his reply, Mr. Campbell said that few of the intelligent readers of the "Christian Baptist" would dissent from the above views.

"If you, Brother Paulinus," said he, "discard the doctrine of irresistible operations upon unbelievers, you are happily safe from the systems which I have been so long combating and endeavoring to expose in my various essays on the work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men. I have contended that the Spirit of God *has done* something which renders unbelief and unregeneracy a sin in all men who have access to the Bible, independent of anything to be done; and I have taught that it *will do* something for those who, from what it *has done*, are immersed into the faith of the gospel. What it *has done* has given strength to the weak, *life* to the dead and reclaimed enemies to God; what it *will do* is to beget a holy spirit and temper—to fill with peace and joy and righteousness those who believe. I will not, therefore, with the speculative philosopher, make what the Spirit of God has already done of none effect, to make way for something yet to be done. Nor will I ascribe everything to what the Spirit has done in the inditing and confirming the testimony, to the exclusion of any influence upon the minds of those who, through faith, have been immersed for the remission of sins

and this heavenly gift. . . . The whole world, with whom the Spirit of God strives in the *written* Word now, as it once did in the mouths of prophets and apostles, have no excuse for their unbelief or unregeneracy; and those who have put on the Lord Jesus are invited to abound in all the joys, consolations and purifying influences of this Holy Spirit."

Thus the matter ended as before. Both equally believed that salvation was due to the work of the Holy Spirit. Mr. Campbell thought that in conversion the power was in the word of God. Mr. Broaddus supposed that the direct aid of the Holy Spirit was necessary to render that Word effectual. Both equally admitted the presence and influence of the Holy Spirit in believers, and as Mr. Campbell thought it right to pray for the conversion of men, he necessarily admitted that some influence additional to that of the gospel was exerted also in the case of unbelievers. The only point, then, of real difference was simply the *nature* of this influence, Mr. Broaddus regarding it as a direct work of the Spirit upon the heart, and Mr. Campbell pleading the Scripture declarations that the Holy Spirit could be received only by believers. As to the nature of the influences or aids which the latter virtually admitted in conversion, he at this period offered no opinion, and Mr. Broaddus had brought no Scripture evidence to show that the Holy Spirit could be received by an unbeliever, or that any such theory of spiritual operations had ever been propounded in primitive times.

Pending these discussions, the cause of the Reformation continued to make rapid progress among the Baptist churches. In the fall of 1826, Mr. Campbell attended as usual the Mahoning Association, which convened at Canfield, August 25th, John Brown and John Encell being associated with him as messengers from

the church at Wellsburg. On the day of assembling, Mr. Campbell preached at one o'clock, P. M., from 2 Tim. iii. 2. Adamson Bentley was appointed moderator, and J. Gaskill, clerk. Those invited to a seat were Corbley Martin, Sidney Rigdon, W. West, J. Osborne, Thomas Campbell and Walter Scott, it being the first visit of the latter to the Western Reserve. The presence of so many able preachers rendered the meeting one of great interest and religious enjoyment. After completing its business with entire harmony, the Association made appointments for preaching on the Lord's day in the Presbyterian meeting-house. At 10 A. M., Walter Scott spoke from the 11th chapter of Matthew; Sidney Rigdon then delivered an address based on 16th chapter of John. After an interval, Mr. Campbell read the last chapter of Malachi, and presented a view of the progress of the light of divine revelation, which was so grand in its conceptions, so striking in its illustrations and so comprehensive in its scope that it made a most profound impression, and was never forgotten by those who heard it.

Having been appointed by the Association its corresponding messenger to both the Stillwater and Redstone Associations, and the latter meeting in the following week, Mr. Campbell, after tarrying at home one day, set out to visit his old associates of disputatious memory. He found that as at the meeting of the previous year they had rejected all church letters which did not refer to the Philadelphia Confession, so now the ruling spirits had resolved to carry out their purposes with unsparing zeal. The Association consisted of twenty-three or twenty-four churches, each entitled to a representation by three messengers. As Elder Brownfield and those acting with him were aware that they could not com-

mand a majority of all the voters on any motion, they determined to prevent those opposed to them from having any participation in the business of the meeting. Out of seventy-two voters they found only thirty to be in their favor, and these thirty messengers, accordingly, representing ten churches, constituted themselves the Association, and appointing their own officers, proceeded to arraign, under the constitution, those churches which had not formally accepted the Philadelphia Confession. The fate of these churches was not long in suspense. The church at Washington, after having been denounced as Arian, Socinian, Arminian, Antinomian, etc., was first denied admission. Next the Maple Creek Church was brought up for trial and cut off, though the actors expressed great regret for its pastor, the aged Henry Spears, who was deservedly beloved. After this, the church on Pigeon Creek, with Matthias Luse as pastor, shared the same fate, as did likewise the rest, ten churches thus excluding thirteen. These high-handed measures, however, failed of their purpose, and ultimately recoiled upon those who instigated them. The excluded messengers immediately assembled at a house about a half a mile distant and requested Mr. Campbell to deliver a discourse, which he did, and upon their return home, having reported the case to their respective churches, most of these agreed to send messengers to form a new association at Washington in November, which was accordingly done. At the first meeting of this Association, on Friday, September 7, 1827, the constitution drawn up at the convention of churches in November previous was adopted as the constitution of the Association. It was very short, making no mention of the Philadelphia Confession, but declaring as the second article, "We receive

the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice to all the churches of Christ." As it gave four messengers to each church, Brush Run Church was represented by Thomas Campbell, Joseph Bryant, John Kawkins and Joseph Matthews. Matthias Luse was chosen moderator and Ephraim Estep, clerk. James Phillips of Steubenville, John Brown of Wellsburg, S. Williams of Pittsburg and others present, were invited to seats, and after a pleasant meeting the Association adjourned to meet at Peter's Creek in September of the following year. To close the history of the Redstone Association, it may be here added that the party under Brownfield was as far from being at peace after the disruption as before, since it carried within it those discordant elements which had been the cause of dissension in the past. More liberal doctrinal views and a more favorable feeling toward missionary operations had been for some time gaining ground among the churches, and now began to prevail, while the hyper-Calvinistic sentiments and narrow policy of the minority became more and more confirmed by opposition. At length overtures were made to form a new association of the churches north of the National Road, and a convention held at the Forks of Yough in May, 1832, framed accordingly the constitution of the "Monongahela Association," with which the churches generally in this region became united, Elder Brownfield and a few others of the "elect" remaining disconnected. These became soon after involved in a suit at law with the others for certain church property, which, after causing them much expense and trouble, was decided against the Brownfield party, so that the "final perseverance" of those who had manifested so much hostility to Mr. Campbell, and so overbearing and self-willed a

spirit in the Redstone Association, reduced them at last to a dissevered, discontented and insignificant faction.

The church at Brush Run, after its connection with the Washington Association, did not long maintain itself as a separate organization. It had already been greatly reduced in number by removals. The spirit of emigration and the project of forming a sort of Christian colony in a newer portion of the country, which had once before been decided upon, but not executed, still occupied the thoughts of some of the members. James Foster, at length, in the spring of 1826, concluded to sell his interest in the farm on which he lived, which he had acquired by his second wife, a daughter of Mr. Welsh, to whom, after the death of his first wife, he was married March 25, 1813. John Wilson and some others agreeing to remove along with him, he purchased one thousand acres of land in Marshall county, near what was called Beeler's Station, and here formed a new settlement with his friends and established a small church, which, in process of time, increased and gave origin to others. In this retired and secluded region amidst the hills, whose pure fountains and limpid rivulets, murmuring through deep and rocky dells, constitute the sources of Grave Creek, James Foster continued to reside and to labor in behalf of the Reformation, rearing a numerous family in the simple and industrious habits of the early settlers. After his departure the few remaining members at Brush Run continued for a time in connection with the Washington Association; but as it was more convenient to many of them to assemble in the vicinity of Mr. Campbell's residence, a church was finally constituted there, and the meeting at Brush Run was discontinued.

During the year 1826, Mr. Campbell was again called

upon to suffer domestic affliction in the loss of his youngest daughter, Margaretta, who sickened and died in the month of May, being then seventeen months old. Mrs. Campbell's health, too, seemed at this time to be gradually failing, and, as symptoms of pulmonary disease began to appear, Mr. Campbell, after his return from the Associations in September, thought it advisable to try the effect of traveling and of a milder climate, with a view to her recovery. Setting out accordingly in November, he journeyed with her to Kentucky, accompanied also by his eldest daughter, now about sixteen, but intelligent beyond her years and possessed of remarkable personal beauty. Proceeding by easy stages through Mason county, visiting many friends and preaching at various points, he reached Versailles in December, where he delivered a discourse upon the typical revelations of the Bible, based chiefly upon the fourth and sixth chapters of Nehemiah. The character of the theme was well suited to his peculiar powers, and such was the grandeur of the conceptions presented of the different dispensations, and so striking the applications made to the existing conditions of religious society, that an indelible impression was produced upon the minds of those who heard it. He visited Louisville in January, filling also some appointments in Indiana, and passing thence to Nashville, spent some weeks there, preaching frequently, to the great delight of the Church and of the community, amongst whom the welcome strangers formed many agreeable acquaintances and found many warm friends.

The church at Nashville, under the labors of Mr. Fall, was at this time fully engaged in the reformatory movement. The previous year it had declined uniting with any association, but during the fall of this year

(1826) had concluded to apply for admission into the Concord Association on terms similar to those upon which the Brush Run Church had first entered Redstone—viz., that no creed other than the Bible should be required, and that the Association should have no power to interfere with the order, doctrine or government of the church, if the latter was governed in all these matters by the New Testament. Quoting the code of government published by the Association in 1825, as declaring that this body "shall have no power to lord it over God's heritage, neither shall it have any classical power or infringe upon any of the internal rights of the churches," the letter of the church goes on to say:

"We understand this sentence as saying that the Association has no power to determine what any church shall receive as her creed; or whether she shall have any creed or confession at all other than the Bible; and, consequently, that she has no power so to lord it over God's heritage as to condemn any church for holding or teaching any *scriptural truths*, though they be at variance with the opinions of this body concerning such truths."

To the basis of union thus defined the Concord Association had sufficient liberality to agree, thus affording quite a contrast to the proceedings and spirit which about the same time caused, as already mentioned, the disruption at Redstone, and which were beginning to be more or less manifest in other Associations in different parts of the country.

During Mr. Campbell's sojourn in Nashville his wife's health continued to fail, and she became fully impressed with the conviction that she would not recover. She was of a very thoughtful and reflective turn of mind, very calm, patient and resigned to the Divine will, and

with an uncommon tendency to look at every event in a direct, plain and practical way. Of this she gave her husband, while here, a singular proof. After stating to him one day in private her conviction that the disease under which she labored could not be cured, she went on to say that it would give her the greatest happiness to be assured, in case he should, after her decease, be disposed to marry again, and it should prove in accordance with his own feelings, that he would take her dear friend Miss Bakewell to be a mother to her children. Mr. Campbell, grieved that she should cherish such forebodings respecting her case, sought to cheer her with hopes of recovery, and exerted himself to the utmost to remove all melancholy anticipations. Finding him thus unwilling to share in those convictions of a fatal issue which she calmly entertained, she forbore at this time to urge the matter farther. It was, however, soon after decided that it would be best to return to their home in Virginia, which they safely reached in March (1827), after a four months' absence.

During this tour Mr. Campbell delivered many discourses, and gave great impetus to the progress of liberal views in the region visited, while at the same time he kept up the regular issues of the "Christian Baptist." It was his custom always, before leaving home even on the shortest excursion, to send on all the appointments for public speaking which it was possible for him to fill, so that he had always before him a series of meetings, and addressed the public somewhere, in town or country, in houses of worship or in private dwellings, daily, and often twice a day, on the great themes of human salvation and the means of effecting a universal union among the people of God. To these great ends his life was consecrated, and to them all

other matters were viewed as subordinate or merely accessory. The opportunity he had enjoyed during his recent tour of seeing more and more of the condition of religious society under the influence of modern systems, had but the more stirred his zeal for the introduction of a better order of things. Apart from his religious associations, he had also hosts of friends among those who made no profession of religion, who were won by his genial personal qualities and greatly admired his high intelligence and transcendent abilities. For such persons he felt ever a tender solicitude, and sought to use his influence over them so as to lead them to Christ, being well aware how prone men are to substitute personal esteem for a religious teacher, or an intellectual assent to some proposed system or plan, for the love of Christ and the obedience of the gospel. Hence, in retrospecting his tour, he said:

"While we rejoice in the assurance of meeting many of our friends in that blessed state where there is no more separation, it must be acknowledged that there are some personally attached to us, and we to them, from various reasons, concerning whose eternal life we can entertain but a very slender hope. It is perhaps natural, but so it is, that while we exercise benevolence toward all mankind, we more ardently desire the salvation of some than of others. Hence it is that on our list of friends there are some of whose salvation we are not always sanguine, yet from their social and merely human virtues, we feel compelled, with more than ordinary zeal, to exclaim, 'Would to God that they were not only almost, but altogether Christians!' The Saviour once looked upon and loved a young man of extraordinary virtue, who with a sad and sorrowful heart bade him adieu. . . . But this is a subject on which we can neither think nor write with pleasure. We shall, therefore, dismiss it with the expression of a wish that none may construe attachments or

friendships, based on considerations merely human, into an affectionate regard for the Saviour and his disciples."

The remarkable attractive power possessed by Mr. Campbell reacted upon himself, and he could not avoid feeling a peculiar interest in those who sought his friendship, as the magnetized iron attracts in turn the magnet; but he had the faculty of lifting himself above all attachments merely temporal, and of rendering them subsidiary to the higher claims of a spiritual and eternal union. With regard to the Baptist communities which he had visited, he found them, to his regret, greatly deficient in congregational and family discipline, and observing an order of things far from being either scriptural or beneficial. The practice of having but one elder or preacher for four churches; monthly meetings; sitting in judgment on "Christian experiences;" speculative and textuary preaching, and the introduction of doctrinal questions even into psalms and hymns; the great neglect of the study of the Scriptures and various similar aberrations from the teachings of the Bible, were noticed and lamented.

During the previous year, Mr. Campbell had baptized among others at Wellsburg, a young lad, Cyrus McNeely, a son of Squire McNeely, of Cadiz, Ohio, who was a Presbyterian, but of somewhat liberal views, and with whom he used to stop in his early tours through this region. For a year after his baptism young Mr. McNeely continued to attend meeting at Wellsburg, distant some twenty miles, and on the opposite side of the river. James Phillips had some time before gathered together a few members at Cadiz, and as he in the spring of 1827 removed to Steubenville, Mr. McNeely obtained a letter from Wellsburg, and united with the Cadiz Church. Being possessed of ability and moral

courage, and being a very decided and earnest advocate of the ancient order of things, he at once induced the church to commence the practice of weekly communion. This innovation upon Baptist customs became accordingly a matter of complaint at the meeting of the Stillwater Association, which was held at Wills' Creek, near the border of Guernsey county. Among the preachers present, including Elijah Stone, Sedgwick, Pritchard, Headley, Headington and others of Mr. Campbell's old opponents in Redstone, there was but one, a Welsh preacher, Mr. Lee, who was in favor of allowing the practice. As the lay delegates present, however, were in favor of it, they outvoted the preachers, and the opposition failed. Thus, the people, beginning to inquire for themselves, had already advanced beyond those who assumed to be their spiritual guides.

On his way with John Brown to the Mahoning meeting, which was to take place at New Lisbon on the 23d of August, Mr. Campbell called with Walter Scott at Steubenville. Mr. Scott had, during the spring, issued a prospectus for a monthly paper, to be called the "Millennial Herald" and to be devoted to the exposition of his views of the primitive gospel and of the coming millennium, in which latter subject he had become much interested, and on which he had already written several articles for the "Christian Baptist." Mr. Campbell had kindly noticed his prospectus in his June number, and as he had obtained some subscribers, he was, at the time of Mr. Campbell's visit, preparing to have the first number printed. After considerable persuasion, however, he agreed to accompany the latter to the meeting of the Association.

At the first session, Mr. Scott, with Samuel Holmes, W. West and Sidney Rigdon, were invited as usual to

take seats in the Association. In the evening, Sidney Rigdon delivered a discourse on John viii. On the following day, the first item of business to be considered was a request sent up from the church at Braceville, of which Jacob Osborne was elder, as follows: "We wish that the Association may take into serious consideration the peculiar situation of the churches of this Association, and if it would be a possible thing for an evangelical preacher to be employed to travel and teach among the churches, we think that a blessing would follow." Some other preachers, J. Merrill, with J. Secrest and Joseph Gaston of the Christian party, coming in, were invited to seats, and it was voted "that all the teachers of Christianity present be a committee to nominate a person to travel and labor among the churches, and to suggest a plan for the support of the person so employed." It was also voted "that a circular letter be written on the subject of itinerant preaching, for the next Association, by A. Campbell," and that he deliver the introductory sermon of that year, his alternate being Jacob Osborne, who at this time was the moderator of the Association. After this, the committee of nomination made the following report:

"1. That Brother Walter Scott is a suitable person for the task, and that he is willing, provided the Association concur in his appointment, to devote his whole energies to the work.

"2. That voluntary and liberal contributions be recommended to the churches, to raise a fund for his support.

"3. That, at the discretion of Brother Scott, as far as respects time and place, four quarterly meetings be held in the bounds of this Association this year for public worship and edification, and that at these meetings such contributions as have been made in the churches in these vicinities be handed over to Brother Scott, and an account kept of the same, to be produced at the next Association. Also, that at any time and

at any church where Brother Scott may be laboring, any contributions made to him shall be accounted for in the next Association."

This report being adopted, John Secrest delivered a discourse in the evening from John iii. Next morning, being the Lord's day, the Association met at sunrise in the Baptist meeting-house for prayer. At 11 o'clock, A. M., Jacob Osborne delivered a discourse in the Presbyterian meeting-house, based on first chapter of Hebrews. He was followed by Mr. Campbell in a sermon from the close of the seventh and the twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew. A collection, amounting to $11.75, was then taken up as a commencement in accordance with the report of the committee, and a recess being taken to immerse some who had come forward, the brethren afterward assembled in the Baptist meeting-house to break the loaf, after which they dispersed, "much edified," as the minutes state, and "comforted by the exercises of the day."

Such are the brief records of a meeting which proved to be prolific of important consequences, not at all foreseen by those who were the actors in it. The unexpected request from the Braceville Church; the unusual course of the Association in appointing an itinerant preacher; the accidental presence of Walter Scott; his willingness to engage in the work; the attendance and co-operation of prominent preachers from a religious denomination known as "Christians," who were now making many converts among the people,—the whole peculiar combination of circumstances, indeed, was such as Providence alone could have arranged for the accomplishment of a great design.

Mr. Campbell was delighted that one in whom he had so much confidence, and who was, he thought, so

well fitted to promote the public interests of the Reformation, as Walter Scott, had so readily consented to enter into active service. He, in turn, overcoming the timidity and irresolution of his own nature, and overruled by the steadier purpose and bolder enterprise of Mr. Campbell, threw off at once all his entanglements, gave up his paper, dissolved his academy, and taking leave of his family, at once devoted himself to a laborious and active public ministry, in which he soon began to develop those latent powers which the quick perception of Mr. Campbell had long since noticed and admired.

During the fall months, Mrs. Campbell's disease, which in the summer had seemed slightly alleviated, began rapidly to increase, and it soon became apparent that recovery was hopeless. Of this she had herself long been convinced, and looked forward to the time of her release with the utmost composure. Her chief desire seemed to be that she might first see her youngest daughter, Clarinda, able to read the New Testament. One day, when Miss Counselman called in to see her, she found her listening to her little daughter, now six years old, reading to her out of the sacred volume, upon which occasion she remarked that the Lord had granted her desire, and that she was fully ready to depart. A few days before her death she took the opportunity, when Mr. Campbell was alone with her watching by her bedside, to renew the subject of his future marriage, and to express to him again her earnest wish that, as her departure was now nigh at hand, he would, should he conclude to marry again and it should prove in harmony with his own feelings, choose her beloved friend, Miss Bakewell. Deeply moved and unable any longer to cherish the hope that she might be spared to him, Mr. Campbell could not withhold his assent, and his acqui-

escence in her wishes gave her the utmost happiness. This was on Tuesday. The next day, Mr. Campbell was requested to go to Mr. Gist's, about one and a half miles distant, to unite a daughter of the latter in marriage with John Encell. He did not like to leave his suffering wife, but she herself urged him to go, and he finally consented, coming back immediately after the ceremony. Miss Bakewell had come out to attend the wedding, and came down afterward in company with Mary Encell to see Mrs. Campbell. All unconscious of what had occurred in relation to herself, she spent most of the day in singing hymns for Mrs. Campbell, in which the latter took great delight, especially in the one beginning,

> "We sing the Saviour's wondrous death:
> He conquered when he fell."

In the evening Miss Bakewell was compelled to return to Wellsburg, and Mrs. Campbell died on the following Monday, October 22d. Shortly before her death, she assembled her five remaining daughters around her bed, and made to them an address expressive of her hopes and wishes in regard to their future course in life. After speaking of her gratification in knowing that they could all now read the Scriptures, she thus continued:

"The happiest circumstance in all my life I consider to be that which gave me a taste for reading and a desire for understanding the New Testament. This I have considered, and do now consider, to be one of the greatest blessings which has resulted to me from my acquaintance with your father. Although I have had a religious education from my father, and was early taught the necessity and importance of religion, yet it was not until I became acquainted with the contents of this book, which you have seen me so often read, that I came to understand the character of God, and to enjoy a firm and

unbounded confidence in all his promises. . . . I say to you, then, with all the affection of a mother, and now about to leave you, I entreat you, as you love me and your own lives, study and meditate upon the words and actions of the Lord Jesus Christ. Remember how kindly he has spoken to and of little children, and that there is no good thing which he will withhold from them who love him and walk uprightly.

"With regard to your father, I need only, I trust, tell you that in obeying him you obey God, for God has commanded you to honor him, and in honoring your father you honor Him that bade you do so. It is my greatest joy in leaving you that I leave you under the care of one who can instruct you in all the concerns of life, and who, I know, will teach you to choose the good part and to place your affections upon the only object supremely worthy of them. Consider him as your best earthly friend, and, next to your heavenly Father, your wisest and most competent instructor, guardian and guide. While he is over you, or you under him, never commence nor undertake nor prosecute any important object without advising with him. Make him your counselor, and still remember the first commandment with a promise.

"As to your conversation with one another, when it is not upon the ordinary duties of life, let it be on subjects of importance, improving to your minds. I beseech you to avoid that light, foolish and vain conversation about dress and fashion so common among females. Neither let the subject of apparel fill your hearts nor dwell upon your tongues. You never heard me do so. Let your apparel be sober, clean and modest, but everything vain and fantastic avoid. . . . have often told you, and instanced to you, when in health, the vain pursuits and unprofitable vanities of some females who have spent the prime and vigor of their lives in the servile pursuits of fashion, . . . and what and where are they now? Let these be as beacons to you. I therefore entreat you neither to think, nor talk of, nor pursue these subjects. Strive only to approve yourselves to God, and to commend yourselves to the discerning, the intelligent, the pious. Seek their

society, consult their taste and make yourselves worthy of their esteem.

"But there is one thing which is necessary to all goodness, which is essential to all virtue, godliness and happiness; I mean necessary to the daily and constant exhibition of every Christian accomplishment, and that is to keep in mind the words that Hagar uttered in her solitude: '*Thou God seest me.*' You must know and feel, my dear children, that my affection for you, and my desires for your present and future happiness, cannot be surpassed by any human being. The God that made me your mother has, with his own finger, planted this in my breast, and his Holy Spirit has written it upon my heart. Love you I must, feel for you I must, and I once more say unto you, remember these words, and not the words only, but the truth contained in them: '*Thou God seest me.*' This will be a guard against a thousand follies and against every temptation. . . .

"I cannot speak to you much more upon this subject. I have already, and upon various occasions, suggested to you other instructions, which I need not, as indeed I cannot, now repeat. . . . That we may all meet together in the heavenly kingdom is my last prayer for you, and, as you desire it, remember the words of Him who is the *way*, the *truth* and the *life*."

Such were the last words and some of the tender appeals of this address, which Mr. Campbell subsequently published entire in the "Christian Baptist," and which strikingly exhibits the calm resignation, the pious yearnings and the confiding, earnest trust of this Christian mother and faithful wife, of whom in her obituary notice her husband bore this testimony:

"The deceased was a Christian in profession and practice, and did in her life and deportment for many years recommend the excellency of the Christian profession to all her acquaintance; and during her long illness, and in her death, she did exhibit to her numerous connexions and friends how tran-

quilly and cheerfully a Christian can meet death and resign the spirit into the hands of a gracious and divine Redeemer. 'I die,' she said, 'without an anxiety about anything upon the earth, having committed all that interests me into the hands of my faithful and gracious heavenly Father, and in the confident expectation of a glorious resurrection when the Lord Jesus appears unto the salvation of all who trust in him.'"

It was evident to all that Mr. Campbell felt his bereavement most deeply. Forbidden, however, to sorrow as those without hope, possessed of remarkable control over his emotional nature, and prompted to cheerful activities by an innate unflagging energy, his sadness, chastened by Christian resignation, was reserved and silent, betraying itself only at times in the quiet moments of confidential intercourse, in the subdued spirit which marked his subsequent essays, and in the character of the brief extracts which he occasionally placed in the "Christian Baptist," as "The Dying Mother," from Pollock's Course of Time, and the beautiful passage from Irving upon "Sorrow for the Dead" —"the only sorrow from which we refuse to be divorced."

Having been much dissatisfied with the character of many of the psalms and hymns in general use, whose sentiments he thought were not in accordance with the New Testament, Mr. Campbell was at this time engaged in preparing a hymn-book from which unscriptural sentiments were to be excluded, and which he hoped to render acceptable to the now numerous friends of the Reformation. This volume, published in May, 1828, contained only one hundred and twenty-five pieces, together with a treatise on Psalmody as a preface and an essay on prayer at the close, making in all two hundred pages. In addition to his other business, he was

now acting as postmaster. Having found it inconvenient to send his letters and publications to West Liberty office, distant four miles, he had induced the post-office department to establish a post-office at his own residence, which was thenceforth denominated BETHANY, there being a post-town called "Buffalo" in Mason county. This was highly advantageous to him in many respects. Being appointed postmaster, he enjoyed the franking privilege, and was enabled greatly to extend his correspondence. As he was much occupied, however, and often absent from home, he was under the necessity of employing constantly a deputy to attend to the business of the office, which he continued to retain at his own pleasure for thirty years, through all the different administrations and political changes in the government.

Meanwhile, upon the Western Reserve, the Reformation had received an extraordinary impetus. Placed at length in a field where his religious aspirations and fertile genius had room for development, Walter Scott had entered upon his labors with a fervid zeal which silenced timid counsels and disregarded conventional impediments. He was then in the full vigor of life, being nearly thirty-one years of age, having been born in December, 1796, in the town of Moffat, and his preparation for the work before him had been ample. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, he had largely added to his literary acquirements by assiduous devotion to study and self-culture while engaged in teaching during the ten years preceding his appointment as evangelist. Much more had he accumulated vast stores of accurate Scripture knowledge and enlarged religious observation and experience. His memory was thoroughly furnished with the word of

God; his faith and love had culminated in an affectionate personal attachment to the Redeemer, who was ever present to his thoughts, and his imagination had been fired by the glorious hopes and promises of the gospel, which he ardently longed to see triumphant, in its primitive purity, over the errors and corruptions of the time. Having an agreeable musical voice and graceful manner, a lively fancy replete with classical and sacred imagery and abounding in striking illustrations, he possessed many of the qualities of the successful orator. At the same time, his genius for analysis and classification, and his thorough insight into the nature of the Christian institution, enabled him to present its great and stirring themes with a force and clearness seldom equaled. The circumstances, too, around him were propitious. The churches had already been, in a good measure, liberated from the usages and opinions of the regular Baptists, and prepared to receive the simple teachings of the Scriptures. There was no longer that stagnation of religious thought which characterizes a sect. There had been for some years a spirit of religious inquiry, and, with many, a diligent searching of the Scriptures, which had created a longing for a greater conformity to the primitive standard. There was, in consequence, a considerable increase of knowledge and a corresponding growth of liberality of sentiment, which had extended far beyond the Baptist community, and rendered the people of this whole region more favorable to religious investigation. Other religious movements, too, had been for some time operating to weaken the power of sectarianism and to restore the Bible to its proper position. Prominent among these, was one in many respects nearly allied to the Reformation advocated by Mr. Campbell, and which

was at this time making great progress in Ohio, under the labors of several popular preachers. Two of these, as already mentioned, John Secrest and Joseph Gaston, had attended the late meeting of the Mahoning Association, participating in its exercises and in the appointment of Walter Scott, and sympathizing in the principles of the Reformation. The religious body to which they belonged, had an earlier origin than that which sprung from Mr. Campbell's labors; but as this was the first occasion on which the reformers came fairly into contact with the "Christian Connection," it will be proper here to notice the chief points in its history.

CHAPTER VI.

Reformatory efforts—"Christian Connection"—B. W. Stone—Religious excitement—Divinity of Christ—Joseph Gaston—Office of baptism restored—Incidents—Aylett Raines—Ancient gospel.

THE command to preach the gospel to every creature implied that it was adapted to the comprehension of every creature. As the great mass of mankind are incapable of comprehending abstruse and mysterious subjects, the primitive gospel must have been, therefore, something extremely simple in its statement and evident in its nature. Moreover, as this gospel was designed and fitted to save mankind and restore them to the favor and fellowship of God, it must have been equally designed and fitted to bring them into union and fellowship with each other. When men substituted the incomprehensible dogmas of theology for the simple word of God, and when these, elaborated and systematized in the form of authoritative creeds, became the means of perpetuating division and alienation, it is not strange that some, mistaking these systems for Christianity, should denounce it as false and injurious to society, or that those who loved the truth should regard with aversion those false divisive standards and those sectarian titles and designations by which religious partyism and strife were constantly maintained. While sectarianism had thus, on the one hand, been the fruitful parent of infidelity, it had, on the other, provoked those who perceived its baleful influence to seek its overthrow,

and to endeavor to restore to the world the simple gospel as it was preached in the beginning, and presented upon the faithful page of inspiration.

The close of the eighteenth and the early part of the present century were remarkably characterized by efforts of this kind, originating almost simultaneously in widely-separated regions and amidst different and antagonistic sects. The one with which the Reformers were now brought into communication on the Western Reserve was itself a combination of several distinct and independent attempts at the much-desired reformation of religious society. One of these originated among the Methodists when the establishment of American independence had released them from all foreign control and the subject of church government became necessarily a matter of discussion among them. Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury and others labored to establish prelacy, being themselves regarded as "superintendents" or bishops. On the other hand, James O'Kelly, of North Carolina, and some other preachers of that State and of Virginia, with a number of members, pleaded for a *congregational* system, and that the New Testament should be the only creed and discipline. As the episcopal party, however, were largely in the ascendant, these Reformers were unable to accomplish their wishes, and finally seceded at Manakin Town, North Carolina, December 25, 1793. At first they took the name of "Republican Methodists," but, at a conference subsequently held, resolved to be known as CHRISTIANS only, to acknowledge no head over the Church but Christ, and to have no creed or discipline but the Bible. The success of this movement in the South, as it respects increase of numbers, was not great, and it was after a time weakened by changes and removals, but its principles were still maintained

by certain churches and a good many individuals throughout this region.

Not long afterward, a physician of Hartland, Vermont—Abner Jones, then a member of a Baptist church—becoming greatly dissatisfied with sectarian names and creeds, began to urge that all these should be abolished, and that true piety alone should be made the ground of Christian fellowship. In September, 1800, he succeeded, by persevering zeal, in establishing a church of twenty-five members at Lyndon, Vermont, and subsequently one in Bradford and one in Pierpont, New Hampshire, in March, 1803. A Baptist preacher, named Elias Smith, who was about this time laboring with great success in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, now adopted Dr. Jones' views and carried his church along with him. Several other ministers, both from the Regular and the Freewill Baptists, soon after followed, and with other zealous preachers, who were raised up in the newly-organized churches, traveled extensively and made many converts in the New England States, as well as in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and the British Provinces. Those concerned in this movement also assumed the title of "*Christians*," and adopted the Bible as the only standard of faith and practice.

About the same period, a third movement of a similar character originated in Kentucky, under the influence of a Presbyterian preacher, Barton Warren Stone, who, on his own account no less than from his subsequent connection with the subject of these memoirs, deserves a more extended notice. He was a native of Maryland, born December 24, 1772. His father dying not long after, the family removed in 1779 to Pittsylvania county, Virginia, where he remained until about sixteen years of age. Being fond of learning, he made

great proficiency in the school to which he had access, and speedily mastered the ordinary branches of an English education. After the Revolutionary war, the Baptists, and then the Methodists, created great religious excitement in the neighborhood, and he became greatly impressed and agitated in relation to religion. Vacillating between the two parties, and not knowing what course to pursue, his religious impressions soon wore off, and having determined to obtain a liberal education with a view of engaging in the legal profession, he entered, in 1790, a noted academy in Guilford, North Carolina, under the care of Dr. D. Caldwell. Here he found great religious excitement existing under the ministrations of James McGready, an earnest and popular Presbyterian preacher. Although the subject of religion had now become distasteful to him, he, after some time, consented to accompany his room-mate to hear Mr. McGready, upon which all his religious feelings revived with tenfold force, and for a whole year he was, as he states, "tossed on the waves of uncertainty, laboring, praying and striving to obtain saving faith—sometimes desponding and almost despairing of ever getting it." After a long struggle, he at length obtained peace of mind in a retired wood, to which he had resorted with his Bible, after hearing a touching discourse from William Hodge on the text, "God is love."

After completing his course of studies amidst pecuniary difficulties, he experienced a great desire to preach the gospel, but was again involved in disquietude and doubt in relation to his being divinely called and sent. Assured by his friend, Dr. Caldwell, that a hearty desire to glorify God and save sinners was a sufficient encouragement to make the trial, he became a candidate for the ministry in the Orange Presbytery, and

placed himself under the direction of William Hodge, of Orange county, North Carolina. Here "Witsius on the Trinity"—a doctrine to which he had as yet paid little attention—was placed in his hands, and threw his mind into a state of great perplexity, so that he began to think of relinquishing entirely the study of theology. Finding some relief, however, after reading Dr. Watts' views on this subject, he appeared before the Presbytery and was examined by the Rev. Henry Patillo, a learned and estimable Scotchman, now advanced in years. Before the next session of the Presbytery, however, when he was to receive license, he fell again into a depressed state, partly owing to pecuniary embarassments, but more to the conflicting and abstruse doctrines of the theology with which he had been occupied. Concluding finally to give up the idea of preaching, he set out for Georgia to engage in some other pursuit. Here, through the influence of his brothers, who lived in Oglethorpe county, he was appointed professor of languages in an academy near Washington, where he taught with great acceptance until the spring of 1796. Being now provided with means to pay his debts and his desire to preach having revived, he resigned his position and attended the meeting of the Orange Presbytery, where he received license, the venerable old father who addressed the candidates presenting to each, not the Confession of Faith, but the Bible, with the solemn charge, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

Such, however, was his sense of the responsibility of the ministerial office and of his own insufficiency, that during his early efforts at preaching he became again so much discouraged as to think of abandoning the field; but being advised to go to the West, he at

length made his way, through many dangers and trials, to the then small village of Nashville, being much encouraged by the result of his efforts in preaching at various points along the route. Afterward he visited Kentucky on a preaching tour, and remaining some time at Caneridge and Concord, in Bourbon county, his labors were so acceptable to the churches there that he was invited to become a regular pastor. Before doing this, having to visit Georgia to settle some business, he was appointed by the Transylvania Presbytery to visit Charleston, in South Carolina, in order to solicit funds to establish a college in Kentucky. It was during this trip that he became wholly adverse to the institution of slavery, from witnessing its results as he had never seen them before. From this time, he constantly used his influence in favor of every plan likely to ameliorate or change the condition of the African race, and inheriting subsequently some slaves belonging to his mother's estate, in place of which he could have received money, he brought them out to Kentucky and set them free.

Previous to his ordination, as he knew he would be required to adopt the Westminster Confession as the system of doctrine taught in the Bible, he determined to give it once more a thorough examination. This revived all his old perplexities in reference to the Trinity, election, reprobation, etc., as taught in the standard. These difficulties he had for a considerable time managed to evade by considering the above subjects as unfathomable mysteries, and by dwelling almost wholly upon the practical duties of religion. But now, upon re-examination, he found them to be essential parts of the system he would be required to teach. He, therefore, with that candor which was a marked feature of his character, determined to tell the Presbytery the

state of his mind and request a delay until he could be better satisfied. Before the Presbytery was constituted, he took Dr. James Blythe and Robert Marshall, two of the chief ministers, aside and made known to them his difficulties. These they endeavored in vain to remove, and finally inquired how far he was willing to receive the Confession. He replied, "As far as it is consistent with the word of God." They concluded this was sufficient, and this therefore was the answer distinctly given by Mr. Stone to the question, "Do you receive and adopt the Confession of Faith as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Bible?" No objection being offered by any one, he was then ordained.

The account of his subsequent mental trials which he gives in his autobiography, from which the above facts are taken, is strikingly graphic and exhibits the natural results of theological speculations upon a heart yearning for truth.

"About this time," says he, "my mind was continually tossed on the waves of speculative divinity, the all-engrossing theme of the religious community at that period. Clashing, controversial theories were urged by the different sects with much zeal and bad feeling. No surer sign of the low state of true religion. I at that time believed and taught that mankind were so totally depraved that they could do nothing acceptable to God till his Spirit, by some physical, almighty and mysterious power, had quickened, enlightened and regenerated the heart, and thus prepared the sinner to believe in Jesus for salvation. I began plainly to see that if God did not perform this regenerating work in all, it must be because he chose to do it for some and not for others, and that this depended upon his own sovereign will and pleasure. It then required no depth of intellect to see that this doctrine is inseparably linked with unconditional election and reprobation, as taught in the Westminster Confession of Faith. They

are virtually one, and this was the reason why I admitted the decrees of election and reprobation, having admitted the doctrine of total depravity. They are inseparable. Scores of objections would continually roll across my mind against this system. These I imputed to the blasphemous suggestions of Satan, and labored to repel them as satanic temptations and not honestly to meet them with Scripture arguments. Often when I was addressing the listening multitudes on the doctrine of total depravity, on their inability to believe and on the physical power of God to produce faith, and then persuading the helpless to repent and believe the gospel, my zeal in a moment would be chilled by the contradiction, How can they believe? How can they repent? How can they do impossibilities? How can they be guilty in not doing them? Such thoughts would almost stifle utterance, and were as mountains pressing me down to the shades of death. I tried to rest in the common salvo of that day—*i. e.*, the distinction between natural and moral ability and inability. The pulpits were continually ringing with this doctrine; but to my mind it ceased to be a relief; for by whatever name it be called, the inability was in the sinner, and therefore he could not believe nor repent, but must be damned. Wearied with the works and doctrines of men and distrustful of their influence, I made the Bible my constant companion. I honestly, earnestly and prayerfully sought for the truth, determined to buy it at the sacrifice of everything else. . . .

"From this state of perplexity I was relieved by the precious word of God. From reading and meditating upon it, I became convinced that God did love the whole world, and that the reason why he did not save all was because of their unbelief, and that the reason why they believed not was not because God did not exert his physical almighty power in them to make them believe, but because they neglected and received not his testimony given in the Word concerning his Son: 'These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.' I saw that the requirement to be-

lieve in the Son of God was reasonable, because the testimony given was sufficient to produce faith in the sinner, and the invitations and encouragement of the gospel were sufficient, if believed, to lead him to the Saviour for the promised Spirit, salvation and eternal life.

"This glimpse of faith, of truth, was the first divine ray of light that ever led my distressed, perplexed mind from the labyrinth of Calvinism and error in which I had so long been bewildered. . . .

"Let me here speak when I shall be lying under the clods of the grave. Calvinism is among the heaviest clogs on Christianity in the world. It is a dark mountain between heaven and earth, and is amongst the most discouraging hindrances to sinners from seeking the kingdom of God, and engenders bondage and gloominess in the saints. Its influence is felt throughout the Christian world, even where it is least suspected. Its first link is total depravity. Yet are there thousands of precious saints in this system."

About this period, the churches had fallen into a state of religious apathy, and the power of religion over the community seemed to be but feebly exerted. A reaction, however, soon began, and a great excitement occurred in the south of Kentucky and in Tennessee under the labors of certain Presbyterian ministers, among whom was the same James McGready whose preaching had so strongly affected B. W. Stone, while a youth, in North Carolina. Hearing of this revival, Mr. Stone, in the spring of 1801, went down to attend one of the camp-meetings held in Logan county. Here he, for the first time, witnessed those strange agitations and cataleptic attacks which had formerly occurred under the preaching of Whitefield and others. Many of the people were struck down as in battle, remaining for hours motionless, and then reviving in the agonies of remorse or in the ecstasies of spiritual joy.

Young and old, saints and sinners, seemed equally subject to these strange affections, which Mr. Stone, after full consideration, believed to be the work of God, designed to arouse men to attend to their spiritual interests. Upon his return to Caneridge, similar effects occurred under his own labors, and a protracted meeting being appointed in August, the interest felt throughout the community brought together a multitude estimated at more than twenty thousand. Methodist and Baptist preachers aided, several preaching in different parts of the encampment at the same time, and it was believed that not less than one thousand persons, among whom were many infidels, were struck down or otherwise affected with these singular agitations.

It cannot be denied that great good resulted from the intense religious excitement which thus prevailed in various portions of Kentucky and Tennessee. Nor were its effects by any means transient, but were felt for some years in the rapid growth of the churches in general and in a greater degree of religious fervor. There were at this time several other preachers in the Presbyterian connection who coincided in religious views with Mr. Stone. These were McNamar, Thompson, Dunlavy, Marshall and David Purviance, the latter being then a candidate for the ministry. As they boldly preached the sufficiency of the gospel to save men, and that the testimony of God was designed and able to produce faith, "the people appeared," says Mr. Stone, "as just awakened from the sleep of ages; they seemed to see for the first time that they were responsible beings, and that the refusal to use the means appointed was a damning sin."

This departure from the doctrines of the Confession of Faith soon occasioned a virulent opposition on the

part of those who adhered to it. The Presbytery of Springfield, in Ohio, arraigned McNamar, and the case came before the Synod at Lexington. Perceiving that the decision would be adverse, the five preachers above named drew up a protest against the proceedings and withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Synod. The Synod then suspended them and declared their congregations vacant. This act produced great commotion and division among the churches, and confirmed the seceding ministers in their opposition to creeds and authoritative ecclesiastical systems. They at first formed themselves into a Presbytery, called the Springfield Presbytery, and published an "Apology," in which they stated their objections to the Confession of Faith, and their abandonment of everything but the Bible as the rule of faith and practice. This called out pamphlets and sermons from the opposite side, and the views thus canvassed became widely disseminated.

Soon after his separation, Mr. Stone called his congregation together and informed them that he could no longer preach to support Presbyterianism, but that his labors should henceforth be directed to advance Christ's kingdom irrespective of party, absolving them from all pecuniary obligations to him. He continued preaching, however, almost daily to the people around, and endeavored to gain a support by cultivating with his own hands his little farm, toiling often at night to accomplish his task. Co-operating with his associates in the "Springfield Presbytery" in preaching and planting churches, a year had scarcely elapsed until such an organization was perceived to be unscriptural, and was by common consent renounced, all agreeing to take the name of Christian, which they thought the only proper title for Christ's followers, and believed to have been

given by Divine appointment to the disciples at Antioch. This step occasioned fresh attacks from the sects, but in spite of all opposition the cause advanced and churches and preachers were multiplied, the independency of each congregation being recognized and all legislative and delegated authority abolished.

Shortly after this (in 1807), Mr. Stone became much engaged in considering the difficult questions connected with the atonement, and published some pamphlets on this subject, objecting to both the Calvinian and Arminian views of it. The commercial idea of the atonement, satisfaction for debt, and that Christ died a temporal, spiritual and eternal death for sinners, involved, he thought, insuperable difficulties. Nor did the view that Christ died to reconcile the Father to men seem to him consistent with the fact that *while men were yet sinners* Christ was sent to save them, or with the Scripture entreaty addressed to them, "Be ye reconciled to God." Admitting that men are "reconciled to God by *the death of his Son*," he regarded this restoration of union and fellowship with God as constituting the "atonement," taking this word in its ordinary etymology as compounded of *at* and *one*, and as signifying that God and man were thus once more *at-one*—that man, having received pardon through faith in Christ, and being made holy, was thus admitted to fellowship with God.*

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* The word "*atone*" was formerly spelled "*attone*," which indicates its proper pronunciation. That it is compounded of "*at*" and "*one*" is a mere hypothesis, and certainly a forced and awkward derivation. Coleridge remarks of it in his appendix to his "Statesman's Manual: "This is a mistaken etymology. . . . Our *atone* is doubtless of the same stock with the Teutonic *aussöhnen, versöhnen*, the Anglo-Saxon taking the "*t*" for the "*s*." Upon these words Prof. C. L. Loos thus remarks: "The simple verb is SÜHNEN, *to pay the ransom for anything; to expiate.* The prefix *aus* denotes

Mr. Stone possessed a mind disposed to inquiry, but one which could not long endure a state of indecision or perplexity, and must therefore soon settle down upon whatever view seemed to him the simplest and the most satisfactory. But the wonderful problem, How an infinitely just and holy God could forgive sin in harmony with his character, was not one to be resolved into a form so simple as to be fully comprehended by man's finite understanding; neither was it to be disposed of by omitting to consider it at all. Hence the above inadequate conception of this most vital subject, which left out of view the relations of the death of Christ to the Divine character and government, and confounded the *cause* with one of its *effects*, at once exposed Mr. Stone to the charge of Arianism, Socinianism, etc., and led to a protracted controversy, in which he manifested much ingenuity and ability, but was led into trains of reasoning more speculative than practical, and which were calculated to lead the mind away from the simple teachings of the Bible.

About this period, the subject of baptism began to claim particular attention. Previous, indeed, to the great excitement in 1801, Robert Marshall had become satisfied that the Baptists were right in regard to this question; upon which Mr. Stone tried to convince him of error, but in the course of the discussion was made so to doubt Pædobaptism that he discontinued the practice entirely. The religious awakening, however, soon engrossed the minds of all, and for some considerable time baptism was left out of view. At length, many be-

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thoroughness, as *per* in Latin; *ver* indicates reconciling with some one or some thing reciprocally. The noun SÜHNE (the *o* and *u* are often interchanged) is an *offering* or *sacrifice*, or other act of *expiation*—frequently an act of *suffering*, either by way of punishment or self-imposed."

coming dissatisfied with their infant baptism, a meeting was convened to consider the subject, and it was concluded that each one should act freely in regard to it according to his convictions of right, and that it should be a matter of forbearance. As the Baptists would not baptize except on condition of union with them, and none of the reformers had been immersed, a difficulty presented itself which was overcome, as a similar one had been in the case of Roger Williams and his coadjutors, the preachers baptizing one another, on the ground that if authorized to preach they were equally authorized to baptize. The practice of immersion soon prevailed very generally among the churches, and even its design appears to have been at one time dimly recognized by Mr. Stone. At a great meeting at Concord soon after, when mourners were daily invited to collect before the stand, and many of the same persons were often prayed for without receiving the expected comfort, "the words of Peter at Pentecost," says he, "rolled through my mind: 'Repent and be baptized for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.' I thought were Peter here he would thus address these mourners. I quickly arose and addressed them in the same language, and urged them to comply." The effect of this novel invitation, however, was the reverse of what was intended. Instead of affording any comfort, it only perplexed and confused the "mourners" by directing their attention to an untried course of proceeding utterly unknown at "revivals," and for which they were wholly unprepared. While their hearts were filled with ardent desires for special operations of the Holy Spirit and of *fire*, this unexpected presentation of *water* very naturally produced a "chilling effect," as Mr. Stone afterward remarked, and tended only to cool the ardor of

their excited imaginations. Mr. Stone himself, indeed, quoted Peter's language on this occasion evidently more from his anxiety to suggest some means of relief, and from his unbounded confidence in the word of God, than from any proper understanding of the relation of baptism to remission of sins. Hence, disappointed in the result, he declined to repeat the experiment, and when, subsequently, the doctrine of baptism for remission of sins was publicly taught by Mr. Campbell, manifested at first some repugnance to it.

This religious movement under Mr. Stone, rapidly extending itself through the Western States, had, some time previously, been combined with those two similar ones which, without concert or communication, had originated in the East and in the South. These three branches thus proceeding from the three principal parties—the Methodists, the Baptists and the Presbyterians—had then formed what was called the "Christian Connection," agreeing in general in their views and having associations called conferences in each State, consisting of ministers and delegates from the churches, but exercising no control over them. The leading purposes of the entire movement were not to establish any peculiar or distinctive doctrines, but to assert for individuals and churches Christian liberty; to escape the thraldom of human creeds; to make the Bible the only guide; to secure the right of private judgment; and to follow the simplicity of the primitive Christians.

While the features of this organization were thus, in a good measure, similar to those of the Reformation in which Mr. Campbell was engaged, there were some characteristic differences. With the former, the idea of uniting all men under Christ was predominant; with

the latter, the desire of an exact conformity to the primitive faith and practice. The one occupied itself chiefly in casting abroad the sweep-net of the gospel, which gathers fishes of every kind; the other was more intent upon collecting "the good into vessels" and casting "the bad away." Hence the former engaged mainly in *preaching*—the latter in *teaching*. The revivalist machinery of protracted meetings, warm exhortation, personal entreaty, earnest prayers for conversion and union, accompanied by a belief in special spiritual operations and the use of the mourner's seat, existed with the one, while, with the other, the matters of chief interest were the disentanglement of the Christian faith from modern corruptions of it and the recovery of the gospel ordinances and ancient order of things. There had indeed been an almost entire neglect of evangelization on the part of the few churches which were originally connected with Mr. Campbell in his reformatory efforts. They had not a single itinerant preacher, and, although they made great progress in biblical knowledge, they gained comparatively few converts. The churches of the Christian Connection, on the other hand, less inimical to speculative theories, granting membership to the unimmersed and free communion to all, and imperfectly acquainted with the order, discipline and institutions of the churches, made, through an efficient itineracy, large accessions everywhere, and increased with surprising rapidity. They were characterized by a simplicity of belief and manners and a liberality of spirit highly captivating, and possessed, in general, a striking and praiseworthy readiness to receive additional light from the Bible. They gained over, consequently, from the religious community many of the pious and peace-loving who groaned under the evils

of sectarianism, while the earnest exhortations of zealous preachers and their direct personal appeals to sinners obtained large accessions from the world.

Mr. Campbell had for some years been aware of the existence of this body of reformers, and in 1824 had, at Georgetown, Kentucky, as formerly related, formed an agreeable personal acquaintance with B. W. Stone, which became still more intimate during subsequent visits. In the year 1826, Mr. Stone commenced publishing a monthly periodical called the "Christian Messenger," which was well sustained. In this paper he had addressed, in the earlier part of this year (1827), a communication to the editor of the "Christian Baptist" in reference to an exposition which Mr. Campbell had given of John i. 1, objecting to some expressions as tantamount to those of the Calvinists, and descanting upon some of the difficulties involved in their views of the Trinity. In the commencement of this article, Mr. Stone speaks thus of Mr. Campbell's labors and of the good effect they had already produced in correcting a tendency to theological speculation:

"Your talents and learning we have highly respected; your course we have generally approved; your religious views in many points accord with our own; and to one point we have hoped we both were directing our efforts, which point is, to unite the flock of Christ *scattered in the dark and cloudy day.* We have seen you, with the arm of a Sampson and the courage of a David, tearing away the long-established foundation of partyism, human authoritative creeds and confessions; we have seen you successfully attacking many false notions and speculations in religion, and against every substitute for the Bible and its simplicity we have seen you exerting all your mighty powers. Human edifices begin to totter and their builders to tremble. . . . Not as unconcerned spectators have we looked on the mighty war between you and your op

posers—a war in which many of us had been engaged for many years before you entered the field. You have made a diversion in our favor, and to you is turned the attention of creed-makers and party-spirits, and on you is hurled their ghostly thunder. We enjoy a temporary peace and respite from war where you are known. From you we have learned more fully the evil of speculating on religion, and have made considerable proficiency in correcting ourselves."

He then intimated that Mr. Campbell had departed from his own principles in his commentary on John i. 1, by indulging in speculative views concerning the pre-existent state of Christ, and goes on at considerable length to dwell upon the difficulties arising, on principles of reason, from the hypothesis that the "Son of God," either under this title or as "the Word," had an independent existence in eternity. In the conclusion, however, he says: "We believe the intelligent person, the *Word* or the *Son of God*, existed long before he was called Jesus, Christ or Messiah." *

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* Mr. Stone was quite mistaken in supposing that Mr. Campbell designed to advance any *theory* upon the subject of Christ's pre-existence. This object indeed was expressly disavowed in the article referred to (C. B., vol. iv., p. 230). He desired merely to assist the mind of the inquirer in *conceiving* the relation existing between the Father and the Son, as set forth by John in the beginning of his testimony. Availing himself of his remarkable skill in tracing analogies, he, in a very striking manner, had compared the relation existing between an idea and the word by which it is expressed, with that indicated by John i. 1 between God and the WORD. "As a word," said he, "is an exact image of an idea, so is '*The Word*' an exact image of the invisible God. As a word cannot exist without an idea, nor an idea without a word, so God never was without '*The Word*,' nor 'The Word' without God; or as a word is of equal age or co-etaneous with its idea, so '*The Word*' and God are co-eternal. And as an idea does not create its word, nor a word its idea, so God did not create '*The Word*,' nor '*The Word*,' God. Such a view does the language of John suggest. And to this do all the Scriptures agree. For '*The Word*' was made *flesh*, and in consequence of becoming incarnate he is styled the *Son of God*, the Only Begotten of the Father. As from eternity God was manifest in and by '*The Word*,' so now God is mani-

Mr. Campbell commences his reply thus:

"BROTHER STONE: I will call you brother because you once told me that you could conscientiously and devoutly pray to the Lord Jesus Christ as though there was no other God in the universe than he. I then asked you of what consequence was all the long controversy you had waged with the Calvinists on the Trinitarian questions. They did practically no more than pray to Jesus, and you could consistently and conscientiously do no less. Theoretically you differed, but practically you agreed. I think you told me you were forced into this controversy and that you regretted it."

He then takes advantage of the occasion to lay down certain principles designed to correct the tendency he had noticed to speculation and theory in regard to matters utterly beyond the powers of human reason. He shows that when evidence addressed to reason has convinced any one that the Bible is from God, he is then to receive its statements as first principles without further question, and that while the terms used are to be understood in their usual acceptation, the things revealed are to be accepted, not because proved by reason, but simply because God has revealed them. He then takes the ground that as the subject of the Divine nature is one confessedly beyond the grasp of human reason, there is nothing contrary to reason in the Trinitarian hypothesis, any more than in the belief of its opponents in an Eternal First Cause. Thus he remarks,

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fest in the flesh. As God was always with '*The Word*,' so when 'The Word' became flesh, he is Emmanuel *God with us*. As God never was manifest *but* by 'The Word,' so the heavens and the earth and all things were created by 'The Word.' And as '*The Word*' ever was the effulgence or representation of the invisible God, so he will ever be known and adored as '*The Word of God*.' So much for the divine and eternal relation between the Saviour and God. You will easily perceive that I carry these views no further than to explain the nature of that *relation*, uncreated and unoriginated, which the inspired language inculcates."

"It is contrary to all the facts before us in the whole world that any cause can be the cause of itself, or not the effect of some other cause. No man from analogy can reason farther than that every cause is the effect of another, *ad infinitum*. Here reason shuts the door; here analogy puts up her rule and shuts her case of instruments. Now in this case the *Unitarian* and the *Trinitarian* are alike unphilosophic—alike unreasonable.* . . . Your error is this; you know nothing of the existence of spirits at all. All bodies you know anything of, occupy both time and space; consequently it would be absurd to suppose that three beings whose modes of existence are such as to be governed by time and space could be one being. But inasmuch as we do know *nothing* of the mode of existence of spirits, we cannot say that it would be incompatible with their nature or modes of existence that three might be one, and that one might exist in three beings. Now, as no man can *rationally* oppose the Calvinistic hypothesis on principles of reason, so neither can he prove it to be correct by any analogy or principle of reason whatsoever. Why then wage this warfare? We may disprove a theory by what the Bible declares, but not by our reasoning on such topics. Why not, then, abide in the use of the Bible terms alone? . . . But I adopt neither system, and will fight for none. I believe that God so loved the world that he sent his only begotten Son; that Jesus was the Son of God, in the true, full and proper import of these words; that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God, the Spirit

* Mr. Campbell's idea of the limited range of human reason is poetically and beautifully expressed by Coleridge at the close of his Biographia Literaria: "Religion," says he, "passes out of the ken of reason only when the eye of reason has reached its own horizon; and faith is then but its continuation; even as the day softens away into the sweet twilight, and twilight, hushed and breathless, steals into the darkness. It is night, sacred night! the upraised eye views only the starry heaven which manifests itself alone; and the outward beholding is fixed on the sparks twinkling in the awful depth, though suns of other worlds, only to preserve the soul steady and collected in its pure *act* of inward adoration to the great I AM, and to the filial WORD that reaffirmeth it from eternity to eternity, whose choral echo is the universe: ΘΕΩ ΜΟΝΩ ΔΟΞΑ."

of Christ, which was sent by the concurrence of the Father and the Son to attest and establish the truth, and remain a comforter, an advocate on earth when Jesus entered the heavens. If any man's faith in this matter is stronger or greater than mine, I have no objection. I only request him not to *despise* my weakness, and I will not *condemn* his strength.

"I am truly sorry to find that certain opinions called Arian or Unitarian, or something else, are about becoming the badge of a people assuming the sacred name of *Christian*, and that some peculiar views of atonement or reconciliation are likely to become characteristic of a people who have claimed the high character and dignified relation of the Church of Christ. I do not say that such is yet the fact; but things are, in my opinion, looking that way; and if not suppressed in the bud, the name *Christian* will be as much a *sectarian name* as *Lutheran*, *Methodist* or *Presbyterian*."

Upon these simple principles, Mr. Campbell thus, in a few words, reduced to naught the religious controversies of centuries, and pointed out at once the folly of attempting to be "wise above what is written," and the wisdom of knowing what is actually revealed. Mr. Stone had endeavored to establish his views of the Deity against those of the Trinitarians; the true principle presented by Mr. Campbell showed that both were equally unreasonable and unprofitable. The course of the former tended to justify discussions which had for ages broken religious society into fragments; that of the latter indicated the only basis on which a true Christian union could ever be re-established.

Such being the friendly relations existing between these two bodies of Reformers, it was natural that the preachers of the Christian Connection on the Western Reserve should have taken an active interest in the proceedings of the Mahoning Association and in the appointment of Walter Scott as an itinerant. It was in-

deed the great success of the Christian preachers in gaining converts that had awakened the churches of the Association to the importance of making an effort in that direction; for, having largely imbibed the spirit of the movement directed by Mr. Campbell, and being much occupied with their own improvement in Scripture knowledge and with questions of church order, they had neglected for some time to make proper evangelizing efforts, and were receiving, consequently, very few additions. One of the two Christian preachers present at the Association, John Secrest, was particularly noted for the large number of converts he was in the habit of reporting. The other, Joseph Gaston, was distinguished for his piety and his mild and unassuming disposition. He was a young man, tall in stature, with dark hair, a large head, broad shoulders and agreeable features, and possessed a deep, sonorous voice and great powers of exhortation. He was full of affection for men and zeal for the cause of Christ, and devoted himself with great energy to the promotion of Christian union upon the Bible. As soon as he and Walter Scott became acquainted, they formed a warm attachment for each other, and their intercourse tended to modify each other's views and modes of proceeding. Mr. Scott admired Mr. Gaston's powerful appeals to sinners. The latter, on the other hand, was attracted by Mr. Scott's warm feelings and amiable qualities, as well as profoundly impressed by his thorough knowledge of the Scriptures; and being a sincere lover of truth, he listened with interest to the clearer views of the gospel and its institutions which were presented to him.

The providence which had led to the appointment of Walter Scott as an itinerant was not long in developing its meaning. Brought into immediate communication

with the Christian preachers, who, as remarked, were laboring with much success, he imbibed somewhat of their spirit, but he was still far from approving all their views or modes of procedure. At the same time he perceived the ineffectiveness of the course heretofore pursued by the Haldanean and other churches in the Reformation in presenting the gospel theoretically, so to speak, without making a direct and practical application of its requirements to the unconverted. There seemed to be a link wanting to connect an avowed faith in Christ with an immediate realization of the promises of the gospel. These seemed placed at an almost infinite distance from the penitent, bowed down under a sense of guilt, and longing for some certain evidence of acceptance, which he often vainly sought in the special spiritual illuminations upon which men were taught to rely. The Mahoning Association, being itself in a transition state, had prescribed to Mr. Scott no particular course whatever, simply appointing him as an evangelist "to travel and teach among the churches," partly with a view of bringing them more fully upon Reformation ground, but chiefly in order that, by means of itinerant labor and the quarterly meetings designated, their numbers might be augmented. It was his duty, therefore, to consider how the proclamation of the gospel could be rendered most effective for the conversion of sinners.

This was, in view of all the circumstances, a very difficult and perplexing question. Calvinistic views still lingered to a large extent among the Mahoning churches. Election, effectual calling, theories of regeneration, still occupied the minds of many. Various satisfactory evidences of a true faith were still required before admission to baptism, which was looked upon as a means of admission into the Church—a command to be

obeyed by those who were already converted. No special promises were recognized as connected with it, and it was very unusual to hear this subject presented at all, except when some one was about to be baptized. Mr. Scott, Elder Bentley and some others of the prominent preachers, were indeed aware that Mr. Campbell had spoken of it at the McCalla debate as a pledge of pardon, but in this point of view it was, as yet, contemplated only *theoretically*, none of them having so understood it when they were themselves baptized, and being yet unable properly and practically to realize or appreciate its importance in this respect. Hence, almost from the first moment of his appointment, Mr. Scott's mind was thrown into a state of great perplexity amidst the discordant and confused views relating to conversion. Baptism still seemed to present itself as in some way intimately connected with the personal enjoyment of the blessings of the gospel, but he was unable as yet to perceive the exact position which it occupied in relation to other requirements.

About this time, Adamson Bentley went down to Braceville, with Jacob Osborne, to hold a meeting. In a discourse which he delivered on the occasion he was led to speak of baptism, and gave the views which Mr. Campbell had presented in the McCalla debate, affirming that it was designed to be a pledge of remission of sins. While they were on their way back to Warren, after meeting, Jacob Osborne said, "Well, Brother Bentley, you have christened baptism to-day." "How so?" said Mr. Bentley. "You termed it *a remitting institution*." "Well," rejoined Mr. Bentley, "I do not see how this conclusion is to be avoided with the Scriptures before us." "It is the truth," said Mr. Osborne, who was a great student of the Bible; "and I have for

some time thought that the waters of baptism must stand in the same position to us that the blood of sacrifices did to the Jews. 'The blood of bulls and of goats could never take away sins,' as Paul declares, yet when offered at the altar by the sinner he had the divine assurance that his sin was forgiven him. This blood was merely typical of the blood of Christ, the true sin-offering to which it pointed prospectively, and it seems to me that the water in baptism, which has no power in itself to wash away sins, now refers retrospectively to the purifying power of the blood of the Lamb of God."

Soon afterward, meeting with Mr. Scott, they all three went down to Howland, and the discourse at Braceville and subsequent conversation being brought up, Mr. Scott fully coincided in the views expressed. In one of his discourses at Howland, Mr. Osborne again introduced the subject, and proceeded to say further that no one had the promise of the Holy Spirit until after baptism. This remark seemed to strike Mr. Scott with surprise, and after meeting he said to Mr. Osborne, "You are a man of great courage;" and turning to Mr. Bentley, he added: "Do you not think so, Brother Bentley." "Why?" said Mr. Bentley. "Because," said he, "he ventured to assert to-day that no one had a right to expect the Holy Spirit until after baptism." From this moment, Mr. Scott's mind seemed to be engrossed with the consideration of the consecutive *order* appropriate to the various items in the gospel, and being greatly given to analysis and arrangement, he proceeded to place them thus: 1, faith; 2, repentance; 3, baptism; 4, remission of sins; 5, Holy Spirit. This view relieved at once his previous perplexities, and the gospel, with its items thus regularly disposed, seemed to him almost like a new revelation. He felt

that he had now obtained a clue which would extricate men's minds from the labyrinth in which they were involved in relation to conversion, and enable him to present the gospel in all its original simplicity.

While meditating on these things, and debating with his own irresolution in regard to their presentation to the public, he met with Joseph Gaston, to whom he freely communicated his thoughts, and who, delighted with the new view of the gospel thus given, at once declared it to be the truth, and that it ought to be preached to the world. Thus encouraged, Mr. Scott determined to make the experiment; but fearing to give cause of offence to the churches who had employed him, he sent an appointment outside of the Association ground, and with considerable trepidation, but in an earnest and interesting manner, laid before the audience his analysis of the gospel, and at the close gave a formal invitation to any so disposed to come forward and be baptized for the remission of sins. No one, however, came. The effort was a failure.

This, indeed, might have been anticipated. The whole community were filled with the notion that some special spiritual influence was to be exerted upon men's hearts—that some supernatural visitation must occur before any one could be a fit subject for baptism. This spiritual operation, too, all had been taught to regard as the evidence of acceptance and pardon, and hence when they were simply invited to come directly forward and be baptized for the remission of sins, they were filled with amazement that any one should thus propose to dispense with all the usual processes to which "mourners" and penitents were subjected. Like the Syrian noble, they were offended because the usual ceremonies were not observed, and because they were

merely directed to "wash and be clean." None of them had ever witnessed or heard of such a proceeding. They could find no precedent for it among all the rites and ceremonies of the religious parties, and hence, being without the authority conferred by usage, they could regard it only as an innovation. It was not therefore strange that no one ventured to comply with the invitation, and that the discourse seemed to have been preached in vain. With regard to Mr. Scott himself, however, it was by no means fruitless. He had now broken through the restraints imposed by a general but false religious sentiment. He had assumed a position which required to be maintained, and as he had now overcome the difficulties connected with the first step, he felt encouraged to proceed. More especially had his effort awakened in his own mind new trains of thought and given him wider and better views of the whole subject, so that he felt himself prepared to present it in a much more full and forcible manner. He determined, therefore, to assume the whole responsibility, and to preach boldly in the very place where he had received his appointment the sacred truths which burned within his own heart. He accordingly gave notice that he would deliver in New Lisbon a series of discourses upon the Ancient Gospel.

At the time appointed there was a considerable audience, and the novel manner in which the speaker introduced his theme, along with his own obvious, intense engagedness and excitement, created no little interest and expectation. His discourse was based upon Peter's confession, Matt. xvi. 16, in connection with the same apostle's answer to the inquiry, "What shall we do?" given to the penitents on the day of Pentecost. Acts ii. 38. As the lordship and glory of Christ, the Son of

God, was his favorite theme, and he was, on this occasion, animated with more than usual fervor, he became most eloquent, and held the audience in a state of rapt attention as he gradually developed the power of the simple but comprehensive Christian creed—the rock which Christ announced as the foundation on which he would build his Church; the grand proposition proved by the miracles of fulfilled prophecy, supernatural wisdom, divine love, healing power and victory over the grave, detailed by the evangelists, that men might believe, and, "believing, have life through his name." And when he went on to show how this gospel was administered in the beginning, and that believers were baptized into the name and into the death of Christ, and being thus buried with him and raised again to a new life, received in this symbolic act the remission of sins and the promised Holy Spirit, which was the seal of the Christian covenant and the earnest of an eternal inheritance, his hearers, while charmed with such a novel view of the simplicity and completeness of the gospel, were, as on the former occasion, filled with doubt and wonder and were ready to ask each other, "How can these things be?"

Just as he was about closing his long discourse, and while he was exhorting the people to trust in the word of God in preference to all human systems of religion, a stranger entered the assembly, and when, a few moments afterward, the speaker closed by again quoting Peter's words and inviting any present to come forward and be baptized for the remission of sins, this stranger, to the surprise of all, at once stepped forward and presented himself. Here was a singular circumstance. This person had not been enlightened and convinced by the preacher, for he had heard only his few closing

remarks. Yet he came forward with all the firmness of an assured purpose, and all the tokens of intelligent apprehension, to request baptism for the remission of sins! Mr. Scott knew not what to think of it. The individual, when carefully questioned, seemed perfectly to understand the matter, just as did the preacher himself. There being, therefore, no ground for objection and no reason for delay, Mr. Scott, taking the confession of the candidate, baptized him in presence of a large concourse "*for the remission of sins*," thus annexing to the usual formula the words of Peter, Acts ii. 38, explanatory of the purpose of the institution. The people were filled with bewilderment at the strange truths brought to their ears, and now exemplified before their eyes in the baptism of a penitent for a purpose which now, on the 18th of November, 1827, for the first time since the primitive ages was fully and practically realized. A great excitement at once ensued; the subject was discussed everywhere through the town, and Mr. Scott, continuing daily to address increasing audiences and developing his views of the gospel in all its parts, succeeded, before the close of the meeting, in inducing in all seventeen persons to accept the primitive faith and baptism. Thus the charm was broken; the word of God had triumphed, and the veil which theology had cast over men's hearts was removed. Henceforth the Reformation, which had already restored to the Church the ancient order of things and the simplicity of the primitive faith, was enabled to make a practical application of the gospel to the conversion of the world.

In reflecting upon the circumstances connected with his appointment, and the suggestions and encouragements he had providentially received, Mr. Scott could easily perceive how he had himself been led to decisions

so important. It remained, however, still a mystery that his first two discourses should have failed to convince any one, and that at the close of the second an individual who had heard neither of them should have come forward intelligently with little more than a simple invitation. In order to clear up the matter, he thought best after some time to address a letter to the individual in question, requesting him to explain the reasons which had induced him to present himself. To this he replied as follows:

"In order to show these things aright, I must go back a piece. I was at that time a member of that strait sect called Presbyterians, taught many curious things, as election, fore-ordination, etc.; that belief in these things was necessary; that this faith resulted from some secret impulse; and worse, that I could not believe; and finally, that I must hope and pray that God would have mercy upon me. In this wilderness I became wearied, turned about and came home to the book of God, took it up as if it had dropped from heaven, and read it for myself just one year.

"This inquiry led me to see that God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believed on him might not perish, but have eternal life. I then inquired how I must believe. Paul said, 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.' Also, that faith was 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' Peter spoke of election, saying, 'Save yourselves.' Paul said, 'I must be dead to sin and buried, and raised with Christ Jesus to newness of life.' The Saviour said, 'I must be born again if I would enter the kingdom of God.'

"Now, here it was I discovered myself to stand in the garden of nature and not in the kingdom of heaven, but I learnt that of this kingdom Peter received the keys, and I was anxious to see what he would do with them. Jesus said, 'Proclaim the gospel to all nations; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved,' etc. I then moved a little forward

till I found these words, 'And they were all pricked to the heart, and said to Peter and to the other apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Peter said, Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins,' etc. To this Scripture I often resorted; I saw how Peter had opened the kingdom and the door into it, but to my great disappointment I saw no man to introduce me, though I prayed much and often for it.

"Now, my brother, I will answer your questions. I was baptized on the 18th of November, 1827, and will relate to you a circumstance which occurred a few days before that date. I had read the second chapter of Acts, when I expressed myself to my wife as follows: Oh this is the gospel; this is the thing we wish—the remission of our sins! Oh that I could hear the gospel in these same words as Peter preached it! I hope I shall some day hear it, and the first man I meet who will preach the gospel thus, with him will I go.' So, my brother, on the day you saw me come into the meeting-house my heart was open to receive the word of God, and when you cried, 'The Scripture shall no longer be a sealed book. God means what he says. Is there any man present who will take God at his word and be baptized for the remission of sins?'—at that moment my feelings were such that I could have cried out, 'Glory to God! I have found the man whom I have long sought for.' So I entered the kingdom when I readily laid hold of the hope set before me.

"Let us, then, dear brother, strive so to live as to obtain an abundant entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming, there to join with the heavenly throng in a song of praise to God and to the Lamb for ever and ever. WM. AMEND."

The enigma was thus satisfactorily solved. So great a matter as the practical restoration of the design of baptism was not to be the result of the private studies or public efforts merely of the preacher. Had persons been convinced and induced to present themselves for

baptism at his first or second discourse, he might have supposed that by his own power or superior intelligence in the Scripture he had caused them to obey. But it was ordered otherwise, that "the excellency of the power" might be seen to be of God and not of man. Mr. Scott's heart and mind had indeed been providentially prepared and strengthened to deliver faithfully the divine message, but it was equally necessary that the hearts of the hearers should be prepared to receive it. Unfitted by false theories of conversion to accept the simple truth, and without one modern precedent to encourage obedience to it, a special adaptation was required on their part, which, under the circumstances, the preacher was unable to supply, and he therefore cast the good seed of the kingdom in vain until it happened to fall upon the good soil which had been prepared by God alone.

The onerous nature of the task assigned to Mr. Scott on this occasion should, however, by no means be underrated. It is impossible for those who have now become familiarized with the primitive method, to conceive adequately of the anxieties and fears and responsibilities which attended its restoration. The sanctions of custom and the complete establishment of the truth before the bar of public sentiment have now taken away the reproach and discredit which attached to the first administration of baptism for the remission of sins. Then, the introduction of such a practice demanded that all the cherished interests which belong to position, character and life should be imperiled, and that all the odium and hostility which exasperated sectarian feeling could excite should be directly and personally encountered. To have been willing to brave such consequences for the love he bore to truth, and from his deep sense of

religious obligation, must for ever redound to the honor of Walter Scott, and the more when the obstacles arising from his own somewhat vacillating and timid nature are considered. It is true that, as to the import of the ordinance, he had before him the public declarations of Thomas and Alexander Campbell, which had become a part of the teachings of the reformatory movement. But it is equally true that as yet no direct and practical application had been made of these teachings, and that even those who had delivered them were far from having a just sense of their importance. The strange power which the human mind possesses of contemplating things abstractly, and of separating matters which in reality are or should be indissolubly united, had here interposed and had arrested progress at the brink of the chasm which it had itself created between theory and practice. The same illicit severance, indeed, and in reference to the very same question, existed already in the case of the popular religious parties, whose creeds, almost without exception, assigned to baptism the same position and declared it to be for the remission of sins, and who, nevertheless, in point of fact, utterly neglected and denied the legitimate application of their own doctrine. Thus the Presbyterian Confession declared, chap. xxviii., sec. 1:

"Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, but also to be to him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his engrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life."

Calvin himself had made remission the principal thing in baptism.

"Baptism," said he (Inst., c. xvi., p. 327), "resembles a legal instrument properly attested, by which he assures us that all our sins are canceled, effaced and obliterated so that they will never appear in his sight, or come into his remembrance, or be imputed to us. For he commands all who believe to be baptized for the remission of their sins."

John Wesley too had declared, in his "Commentary on the New Testament" (p. 350), that "Baptism administered to penitents is both a means and a seal of pardon. Nor did God ordinarily," he adds, "in the primitive Church, bestow this upon any unless through this means."

The same truth was equally attested by Baptist and Episcopal creeds; but all these theoretic concessions to Scripture teaching remained alike perfectly meaningless and inoperative in a practical point of view; and even the more emphatic averments of the Campbells as to the purport of baptism would probably, like the recorded declaration of Peter himself on Pentecost, have remained fruitless, had not a guiding Providence unexpectedly verified the correctness of the doctrine by a direct and practical application. "We can sympathize," said Mr. Campbell afterward, in reference to this matter, "with those who have this doctrine in their own creeds unregarded and unheeded in its import and utility; for we exhibited it fully in our debate with Mr. McCalla in 1823, without feeling its great importance and without beginning to practice upon its tendencies for some time afterward." It is, hence, proper to estimate aright the agency through which a blessing of such inestimable value as the personal assurance of pardon was placed once more within the reach of believing penitents.

The occurrences at New Lisbon were soon noised abroad, and occasioned a great commotion. From the meeting there, Mr. Scott went at once to Warren and

held a successful one there with Elder Bentley. Joseph Gaston, entering at once into the spirit of the movement, co-operated earnestly with Mr. Scott at subsequent meetings. All the leading preachers of the Association, as well as others of the Christian Connection, hastened to adopt that primitive order of the different parts of the gospel which was then no less a novelty, and no less important in certain points of view, than the discovery of the practical relations of baptism, to which it had indeed directly contributed. Everywhere the confusion which had involved the subject of conversion was removed; the mourning bench was abandoned; an intelligent obedience was substituted for visionary theories, and a divine assurance replaced delusive frames and feelings. As a great many converts were now made to the primitive faith and received into the churches, those members who were still wedded to Regular Baptist usages, displeased at seeing these wholly disregarded, began to manifest an active opposition, which subsequently, in the case of two or three churches, resulted in division. Mr. Scott, meanwhile, fully conscious of the momentous nature of the issues he had evoked, but confident in the power of the gospel and all aflame with zeal, passed rapidly, like a meteor, throughout the Western Reserve, startling the people by the abruptness and directness of his appeals, but exciting many to inquiry and obedience. As usual under such circumstances, the country was filled with exaggerated rumors and with the grossest misrepresentations of both his doings and his doctrines.

Some of these reports coming to the ears of Mr. Campbell, he began to fear that Mr. Scott's precipitancy had betrayed him into indiscretions which might be prejudicial to the cause; and upon counseling with his father, it was concluded that the latter should visit the

Western Reserve and examine for himself the progress of affairs. Upon arriving early in the spring, he heard Mr. Scott's presentations of the gospel and witnessed his direct method of procedure in the reception of converts with surprise and pleasure. He saw at once that what he and his son Alexander had plainly taught was now reduced to practice; that the simple primitive method of administering the gospel was really restored, and that the rumors which had reached Bethany were untrue. He therefore concluded to remain for some time in this inviting field, and by his earnest and efficient labors gave additional impetus to the work. From New Lisbon he wrote to his son Alexander on April 9th, giving his impressions as follows:

"I perceive that theory and practice in religion, as well as in other things, are matters of distinct consideration. . . . We have spoken and published many things *correctly* concerning the ancient gospel, its simplicity and perfect adaptation to the present state of mankind, for the benign and gracious purposes of its immediate relief and complete salvation; but I must confess that, in respect of the direct exhibition and application of it for that blessed purpose, I am at present, for the first time, upon the ground where the thing has appeared to be practically exhibited to the proper purpose. 'Compel them to come in,' saith the Lord, 'that my house may be filled.'

"Mr. Scott has made a bold push to accomplish this object, by simply and boldly stating the ancient gospel and insisting upon it; and then by putting the question generally and particularly to males and females, old and young—Will you come to Christ and be baptized for the remission of your sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit? Don't you believe this blessed gospel? Then come away, etc., etc. This elicits a personal conversation; some confess faith in the testimony—beg time to think; others consent—give their hands to be

baptized as soon as convenient; others debate the matter friendly; some go straight to the water, be it day or night and, upon the whole, none appear offended."

About this time, the Restorationists were making great efforts on the Western Reserve. One of their itinerants was Aylett Raines, a young preacher of much more than ordinary abilities: in stature, five feet seven inches, with light hair, penetrating eyes and features expressive of intelligence. Having heard many strange reports about Mr. Scott's doctrines and occasional eccentricities, he became filled with an irrepressible desire to hear him; and learning that he was to preach on a certain night at Samuel Robbins', in Windham, he resolved to attend. Mr. Raines was somewhat fond of controversy, and as he did not believe in water baptism, but in the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost, and had been informed that Mr. Scott was in the habit of calling upon the audience for any objections to his doctrine, he expected to have a discussion with him, as he stated at the time to some of his brethren who accompanied him. Mr. Scott spoke from the first chapter of First Corinthians, and presented the points of the gospel in the order in which he had arranged them. Mr. Raines was so impressed with the correctness of what he heard, and so unable to find any fault with it, that he felt quite confounded, knowing that his friends expected him to reply when Mr. Scott paused for objections. Being unwilling to oppose what seemed to be the truth, he kept his seat, and when called upon to close the meeting, made an excellent prayer, desiring that all might have a spirit of obedience, etc., but taking care to introduce his favorite petition that they might have a Pentecostean season and be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Next day Mr. Raines went to hear Mr. Scott again, hoping that he would now be

more successful in detecting errors. The subject of the discourse was the resurrection, and Mr. Scott read the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians. For this chapter Restorationist preachers had but little use, with the exception of a single sentence in it—"As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive"—and were generally ignorant of its general scope and purport. In the hands, however, of Walter Scott, who was accustomed to take the Scriptures connectedly, this chapter soon presented itself to Mr. Raines as a thing of life, and made to him a revelation of such lofty trains of thought and unspeakable glories that his heart was touched, and he found his prejudices and his opposition fast melting away. Two days afterward he heard Mr. Scott deliver a discourse upon the two covenants, when he discovered, for the first time, that he had heretofore been unacquainted with the differences between them, and in making "a chaos of them," as he afterward stated, "had been preaching the darkness that was upon the face of the deep." Soon after this he heard Mr. Scott preach on the subject of faith, and the brilliant and happy manner in which he handled the eleventh chapter of Hebrews and expounded the nature and the power of faith, completely swept away from the mind of Mr. Raines every thought of opposition, and fully convinced him of the truth. He concluded, however, not to be precipitate in making a public profession. Having a preaching tour of several weeks before him, he resolved that he would fill his appointments and preach the truth as he now understood it, openly and candidly, giving to his brethren the opportunity of convincing him of any error. Their arguments, however, were so feeble that he became only the more convinced that what he had heard, and now read with

enlarged vision in the New Testament, was indeed the gospel of Christ and worthy of all acceptation. At the end of his tour, he called upon another Restorationist preacher of high standing, E. Williams, and after a friendly discussion of four days' duration, convinced him also of the truth, and both of them going down to a beautiful little lake in Portage county, and officiating in turn, immediately submitted to immersion for the remission of sins. In the course of five weeks from this time, Mr. Raines baptized fifty persons, and among the number there were, including Mr. Williams, no less than three Restorationist preachers. Soon afterward he met with Thomas Campbell, whose intelligence and Christian graces he greatly admired, and as neither of them had any special engagements, they agreed to travel in company. Thomas Campbell took the deepest interest in his young friend, who gave the highest proofs of sincerity and ability, while the latter was happy to avail himself of the profound scriptural knowledge and enlarged experience of his venerated companion.

While these things were taking place upon the Western Reserve, Mr. Campbell was pursuing his editorial and other labors with his accustomed activity. He had in hand a new edition of the Testament, with sundry improvements suggested by scholars from among even the Pædobaptists, some of whom were much pleased with the work. New editions also of the earlier volumes of the "Christian Baptist" were called for and put to press. Meanwhile, his ministerial duties were regularly fulfilled at Bethany and Wellsburg, with occasional visits to other points, and he continued to direct and superintend the management of his farm, in which he constantly took a lively interest. Ardently devoted to every species of improvement, he had already brought

from a distance the fine-wooled Merino and Saxony sheep, to which he thought the grasses and climate of West Virginia well adapted. The experiment proving decidedly successful, he soon had a large flock, and by his representations and example greatly contributed to the introduction of that sheep-husbandry which in a few years replaced, to a large extent, wasteful methods of agriculture and promoted in an eminent degree the prosperity of the entire region. These attentions to material interests, however, though sufficiently extended to have occupied almost the entire time and thoughts of many a one, were with Mr. Campbell mere relaxations from those earnest religious and reformatory labors to which his life was devoted.

During the past year, as a sort of sequel to his essays on the "Ancient Order of Things," he had published some church letters, which, at the time, created much interest. These were occasioned by a circular from the church at New York, transmitted in 1818, to various independent churches in Great Britain and Ireland, giving a sketch of its own order of public worship, along with its views in brief of Christian duty, and requesting in return a similar statement from each of the churches addressed. This circular, with the letters it elicited from the churches at Glasgow and Edinburgh, in Scotland; Tubermore and Dublin, in Ireland, and Manchester, in England, presented a very clear and interesting view of the relative progress of these different churches. The general agreement and the Christian spirit which the letters exhibited served to confirm in a very high degree the advantages of the apostolic order, and tended greatly to promote its adoption among the reforming churches in America. They revealed, however, some differences, which were can-

didly and kindly presented for consideration, each church professing its desire, as well as its entire liberty, to conform still more closely to the apostolic pattern.

In speaking of the views presented in these letters, Mr. Campbell highly commended the manifest agreement in all the essential matters of the primitive faith and practice. As the New York letter, however, revealed a disposition to adhere to a fixed routine in the order of worship, based upon a narrow and textuary method of construing the Scriptures, and to insist upon a unity of *opinion*, he took occasion to express his dissent from such rules as being relics of popery. "When men," said he, "make communion in religious worship dependent on uniformity of opinion, they make self-love, instead of the love of God, the bond of union, and elevate matters of mere speculation above the one faith, the one Lord and the one immersion." As to a rigid observance of a particular order of worship, after remarking that "the patriarchal age was the infancy, the Jewish age the minority and the Christian age the manhood of the religious world, and that in the latter condition persons are allowed to have a judgment of their own and to exercise it," he deprecates any attempt to prescribe positive rules in matters of mere expediency.

During this year he published a series of essays upon the "Ancient Gospel," which, as he said, consisted in the simple facts connected with the work of Christ in the redemption of man. These facts, as he endeavored to show, again appeared in the symbolic ordinances of the gospel. In the Lord's supper, the Lord's day, and especially in the immersion of a believer, the death, burial and resurrection of Christ were pointed out as the grounds of justification and of hope. Baptized

into the death of Christ, buried with him in baptism, and therein raised again to walk in a new life, the penitent believer thus "put on Christ," and of necessity entered into the enjoyment of his salvation. Having thus "put on Christ," it now became his duty and his happiness to "walk in him," and to bring forth in life and conduct the fruits of that Holy Spirit of promise which he received upon the obedience of faith. Thus the gospel was discovered to be of so simple a nature as to be perfectly adapted to the understanding of every creature, and yet so effective in its direct and practical application, through its expressive ordinances, as to secure to the penitent the divine assurance of pardon, the renewing power of the Holy Spirit and the indwelling earnest of an eternal inheritance.

The wonderful success which everywhere attended the primitive gospel thus presented by its advocates filled them with the most ardent hopes that the perplexed and erroneous religious systems of the day would be speedily overthrown, and that happy millennial period be ushered in when the gospel would triumph and Christ's people be united. These fond expectations were especially cherished by Walter Scott and some others of a like excitable and ardent temperament. Mr. Campbell, however, while he shared in them to some extent, was too well aware of the nature of the obstacles in the way to anticipate an easy victory. The restoration of the simple gospel and its institutions to the world was by no means all that was to be accomplished. As for himself, there was yet another part of the work for which Providence had destined and peculiarly fitted him, to which he was now about to be called, and which will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

Skepticism—Natural Theology—Socialism—Robert Owen—Second marriage—Mahoning Association—Basis of union—Prominent fellow-laborers—Their unselfish devotion to the cause.

MR. CAMPBELL had, from the first, courted free discussion in the pages of the "Christian Baptist." As he sought for truth alone, he felt that he had nothing to lose in giving his opponents equal space with himself, and publishing all they had to say against the views he taught. This liberality afforded a standing contrast with the narrow course pursued by the sectarian editors, who, while they allowed him to be grossly misrepresented in their various periodicals, denied to him the opportunity to correct the false impressions made upon their readers. In all this, however, their course was consistent with sectarian policy. They had adopted certain articles of belief as unquestionably true, and did not wish to have any misgivings created in regard to them. They had begun with certainties, and very naturally felt unwilling to end with doubts. Mr. Campbell and those with him, on the other hand, had begun with doubts, in order that they might end with certainties. Conservation was the aim of the former, but progress that of the latter. The religious faith and practice of the former were stereotyped and fixed, and to them change involved danger, if not destruction; those of the latter were yet in pro-

cess of formation, and to these change only implied an increased knowledge of truth and an augmentation of power. The discoveries already made from the sacred oracles had revealed to Mr. Campbell the sad defections of the Christian world and the means by which the Church could be restored to its original efficiency. It was not strange, therefore, that he should strive to awaken religious society from its sleep of error, nor was it singular that sectarians, peacefully slumbering on the couch of orthodoxy, should dislike to be disturbed. They accordingly, in general, refused fair discussion, and sought to evade unwelcome issues, either by misrepresentation or by a more politic silence. These methods, however, were peculiarly distasteful to one of Mr. Campbell's open temperament, who seemed to realize in his very inmost nature the truth of what is so well said by Sir William Drummond at the close of his "Academical Questions:" "*He who will not reason is a bigot; he who cannot is a fool, and he who dare not is a slave.*"

The fearless and straightforward course which he adopted made a very favorable impression, not only, as has been seen, on many who were identified with the various religious parties, but on a very large class outside of them, who had found so many contradictions, and, as they thought, absurdities in the creeds, and so much inconsistency in the conduct of the various religious parties, that they had fallen into difficulty and doubt in regard to the truth of religion itself. A great many of those denominated "skeptics" and "infidels" were doubtless such from a depraved will, which refused to weigh impartially the Christian evidences, and yielded a credulous assent to things far more difficult to believe than miracles. A still larger portion, how-

ever, consisted of men of clear discernment and sincere purposes, and who were often even conspicuous for virtue, and apparently anxious to obtain relief from a state of uncertainty, which they felt to be both irksome and discreditable. These were not wholly without religious impressions, but while they could not fail to admire the character of Christ and the morality of his teachings, they felt themselves unable to receive the tenets of any of the different sects, which they thought inconsistent with reason. Others again there were, by no means inconsiderable in number, who, under the influence of religious teaching, had earnestly sought for those special "experiences" in which so many trusted for their hope of salvation, and, having failed to obtain them, had come to doubt the truth of religion altogether. All these different classes felt quite attracted to Mr. Campbell when they found that he admitted them to present their difficulties freely in the "Christian Baptist," and that they were not subjected to denunciation and abuse. They felt also particularly interested by the fact that he boldly opposed the clergy and their theological systems, and that he thus seemed in some measure to occupy their own ground. Still, as they had no idea of Christianity except as it was presented in these modern systems, they were not a little surprised that Mr. Campbell could expose them as he did and yet continue a believer, and they wished to have an explanation of the mystery. To their eyes, he seemed to have enveloped the bush of Christianity in flames, and they desired to draw near that they might see "this great sight, why the bush was not burned."

With Mr. Campbell, however, Christianity as presented in dogmatic theology was something very dif-

ferent from the gospel of Christ. In his view, this consisted in a few simple facts, resting upon incontrovertible evidences, and not in speculations, theories and perplexing opinions. Skeptical objections, based, as they usually were, upon these, he could at once dispose of as wholly irrelevant, while his own impregnable fortress of simple truth presented no vulnerable point of attack. He was so far, therefore, from dreading the results of controversy with the skeptical that he took a peculiar pleasure in it, not only because he sympathized with their difficulties, but because infidelity was one of those subjects which he had thoroughly investigated. His complete mastery of all the possible trains of skeptical thought, and the comprehensiveness and penetrating power of his mind, unequaled in logical acumen, in ability to detect false arguments and discover true ones, and which could perceive in an instant the relations of proposition and proof, gave him an extraordinary power in such discussions which naturally sought every suitable opportunity to exert itself. He was, accordingly, often engaged in them both publicly and privately, and was constantly receiving and answering the inquiries of unbelievers.

He had received in July, 1826, a letter from a young man who had been a Methodist, but failing to realize, after a long travail, the spiritual change he had been taught to expect, became at length doubtful as to the truth of revealed religion. This letter Mr. Campbell published, and went on in a series of admirable replications, designed for the benefit of skeptics in general, to meet and remove the supposed obstacles to belief suggested by his correspondent.

In these articles he began to apply a principle which

furnished him with a most potent and original argument in favor of divine revelation. This principle was in direct opposition to the one assumed in works of natural theology, and its enunciation by Mr. Campbell greatly surprised and confounded the skeptics, who had been accustomed to contend against the opposite, and were surprised to find Mr. Campbell going even quite beyond them in his opposition to the claims of natural theology. Assured that skeptics, universally, were indebted to revelation for their ideas of God, and perceiving that they then mingled these with reasonings and imaginations of their own, he boldly took the ground that no one from nature alone could ever acquire the notion of God. He admitted that when the idea was once given by revelation, its truth could be shown and illustrated by the natural world, but he denied that the proposition could have ever been suggested by nature, or, in other words, that man left to the exercise of his five senses, could ever have derived from any material source the idea of a spiritual Being—a Supreme Creator.

Mr. Campbell had long been convinced that in schools of theology of every kind the Bible had been systematically deprived of its true glory and authority, and human reason, under the guise of natural theology, substituted in its place. The popular notion that nature revealed the idea of God he thought originated in men's beginning to reason with the idea already in their minds, and finally imagining that they had acquired it by reasoning.

"All that the Book of Nature teaches," said he to another correspondent in reference to this subject, "is, that every animal and vegetable is dependent on its own kind for its production. The whole volume does not afford a model or

archetype for an idea of any animal or plant being dependent on any other of a different nature and kind for its production. You leap over the distance from earth to heaven in your reasoning; or rather you fledge yourself with the wings of faith, and find in the Bible the idea of all things being dependent on a Being unlike any other, who produces no being like himself, contrary to your analogy from the Book of Nature, and who produces all beings, both unlike himself and one another. You flew so nimbly and so easily over this mighty gulf that you were not conscious that you had got out of the region of earth-born ideas altogether, and were farther than all space from the Volume of Nature which you sat down to read. . . .

"But I have a few facts, which, on your principles, are inexplicable—on mine, they are easily understood:

"1. Not one of the terms peculiarly expressive of the idea of a God, such as spirit, eternity, immortality, etc., are to be found amongst any people antecedent to their being possessed of oral or written revelation.

"2. No nation or individual without written or oral revelation can be found with a single idea of any item in the deist's creed.

"3. All the deaf and dumb who have been made to hear and speak, or who have been taught to communicate their ideas, have uniformly and universally declared that an idea of a God, or anything under that name, never entered their minds. This is decisive proof that the knowledge of God enters the human mind by the *ear*, or by communication, verbal or written.

"4. Not one of the idolatrous nations pretend to have derived their religion from reason."

The views, then, which he propounded, based upon a careful induction from the above facts, were, as stated in his own language, as follows:

"1. I contend that no man, by all the senses and powers of reason which he possesses, with all the data before him which the material universe affords, can originate or beget in

his own mind the idea of a God in the true sense of that word.

"2. But I contend, so soon as the idea of Deity is suggested to the mind, everything within us and without us, attests, bears testimony to and demonstrates the existence and attributes of such a Being.

"If the first position can be established, it follows that there cannot be a rational deist on earth. If the second position be established, there cannot be an atheist amongst all the *compos mentis* of the human race."

The novelty of these views, the growing reputation of Mr. Campbell and the peculiar circumstances of the times naturally directed the attention of a large portion of the community to the individual who dealt so unceremoniously with the dogmas of theology. The qualities which gave him this conspicuity, however, were but indications of his fitness for the further work which Providence had assigned to him. Heretofore, he had been occupied in delivering Christianity from its professed friends, but he was soon to be called to defend it from its open enemies. Hence, if, like Saul, he stood higher than any of the people, it was in order that men might "see him whom the Lord had chosen, that there was none like him among the people." The times, indeed, loudly demanded such a champion. Infidelity had of late been pouring into the United States from Europe like a flood, and the period was at hand when the Lord was to "lift up a standard" against it. The remarkable success which had attended the arrangements of David Dale, at the New Lanark Mills, in Scotland, for the improvement and happiness of the working-classes; the ingenious and captivating theories of communism broached by Charles Fourier, in France, and the plausible philosophy of the "social system"

earnestly advocated by Robert Owen, the son-in-law of Mr. Dale, had begun to create a strong public feeling, in many places, in favor of the formation of co-operative societies. Enthusiastic foreigners, filled with ardent hopes of effecting a complete renovation of human society, flocked to the United States whose free institutions and fresh uncultivated plains furnished, they thought, the most favorable conditions for their experiments. Communities were speedily organized and territory secured. At Kendal, in Stark county, Ohio; at New Harmony, in Indiana, and at various other points, operations were actually commenced, and men of ability were zealously and actively employed in commending in lectures, pamphlets and other publications the plans and principles of these new associations. At this period success seemed everywhere to attend these movements. The impressible and enterprising American mind soon imbibed the spirit of the system, and projects were everywhere set on foot for the formation of "societies" and "phalanxes" of various descriptions.

To mere economical and co-operative arrangements for the promotion of social welfare no just objection, indeed, could be made. Mr. Campbell had himself, at a former period, engaged in a project of this kind, and looked with approval on the management and prosperity of such industrial communities as he had found at Zoar in Ohio and elsewhere. These, however, had either confined themselves to the regulation of mere temporal concerns, leaving the religious sentiments of individuals entirely free, or else had embodied religion as an essential part of their scheme. But the case was wholly different with most of the new co-operative systems now proposed. Their adherents seemed to think

that religion was directly in their way in their efforts to remodel society, and they therefore strove, by every means in their power, to destroy its influence. This was especially true of the movement directed by Robert Owen, from which everything of a religious character was to be totally excluded. Upon these principles a considerable society had already been formed at New Harmony, in Indiana, to which were flocking theorists and skeptics of every grade, and where a periodical was published advocating with considerable ability and still greater assurance their principles of infidelity and of socialism.

Mr. Campbell had for some time contemplated these movements at a distance. When he found, however, on a nearer view, that they were armed against religion, he at once ran up to his masthead the banner of the cross and prepared for action. In order to develop the strength of opponents whom he felt assured it was his destiny to meet, he published five essays headed, "Robert Owen and the Social System," and "Deism and the Social System." In the first of these he thus spoke of Mr. Owen and his enterprise:

"Mr. Owen has attracted much attention in this country, as well as in Britain, from the singularity of his views and the benevolent nature of his efforts for the amelioration of society. He has afforded evidence of 'mental independence' never perhaps surpassed before. His talents, education, fortune and extraordinary zeal in the prosecution of his favorite object entitle him to a very liberal share of public respect. It is, I believe, very generally admitted that he is perfectly disinterested as far as respects pecuniary gain in all that he has done and is doing for the establishment and development of the social system. He has not been treated, however, with over much courtesy by many editors, both political and religious, who have animadverted upon his principles and his plans.

For my own part, I have felt some degree of sympathy for him, and of mortification, too, at the nibblings of his opponents. . . .

"The benefits resulting from a co-operative system have been apprehended in theory, and proved by experience before we heard of Mr. Owen in this country. A social system of co-operation may be grafted on any system of religion, true or false; but that a social system of co-operation can at all exist without religious obligation has never yet been proven; but this appears to be the experiment now on hand at New Harmony, Indiana. In this Mr. Owen has afforded the most convincing proof of 'mental independence.' The annals of the world fail to present one single league or confederation for any purpose that was not perfectly ephemeral without religion of some kind or other. I have no notion of getting angry with Mr. Owen, or of belaboring him with harsh epithets for hazarding an experiment of this sort. It is true, indeed, that I regret that any person born in the eighteenth century, and educated in the kingdom of Scotland, should have profited so little by the circumstances around him, and should have learned so little from all that has gone before him, as to suppose that a being such as man is could be happy in any circumstances without the hope of immortality beyond the grave."

Having made this prediction of failure, which in a very few years was completely fulfilled, he in the next number thus refers to the "New Harmony Gazette," which he styles "the focus of the lights of skepticism:"

"The conductors of that journal are amongst the most assiduous, devoted and persevering skeptics of the nineteenth century. The Bible, some way or other, stands in their way, and seems to be inimical to some favorite scheme or darling hypothesis of the builders of the city of Mental Independence. At all events, we have not seen a number of that paper in which there is not either a popgun or a blunderbuss discharged at revelation."

Amongst other preparations for the anticipated engagement, he now lays down certain preliminary statements, such as—

"1. That he defends the Bible and no man's system of religion, nor the arguments of others in behalf of the Bible. 2. That revelation, properly speaking, is an exhibit of *supernatural* things which could not be known by any other means, so that whatever can be known by reason or the senses is not a subject of revelation." He then puts to the skeptics the following questions, promising to take his proper share of the burden of proof: "Is there a God who created all things? And if answered in the affirmative, upon what evidence is this known? Is there a spirit in man which will survive the body or live after the animal life is extinct, and upon what evidence is this known? Is there a future state of felicity or of torment, and if so, upon what evidence is this known?"

To these inquiries the "Gazette" some time afterward gave the following answer: "We can reply to these propositions neither in the affirmative nor in the negative, for we possess no positive knowledge on any of these subjects. A God, the soul, heaven and hell, if such existences and places do really exist, can never, from their nature, become cognizable by the senses of man. I, therefore, cannot conceive how we shall ever be able to acquire information regarding their nature or existence." This answer Mr. Campbell published with the following remarks: "With all the improvements in philosophy for eighteen centuries the world is no wiser with respect to God than it was when Paul lived. He then declared that neither Greece nor Rome nor Egypt, by all their philosophy, knew God. Even to this day the God that was *unknown in Athens* is unknown in New Harmony and to all who have no other light than what philosophy affords. And here is another and a striking proof: the people of the city of 'Mental Independence' are said to have the best *library* on this continent, and with all the advantages of social converse in the best-improved condition of human nature, having voluntarily extinguished the light of supernatural revelation, have now

candidly and honestly avowed that whether there is a God at all, a spirit in man that will survive his mortal body, a heaven or hell, is to them *unknown* and unknowable. This is the identical conclusion to which I knew most certainly, by all the knowledge of philosophy which I possess, they would be constrained to come. For, as I have frequently said, there is no stopping-place between Deism and Atheism; and they are lame philosophers who, taking philosophy for their guide, profess to hold with Herbert, Hume, Gibbon and Paine that there is a God, an immortal soul, a heaven or a hell. I give great praise to the New Harmony philosophers for their candor and their honesty in frankly avowing the conclusion which all the lights they have authorize them to maintain. I say they are good philosophers. They have reasoned well."

Having thus obtained a clear statement of the position occupied by the New Harmony philosophers, he in a subsequent number presented to them the following:

"A PROBLEM: *For the Editor of the 'Harmony Gazette' and his doubting brethren:*

"You think that reason cannot originate the idea of an Eternal First Cause, and that no man could acquire such an idea by the employment of his senses and reason; and you think correctly. You think also that the Bible is not a supernatural revelation—not a revelation from the Deity in any sense. These things premised, gentlemen, I present my problem in the form of a query again:

"The Christian idea of an Eternal First Cause uncaused, or of a God, is now in the world and has been for ages immemorial. You say it *could not* enter into the world by reason, and it *did not* enter by revelation. Now, as you are philosophers and historians, and have all the means of knowing, *how did it come into the world?*"

The surprise of the skeptics at finding Mr. Campbell to concur in the conclusions of their own philosophy was greatly increased when they found their argument thus turned against themselves, and that upon their own

principles they became at once involved in a palpable difficulty from which there was no escape. They had boasted greatly of their "mental independence," and imagined themselves to occupy a sphere of thought quite above that of the religious portion of the community, but in coming into contact with Mr. Campbell, they found themselves confronted by a "mental independence" much greater than that in which they boasted, and they were quite at a loss how to meet his unexpected assaults. Caring nothing for arithmetical defences of the size and contents of Noah's ark, or for geological explanations of the Mosaic account of creation, in order to refute the usual puerile cavils of skepticism, he had attacked at once the *rationale* of their system. Overleaping the outworks, he had advanced at once upon the citadel, and the "New Harmony Gazette," after this taste of his quality, seemed, for a time, indisposed to renew the contest.

Mr. Campbell, however, had no idea of allowing the advocates of the "social system" to continue the dissemination of its principles unchallenged or unopposed, and only awaited a favorable opportunity to come to close quarters with some of the larger vessels of the opposing foe. In February, 1828, he received a letter from an individual at Canton, Ohio, bewailing the evil effects produced upon the community there by the lectures of a socialist—a Dr. Underhill.

"For two months or more," said this correspondent, "he has been indefatigably engaged in preaching that sort of moral philosophy which the 'New Harmony Gazette' contains. He is going from place to place, and great numbers, I understand, are *converted* to his new doctrine. Though there is considerable alarm among the preachers about here none but a Roman priest undertook to contradict him—with

very little effect, however. Since that time the Deists and free-thinkers of this place are getting quite bold, and even the apprentices of the workshops and boys in the streets begin to reason away and rail at religion. I am ashamed for my brethren, the English preachers, who stand back when that man speaketh, and only talk when he is not within hearing. Does not this show as if Christianity could not be defended against its enemies, or that its priests were too lukewarm to undertake its defence? It grieves me the more since Dr. Underhill has challenged, boldly, every one who would be willing to question his views, and has publicly called for opponents to his sentiments."

He then asks if Mr. Campbell will not come and meet him.

Mr. Campbell replied that it was not consistent with his views of propriety to go out of his way to meet so obscure an individual as Dr. Underhill, but that if his master, Robert Owen, chose to enter the field of debate, he would meet him. He said he thought such a discussion was needed, but that he "would not draw a bow save at the king of the skeptics of the city of mental independence." He well knew how to "bide his time," and that the inferior position which he thus assigned to Dr. Underhill would have the best effect in checking his success, and inducing the doubting to await the issue of a discussion, freely proffered, so soon as a more formidable antagonist should appear on the side of skepticism. Nor had he long to wait. Twenty-three days, indeed, before the date of the above letter, Mr. Owen himself, who had been for some time lecturing in New Orleans, had given a formal challenge to the clergy of that city to discuss with him the claims of religion, but the news of this had not yet reached Bethany. No sooner, however, had Mr. Campbell received the intelligence, and learned at the same time that there

had been no response from any of those addressed, than he at once published Mr. Owen's challenge and his prompt acceptance of it.

"I have long wondered," said he, "why none of the public teachers of Christianity have appeared in defence of the last blessed hope of man. This skeptical age and country is the proper soil, and the youth of this generation the proper elements for Mr. Owen's experiments. I have felt indignant at the aspect of things in reference to this libertine and lawless scheme. Mr. Owen, a gentleman of very respectable standing as a scholar and capitalist, of much apparent benevolence, traveling with the zeal of an apostle through Europe and America, disseminating the most poisonous sentiments as Christians conceive, finding myriads in waiting to drink, as the thirsty ox swalloweth water, whatever he has to offer against the Bible and the hope of immortality, passes unchecked and almost unheeded by the myriads of advocates and teachers of the Christian religion. If none but Christian philosophers composed this society, it might be well enough to let Mr. Owen and his scheme of things find their own level. But while a few of the seniors disdain to notice or affect to disdain his scheme of things, it ought not to be forgotten that thousands are carried away as chaff before the wind by the apparently triumphant manner in which Mr. Owen moves along.

"Impelled by these considerations and others connected with them, we feel it our duty to propose as follows: Mr. Owen says in his challenge before us: 'I propose to prove, as I have already attempted to do in my lectures, that all the religions of the world have been founded upon the ignorance of mankind; that they are directly opposed to the never-changing laws of our nature; that they have been and are the real source of vice, disunion and misery of every description; that they are now the only bar to the formation of a society of virtue, of intelligence, of charity in its most extensive sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole

human family, and that they can be no longer maintained except through the ignorance of the mass of the people and the tyranny of the few over that mass.'

"Now, be it known to Mr. Owen, and to all whom it may concern, that I, relying on the Author, the reasonableness and the excellency of the Christian religion, will engage to meet Mr. Owen any time within one year from this date, at any place equidistant from New Harmony and Bethany, such as Cincinnati, Ohio, or Lexington, Kentucky, and will then and there undertake to show that Mr. Owen is utterly incompetent to prove the positions he has assumed, in a public debate, before all who may choose to attend; to be moderated or controlled by a proper tribunal, and to be conducted in perfect good order from day to day, until the moderators or the parties, or the congregation or a majority of them, are satisfied, as may afterward be agreed upon. I propose, moreover, that a competent stenographer, perfectly disinterested, shall be employed to take down the speeches on the occasion; that for his trouble he shall have the exclusive right of printing and distributing said debate throughout the United States, and thus give all a right to hear or read whether Mr. Owen with all his arguments, benevolence and sincerity, is able to do what he has proposed. After stating these prominent items, I leave everything else open to negotiation or private arrangement.

"To quote the words of Mr. Owen, 'With feelings of perfect good-will to you, which extend also in perfect sincerity to all mankind, I subscribe myself your friend in a just cause,' ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

"BETHANY, VA., April 25, 1828."

Before learning the acceptance of his Orleans challenge by Mr. Campbell, Mr. Owen had noticed the offer made in the Canton correspondence, and on the 14th of May addressed a letter to Mr. Campbell, consenting to meet him, and proposing a sort of general assembly of the skeptics and the clergy for the purpose

of a full discussion. This Mr. Campbell declined as not likely to result beneficially, and informing Mr. Owen that he had already accepted his Orleans challenge in the exact terms in which it was expressed, said that nothing now remained but to adjust the preliminaries. "I have," said he, in conclusion, "from a little experience in public discussions, no doubt but that I shall be able to maintain perfect good-humor throughout the whole, and I have reason to believe that your philosophy has improved your good-nature so far as to make you an acceptable disputant." A few weeks afterward, accordingly, Mr. Owen paid Mr. Campbell a visit in order to make the necessary arrangements. Mr. Campbell found him to be a very affable and pleasant gentleman, possessed of much interesting information. Mr. Owen, on his part, was much pleased with what he saw of Mr. Campbell, and appeared greatly delighted with the beautiful hills and landscapes to which Mr. Campbell called his attention during their pleasant walks in the vicinity of Bethany, and which, he assured Mr. Campbell, persons of taste in England would go many miles to see. In one of their excursions about the farm, they came to Mr. Campbell's family burying-ground, when Mr. Owen stopped and addressing himself to Mr. Campbell, said: "There is one advantage I have over the Christian—*I am not afraid to die.* Most Christians have fear in death, but if some few items of my business were settled, I should be perfectly willing to die at any moment." "Well," answered Mr. Campbell, "you say you have no *fear* in death; have you any ***hope*** in death?" After a solemn pause, "No," said Mr. Owen. "Then," rejoined Mr. Campbell (pointing to an ox standing near), "you are on a level with that brute.

He has fed till he is satisfied, and stands in the shade whisking off the flies, and has *neither hope nor fear in death.*" At this Mr. Owen smiled and evinced some confusion, but was quite unable to deny the justness of Mr. Campbell's inference. As he was now on his way to Europe, and did not expect to return before the beginning of winter, he desired to have the time of the discussion fixed for the second Monday of the following April. This being regarded as a suitable season, and Cincinnati being agreed on as the place of meeting, the amiable philosopher, with the kindest feelings, bade his host farewell.

Shortly after his departure, Mr. Campbell was united in marriage with Miss S. H. Bakewell, whom he chose not only in deference to his first wife's earnest wish, but in accordance with his own deliberate judgment, the wisdom of which the future amply confirmed. On the 24th of the preceding January, his eldest daughter, Jane, had been married to Mr. Albert G. Ewing, a gentleman of high standing and intelligence, residing at Nashville, Tennessee. And as they were at this time on a visit to Bethany, they concluded to accompany Mr. Campbell and his bride to the meeting of the Mahoning Association, at which Mr. Campbell was to deliver the introductory discourse.

This meeting, which was held at Warren, was well attended and was an occasion of great interest. One year before, the Association had appointed Walter Scott as evangelist, little expecting the events which were so soon to follow, and on which many now looked back with thankfulness and wonder. The friends of progress felt that a decisive victory had been gained, and that the primitive method of administering the gospel had indeed reappeared in the Church, restoring to it

its pristine power to convert the nations. This power had already been demonstrated by the addition of nearly one thousand persons to the churches within quite a limited area, as well as in various signal triumphs over sectarian opposition and in the fraternal union of preachers and people of dissevered parties. They rejoiced that the reformatory principles for some years discussed among them had led to such grand results, and, feeling more and more assured of their importance, were well disposed to carry them out in every particular.

This disposition was soon to be tested in relation to a very important feature of the proposed reform—the scriptural basis of Christian union. The occasion for this was the case of Aylett Raines, who, though publicly identified with the movement, still retained, as was generally understood, his Restorationist opinions. The opponents of the cause had not failed to reproach its adherents with tolerating these errors, as they had not required a public renunciation of them, and there were many in the Association who were quite sensitive upon the subject, and doubted whether under such circumstances Mr. Raines could be received. As Mr. Campbell was aware of this state of feeling, he took as the subject of his introductory discourse the fourteenth chapter of Romans, dwelling particularly upon the injunction in the first verse: "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations," or, as in the rendering adopted in the new version from Thompson, "without regard to differences of opinions."

On the following day the case of Mr. Raines was formally brought before the Association by Jacob Osborne, who wished to have the matter definitely settled.

Thomas Campbell immediately rose and remarked that such a question was only calculated to create discord among the brethren. "Brother Raines," said he, "has been with me during the last several months, and we have freely unbosomed ourselves to each other. He is philosophically a Restorationist and I am a Calvinist, but notwithstanding this difference of opinion between us, I would put my right hand into the fire and have it burnt off before I would hold up my hands against him. And from all I know of Brother Raines, if I were Paul, I would have him, in preference to any young man of my acquaintance, to be my Timothy." To this warm commendation, Mr. Raines at a subsequent opportunity responded that "if he were Timothy, Thomas Campbell should be his Paul." Alexander Campbell then made some remarks, again defining the difference between faith and opinion, stating that Mr. Raines' views on the subject of the restoration of the wicked after a certain amount of punishment could be regarded as nothing but an opinion, since there was not a passage anywhere in the writings of prophets or apostles affirming it. It could never be considered a matter of belief, since there was no testimony to render it such. He therefore proposed that Mr. Raines should express his willingness to preach the gospel as the apostles preached it, and to retain his opinions as private property in harmony with the principles of the Reformation. If he would do this, he assured all present that in a short time all such opinions would fade away out of his mind, and he would see such a freeness and fullness in the gospel that he would not want men saved if they would not obey it. Walter Scott then expressed his entire concurrence in the views given, after which Mr. Raines

made the declaration proposed by Mr. Campbell, and the question being put "Whether there was any law of Christ by which a brother could be condemned who deported himself as Mr. Raines proposed to do?" the Association decided by a very large majority that there was not. Thus the case was settled, though some of those in the minority felt still so disturbed at the reception of Mr. Raines that nothing but his prudence and careful avoidance of any effort to teach his speculative opinions prevented a schism which at the time might have been attended with disastrous consequences.

On this occasion Mr. Campbell gave a very remarkable proof of his entire freedom from the exacting spirit which then governed religious parties. So far, indeed, was he in advance of the time that some of those associated with him thought he had in some measure compromised the principle of the Reformation itself which required assent to the plain teaching of Scripture, and so much dissatisfied were some who had come to the meeting with a view of uniting with the reformers that they declined doing so. He recognized in Mr. Raines, however, one who sincerely believed the gospel, and who by no means doubted or denied the *reality* and *certainty* of the future punishment of the wicked. The only point of difficulty was the *duration* of that punishment, in regard to which Mr. Raines had adopted a theory to the effect that the benevolence of God would ultimately eliminate from the universe all traces of sin, its punishment included—a view similar to that held by the illustrious Origen and the celebrated John Foster, as well as by other individuals amongst the "orthodox." As Mr. Raines believed that God would reward the righteous and punish the wicked *according to their works*, Mr. Campbell considered this to be the substance of

the divine communications on the subject, and that conjectures or theories as to anything beyond this were mere opinions or speculations. As Mr. Raines' agreement to hold these views in private as mere opinions was an admission of their doubtfulness and their want of Scripture authority, and his engagement to teach only what the Scripture revealed was all that the principles of the Reformation demanded, the course pursued was obviously correct. It gave an example, however, of a freedom of thought of which the religious community had never dreamed, and presented in a very striking light the liberality of the basis of Christian union advocated by Mr. Campbell.

The wisdom of his position in this case was fully borne out by the results. Mr. Raines became not only one of the ablest and most successful advocates of the cause, but it was not long until his favorite theory gave place to humbler views of man's ability to resolve the mysteries of the future; and in order to complete the history it may be here stated that in 1830 he wrote thus to Mr. Campbell:

"I wish to inform you that my 'restorationist' sentiments have been slowly and imperceptibly erased from my mind by the ministry of Paul and Peter and some other illustrious preachers, with whose discourses and writings, I need not tell you, you seem to be intimately acquainted. After my immersion I brought my mind, as much as I possibly could, like a blank surface to the ministry of the new institution, and by this means I think many characters of truth have been imprinted in my mind which did not formerly exist there. . . . I hope during the remainder of my days to devote my energies, not to the building up of sectarian systems, but to the teaching of the *Word*." This purpose Mr. Raines has fully accomplished in a faithful and most efficient ministry of more than forty years, and recently thus refers to the cherished re-

membrance of "the great kindness and magnanimity with which," says he, "the Campbells and Walter Scott treated me after my baptism, and before I was convinced of the erroneousness of my restorationist philosophy. They used to say to me: 'It is a mere philosophy, like Calvinism and Arminianism, and no part of the gospel.' They made these *isms* of but little value, and therefore not worth contending for, and they did not put themselves in conflict with my philosophy, but rather urged me to preach the gospel in matter and form as did the apostles. This all appeared to me to be reasonable, and I did it; and one of the consequences was, that the philosophy within me became extinct, having no longer the coals of contention by which to warm or the crumbs of sectarian righteousness upon which to feed."

Thus has it ever been that while the *false value* attached to the inferences and deductions of human reason has originated and perpetuated religious strife and division, a sincere submission to the plain teachings of the word of God has promoted the cause of truth, unity and peace.

Immediately after Mr. Campbell's discourse on Friday, it was agreed that the usual forms of the Association should be dispensed with, in order to hear from Mr. Scott a report of his year's labor. This was heard with great interest, and the question of his reappointment coming up afterward, some discussion arose as to restricting his labors within the bounds of the associated churches, and also in regard to his request that the Association would appoint as his fellow-laborer William Hayden, for whom he had formed a warm attachment, and who would, he thought, be eminently useful in this capacity. Some were for having the itineracy confined within the limits of the churches, but Mr. Scott wished to be at liberty to go to any point where there seemed to be a favorable opening. After much

discussion, he arose finally and said with much earnestness of manner: "Give me my Bible, my head and Brother William Hayden, and we will go forth to convert the world." Sidney Rigdon then moved that "the Association give to Walter Scott his Bible, his head and Brother William Hayden," which was at once agreed to.

William Hayden lived at this time in Canfield. He was about the middle stature, thickset and athletic, with a complexion naturally rather dark and much tanned by exposure; intelligent light gray eyes; light hair; a mouth somewhat large; his countenance expressive of both firmness and kindly feeling, and often wreathed with a winning smile. He was then in his thirtieth year, having been born June 30, 1799, in Rosstrevor township, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, from which, four years afterward, his father with the family removed to Youngstown, in Ohio, then quite a new country.

Religious questions had engaged his attention at a very early period of life. Before he was twelve he had been first a deist and then an atheist in his sentiments, and had involved himself in great mental perplexity. Possessing good reasoning powers, however, and anxious to discover the truth, he was at length relieved by the reflection that "*if nothing had eternally or primarily existed, nothing could have been originated, and that hence a cause uncaused was self-evident.*" His belief in a God having been thus restored, he was led to the Scriptures by the consideration that, "*as God had created us, we were not too insignificant for him to govern and judge us.*" Delighted with the character of Christ as portrayed in the New Testament, and conscious of his need of salvation, he, for a long

time, attended religious meetings, and sought conversation with religious persons. He was at length thoroughly aroused by Christ's declaration, Matt. xii. 36, 37: "I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." Being induced to accept the divine mercy in Christ, he was baptized by Elder Joshua Woodworth, May 19, 1816, and united with the Baptist Church, to which his parents already belonged.

He became a reader of the "Christian Baptist" soon after its publication, and rejoiced in that freedom of thought and of investigation which it inculcated, and which was so congenial to his own mind. He still, however, fondly entertained the popular views of conversion and when he heard Walter Scott preach in the fall of 1827, his direct method of calling sinners to obedience seemed to him rash and dangerous. Some time afterward, hearing that Mr. Scott was to preach in a school-house near Simon Sacket's, he rode eight miles to hear him. The room was densely crowded. Mr. Scott's first words were: "There is not a man in this house who believes that God means what he says." William Hayden was astounded, and was on the point of rising to say that he was at least one who believed it, when the assured manner of the speaker led him to pause. Mr. Scott went on to show that men come to the Bible with their heads full of religious systems and theories, and that in consequence they were inhibited from taking the Scriptures in any sense inconsistent with these. They dared not take the plain common-sense view of the teaching of the Bible, or the true and obvious meaning of its words, lest their religious system

should be endangered. That system gave in every case the law of interpretation, and the true sense was neither understood nor believed. He vindicated the authority of God's words as against every system, and exalted their sufficiency, their truthfulness, their trustworthiness, showing the propriety of relying upon the divine declarations alone, in which the terms of salvation were presented to us for our immediate acceptance. As he thus discoursed and developed the sad results of the prevailing systems which had closed the ears and the hearts of the people against the plain words of Scripture, William Hayden felt that he was right, and that he himself heretofore had been thus blinded, and had not really believed "that God meant what he said." A complete revolution was at once effected in his mind as he meditated upon the truths he had heard. The Bible was to him now a new book. The gospel was a simple development of God's love, adapted to every creature, and furnishing to every one who believed it a direct and practical assurance of acceptance. To preach was no longer a mockery, pretending to offer salvation to all, yet announcing that this was nevertheless reserved for a definite pre-ordained number known to God alone. On the contrary, the gospel was now seen to be truly the power of God to every one who believed it, and he felt that he could now offer it upon its own simple terms, as such, to sinners.

He was at this time teaching a school in Austintown, and in February, Adamson Bentley came and held some meetings, at which a number were induced to submit to the gospel. Among these was his particular friend, John Henry, born in Chartiers township, Washington county, Pennsylvania, October 1, 1797, and removed to Ohio in 1803, where he was raised a strict Presbyterian

He was a man of very singular powers and universaliy esteemed. Like William Hayden, he possessed fine musical talents, great kindness of disposition, an independent spirit and the gift of language. Earnest, truth-loving, enterprising and fearless, his accession greatly aided William Hayden amidst the violent opposition which the cause had then to encounter, and encouraged him in his first efforts at public speaking. John Henry himself, some time afterward at a baptism, when evil disposed persons derided and created a disturbance, was impelled to burst forth into an indignant and effective remonstrance, which revealed to him his own latent power over an audience and led him to devote himself to public speaking. Having a remarkable memory and readiness of utterance, though without discipline of mind or the graces of elocution, he could, nevertheless, enchain the people for hours by his rapid and thorough expositions of scriptural themes, quoting and applying every passage in the Bible relating to the subject, giving chapter and verse without a moment's pause, with pointed and keen criticisms upon the errors of the popular teaching, and brief but pertinent exhortations to duty. He hence became, after a time, one of the most reliable and effective preachers on the Reserve. The accession of John Henry and his intrepid advocacy of the cause soon led to the formation of a church at Austintown of one hundred and ten members, which was organized by Scott, Bentley and Raines, William Hayden being placed over it.

The arrangement which had been made by the Association in appointing the latter a fellow-laborer with Walter Scott proved to be a most effective one. The two evangelists, earnestly co-operating and wholly devoted to the work, seemed to carry everything before

them. Crowded audiences were everywhere in attendance in meeting-houses, private dwellings, barns or shady groves; many came from a desire to listen to the charming singing of William Hayden, and were brought over to the truth preached. Throughout this whole region sectarian conversions were soon almost entirely suspended. Preachers who ventured to oppose the "ancient gospel" lost their influence and were forsaken by many of their adherents, who united with the Christian churches. A great number also, who had been bewildered by the inconsistent doctrines of the sectarian world and had become skeptical, were led to believe and obey the gospel, while a number of gifted individuals were raised up even from the humblest walks of life to become efficient and devoted preachers, and to render their powerful assistance to those already in the field.

One of these, Jonas Hartzel (born October 19, 1803, in Northampton county, Pennsylvania, from whence the family removed to Deerfield, Ohio, in 1805), had been brought up a Presbyterian. Some time in 1826, his wife, who was a pious Methodist, said to him, unexpectedly, "What Scripture have you for infant baptism? If you have any, I ask for it; for I have no confidence in my baptism." He replied, "Alice, I can satisfy you on that subject;" and, opening the Bible, he turned to the proof-texts to show that it came in place of circumcision; then to the household baptisms and the saying, "Suffer little children to come unto me," etc.; but, upon considering these passages, his logical mind could find no proof in them, and, greatly mortified and disappointed, he put the subject off for the time. Too honest with himself, however, to controvert the teachings of the Bible, he was, after some further inquiry, fully convinced

that infant baptism had no divine authority. He then said, "We have been misled by our religious guides. We have been deceived in a plain case, and if so in reference to baptism, perhaps we have been led into error on other subjects of equal or greater importance. We have taken our religion on trust. We have read the Scriptures to confirm our creeds. We must now read the Bible to form our religious sentiments for ourselves, and go whithersoever it may lead us."

This change of views caused great grief to the relatives on both sides, who expostulated and argued, but Mr. Hartzel and his wife read the Scriptures, and soon found that "faith came by hearing," and that salvation was thus brought within their reach. The controversy grew warmer. Mr. Hartzel argued from Acts ii. 38, "that as baptism was for remission of sins, and to be preceded by faith and repentance, it could have no relation to infants." Hearing some months afterward that Mr. Campbell taught baptism for remission, he became a subscriber to the "Christian Baptist," which he had occasionally read, and was delighted with the grand purpose it held in view—a return to the primitive gospel —a *restoration* rather than a *reformation*—the preaching and teaching of Christianity as it was before there were any reformations or any occasion for them. Following out their convictions, Mr. Hartzel and his wife were immersed on the second Lord's day in June, 1828, and in August of this same year, at the annual meeting, he saw Mr. Campbell for the first time, and at once identified him amongst the crowd of preachers by his simple, self-possessed manners, his unclerical appearance and unassuming deportment. When he heard him speak, he was charmed with the artlessness of his delivery and with the singular power of his discourse, and

was impressed at once with the conviction that he was one of those remarkable men raised up by Providence for the accomplishment of important ends. As it was the custom of the churches now rapidly forming everywhere to adopt at once the primitive order and depend for mutual edification upon the gifts of the members, those of Mr. Hartzel did not remain long concealed. Possessing a vigorous mind, a remarkably clear perception of logical relations, a sincere love of truth and a fine command of language, he soon became distinguished as an effective and able preacher. In person he is tall and erect, grave in manner, in complexion somewhat swarthy, with regular features, intelligent dark eyes, full and handsome lips, and in speaking has a slightly German pronunciation and arrangement of words.

Many others there were who at this period were brought forward by the pressing demand of the times from amidst the pursuits of husbandry and other ordinary vocations to assume the position of preachers of the gospel. However useful to this office the refinements of education, the cause could not now wait for the slow processes of scholastic discipline or the tedious preliminaries of a college course. These advantages, indeed, were far from being essential, since the gospel, now freed from theological speculations, was found to be adapted to the humblest capacity, and to require nothing but a simple, earnest and faithful presentation in order to the conversion of sinners. Hence, quite a number of individuals of little culture but earnest faith, inspired by the love of truth and of humanity, entered into the field of public labor, and many of them, having fine natural abilities, greatly promoted the progress of the gospel. To those already mentioned of this class

may be added a few others who at this period were prominent advocates of the cause. Of these was Cyrus Bosworth, distinguished less as a preacher than as a counselor, and as a man of resolute and decided character, exercising a commanding influence. He was a native of Roxbury, Plymouth county, Massachusetts, born April 12, 1791. He came to Warren in 1813 and engaged in teaching, but afterward carried the express mail along the forest paths of this newly-settled region, and was the first messenger to convey to Pittsburg the news of Perry's victory on Lake Erie. He served afterward as a member of the Ohio Legislature and as sheriff of Trumbull county. He embraced the gospel soon after it began to be preached by Walter Scott, and continued until his death, April 4, 1861, to take an unabated interest in the things of the kingdom of God.

His brother Marcus, three years younger, removed to Ohio from Roxbury and settled in Braceville, Trumbull county, in 1816. Soon after, he experienced a religious awakening among the Presbyterians, but having imbibed Baptist views in early life, could not be persuaded that sprinkling was baptism, though he searched the Scriptures diligently and listened to the arguments of several preachers. He and his wife were finally immersed by Thomas Miller in 1819, and he became a deacon of the Baptist church formed during the following year at Braceville. From his zeal, piety and speaking abilities he was soon after recommended to engage in the ministry, and while attending the "ministers' meetings" became acquainted with Mr. Campbell and with the principles of the Reformation, which he cordially embraced. Being ordained in October, 1827, he gave himself ardently to the work, and when Walter Scott visited Braceville, preaching baptism for

remission of sins, he, after careful examination, fully adopted this as the plain doctrine of Scripture. He was a man of average height, light complexion and sandy hair, extremely plain and familiar, but unassuming in his manners. As a speaker, he was not boisterous or vehement, but had a rapid delivery, and was so full of feeling that he could not discourse on the themes of salvation without shedding abundance of tears and deeply affecting his audience. He was a very successful preacher, and, as a man, universally beloved, abounding in prayer, in hospitality and in all good works. Appointed by the Association in 1829 to itinerate in connection with W. Scott, A. Bentley and W. Hayden, he was the means of converting many, and continued his labors until June 10, 1847, when, in the triumphs of faith, he yielded up his spirit into the hands of the Lord he had so faithfully served.

Another of those who were actively engaged at this early period of the Reformation was Symonds Rider, a native of Hartford, Connecticut, born November 20, 1792, and settling at Hiram, in Portage county, Ohio, in 1814, where he still lives and has ever been an upright and prominent citizen. He was at an early period much devoted to the Scriptures and particularly solicitous in regard to the subject of conversion. Having marked and carefully considered all the passages relating to this subject, he concluded that if he ever met a preacher who presented the gospel just as he read it in the New Testament, he would yield to it. In June, 1828, he heard Thomas Campbell preach in Mantua, and finding what he heard in perfect accordance with what he read, he came forward promptly at the first invitation and was baptized by Reuben Ferguson, who had recently been a Methodist preacher. Being a man

of earnest and sincere purpose and a cogent reasoner, Mr. Rider attained considerable distinction as a public speaker, and still remains elder of the flourishing church at Hiram.

To these may be added E. B. Hubbard, also still living, who, born in Duchess county, New York, February 28, 1792, removed to Deerfield, Ohio, in 1802. Uniting with the Methodists there, he nevertheless regarded creeds and all legislation on the part of religious bodies as invasions of Christ's prerogative, and finally, in conjunction with S. McGowan, C. P. Finch, a Methodist preacher, and some others, learned from the Scriptures the true basis of organization for the Church, which they endeavored to carry out into practice amidst a storm of opposition. Hearing then of a similar society in Braceville, Hubbard and Finch were deputed to visit it. Being much gratified with what they saw and heard, Marcus Bosworth was invited to visit Deerfield, which he did in June, 1828, in company with Mr. Bentley, and held a meeting at which seven were immersed, and the church was fairly established. Mr. Hubbard soon engaged in preaching, and has rendered effectual service to the cause by his faithful and long-continued labors.

In this connection the name of John Whitaker deserves mention. Of Quaker lineage, he became awakened under the preaching of the Christian Connection, but soon afterward, hearing Walter Scott, entered fully into the clearer light, and became quite an able preacher, powerful both in argument and in exhortation. As a man he was eminently social and hospitable, and, though grave in his deportment, possessed a large fund of genuine wit.

Of those from among the Baptists there were also

many besides the individuals formerly mentioned who distinguished themselves by their efforts in behalf of the primitive faith and order. Among these, William Collins was noted for excellent preaching abilities and extensive usefulness. He had been educated at Hamilton Seminary, New York, and afterward settled at Chardon, Ohio, where he labored for many years, and was deservedly popular, dying a few years since, much regretted. He was succeeded by Ebenezer Williams, formerly mentioned, who, after his conversion from Restorationism, continued to be a faithful and consistent advocate of the truth, dying recently in the fullness of hope. He was a man of great candor, clear, logical and convincing in his discourses, and greatly esteemed by all who knew him. Among others from the Baptists, too, may be mentioned John Applegate, who, after a two years' struggle, became at length convinced of the truths he had heard in 1828 from W. Scott, at Austintown, being greatly helped forward by Jesse Hall, the worthy deacon of the church in Hubbard, where he lived, and who had at an early period embraced the Reformation. Mr. Applegate has labored much for the cause amidst his arduous struggles to rear a numerous family upon a little farm, and his humble, consistent, godly life and remarkably cheerful spirit have made him a great benefaction to the Church. Others, also, there were who, though less regularly engaged in public ministries, or acting merely as elders or deacons of the congregations, contributed much to the furtherance of the gospel. Prominent among these was the venerable John Rudolph, of Garrettsville, in Portage county, who was distinguished for his piety, his firmness and many excellences, and possessed great personal weight. He was especially remarkable for

his uncommon gift in social prayer, in which he manifested a humility, suitableness and fervency rarely equaled and impossible to describe. He was a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit, hospitable, just, sober, yielding up after a hard struggle his favorite Baptist theories, and heartily embracing the simpler views of the gospel which were brought to his attention. His two sons, John and Zebedee, entered also at an early period into the ranks of the Reformation, and have continued faithfully devoted to the interests of the truth—the former acting as deacon in the church at Garrettsville, and the latter, with more than usual scholarly attainments, self-acquired, rendering efficient aid in the congregation at Hiram.

Nor were there wanting some who were won over from positive infidelity to the public advocacy of the primitive faith. Among these Amos Allerton, of Deerfield, was conspicuous. He was a man of great personal strength and courage, tall, bony, straight as an arrow, and somewhat rough in manners and appearance, but a high-minded, honorable man, tender-hearted, remarkably quick in discernment, and withal conscientious and contemning everything mean or selfish. He was, nevertheless, a bold, fearless infidel, and when he heard the rumor, among many others equally absurd, that Mr. Scott was taking the people by force and dipping them, he declared that such things should not be done in Deerfield. Mr. Scott soon came to fill an appointment there on a week-day, and Allerton attended, publicly avowing his intention to interfere to prevent any imposition upon the people. At the sight of Mr. Scott's feeble frame, his flashing dark eyes, his intellectual features and humble, reverential bearing, he found himself insensibly softened, and soon began to take a deep interest

in the subject presented. On this occasion Mr. Scott had an audience densely crowded, and being animated with more than usual power, he surpassed himself. For three full hours he held the people enchained by his clear developments and vivid descriptions of the patriarchal, Jewish and Christian dispensations, pausing for a few moments between each division while a song was sung by Sister Davis, a fine singer from Wales. Having completed his magnificent oration, and given a comprehensive view of the entire subject of religion in the light of the Bible, he called upon the audience for obedience to the gospel. The instant the invitation was given, Captain Allerton started from his seat and strode toward the preacher, while the people who knew his views and expressed purposes trembled for the results. But when the strong man was seen to bow himself in humble submission to the claims of the gospel, which he had now for the first time learned to understand and appreciate, an intense emotion pervaded the entire assembly, and the eyes of many were suffused with tears. Such was the effect when this "tall oak of Bashan," as Mr. Scott termed him, was felled, that eleven others immediately came forward, and a flourishing church was established at Deerfield, in which Mr. Allerton soon became one of the most efficient members, preaching and baptizing many, noted for his fluency in speech and wisdom in council, and, though variable in the excellence of his public efforts, often more brilliant than others who evinced greater uniformity in the character of their public addresses.

All these were warm personal friends of Mr. Campbell, and much endeared to him by their earnest labors, their self-sacrificing spirit and their zeal for the restoration of the pure and simple apostolic gospel. Under

the circumstances then existing, it required no small amount of moral courage to oppose the popular religious systems and to brave the public obloquy and social estrangement which resulted. To undertake the public advocacy of the cause demanded then a noble disinterestedness and an unselfish devotion. The things said and written against a salaried clergy, as well as the newly-discovered simplicity of the gospel, had almost entirely suspended all contributions for the ministry, and the recently-formed churches had as yet adopted no co-operative system or regular plan of operations. Hence the individuals who felt impelled to use their efforts for the spread of the truth were obliged to do this not only without the prospect of any present remuneration, but to the neglect of their own affairs and the expenditure of their own limited means. On one occasion one of them, having a series of appointments to meet, and being without a horse to ride, borrowed one from a neighbor, for the shoeing of which he was to pay two dollars. Having filled his engagements and received nothing but compliments, he had, upon his return, to work four days for the blacksmith in order to pay the debt he had incurred. These noble men were, however, the praise of the churches and the glory of Christ. The advancement of the cause seemed to depend upon their free efforts and their aggressive onslaughts upon the corruptions of sectarianism. Denouncing textuary preaching, written sermons and theological theories, they employed universally direct extemporaneous methods of address, and taught the people the Scriptures in their connection, accomplishing a mighty work in the liberation of multitudes from the thraldom of human systems, and in establishing permanently on the Western Reserve the claims of the primitive gospel.

CHAPTER VIII.

Debate with Robert Owen—Its results—A new periodical—Effects of Mr. Campbell's labors—Domestic life—Millennial views.

AMIDST his arduous labors during the winter of 1829, Mr. Campbell had but little time to prepare for the approaching debate with Mr. Owen. In addition to his editorial duties and his immense correspondence, as well as his ministerial and other engagements, he had on hand a new edition of the Testament in a more portable form, demanding great attention. Thrice-armed, nevertheless, in the justice of his cause, conscious of his ability to expose the false principles of the social system, and "relying," as he said, "upon the Author of the Christian religion" for aid and guidance, he experienced no fear as to the result. It was not, however, his chief or ulterior object merely to show the weakness of Mr. Owen's system. In view of the many different forms of skepticism prevailing, and of the false views entertained respecting Christianity itself, his purposes took a much wider range, and he resolved to demonstrate, from his own point of view, the divine origin of the Bible and the simplicity, truthfulness and saving power of the apostolic gospel.

It cannot be denied that Mr. Owen was in many respects an extraordinary man, and that he performed at this time no unimportant part in the world's affairs. Born at Newtown, Wales, in 1769, he was so precocious

that, according to his own account, he was a teacher in a school at tne age of seven and under-master at nine. He maintained himself as a shopman for some years, and seems to have had something so impressive about him that he was treated with uncommon consideration and liberality. At the age of eighteen he became a partner in a cotton-mill where forty hands were employed, Arkwright's machinery having been recently introduced. He was prosperous, and was raised from one lucrative position to another, so that, after David Dale of Glasgow established the New Lanark mills, Mr. Owen, who had now become his son-in-law, was placed finally at the head of the establishment, upon which some two thousand persons depended for support. Entering fully into all the benevolent projects of Mr. Dale for the happiness and improvement of the working classes, he displayed an uncommon skill in the economy of association and in systematizing the details of subsistence, clothing, education, leisure and amusements, and in the management of the mill, the farm, etc.; so that everything requiring the exercise of the administrative faculties was of a rare quality of excellence. In the course of ten years, while many expected his ruin from his novel schemes, he bought out his partners at New Lanark for $420,000. In four years from this time he and his new partners had gained $600,000, and he bought them out for $570,000—facts no less remarkable than conclusive as to his uncommon ability in the conduct of affairs.

Such was the success of his industrial, social and educational plans that his fame was soon widely extended, and many intelligent theorists in political economy came to him to learn his method. Inspired with the belief that his plans would revolutionize human

society, he became a propagandist. He published various tracts and submitted his schemes to the governments of Europe and America. He visited foreign countries to communicate personally with leading men, and presented an explanatory memorial to the Congress of sovereigns at Aix la Chapelle in 1818. While in Austria, Prince Metternich invited him to a succession of interviews, and employed government clerks for many days in registering conversations and copying documents relating to the "Social System." The arbitrary governments of Europe found much in his schemes of organization to suit their purposes, and even the Prussian system of education is supposed to owe much of its discipline, as well as its rigid and sedulous application in practice, to the views of Robert Owen. As there could be no question in regard to the disinterestedness of his motives or the benevolence of his intentions, his zeal and activity gained many friends and extended his influence abroad. At home Southey eulogized him, and in America the government of Mexico offered him a district one hundred and fifty miles broad, including the then unknown gold region of California, in order that his experiments might be tried upon a grand scale. It was to see about this grant that he visited Mexico, under the auspices of the British Cabinet, about two months before the time appointed for his debate with Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Owen is entitled to whatever credit belongs to the establishment of the infant-school system. Many had previously conceived the idea, but he was the first to carry it into practice at New Lanark, where he managed to surround the children with such "happy circumstances" that everything seemed to succeed to his wishes; and so great was the hope created of the re-

demption of the infant population of the towns that, when Brougham reported to his parliamentary friends and others what he had seen at New Lanark, they conjointly set up an infant school in Westminster, Mr. Owen agreeing to send James Buchanan, the teacher of the school at New Lanark, to superintend it. These experiments showed that infantile education could go on well under the mild system adopted; but the fact was also in due time developed that mortality among the children was increased in proportion to their removal from the natural influences of the family and those healthful impressions produced upon each other by minds in different stages of development. Hence the fearful mortality from brain disease among the inmates of infant schools led to their abandonment after some years.

As Mr. Owen's plans were designed exclusively for the promotion of man's material interests, and made no provision whatever for his spiritual wants, religion soon became a disturbing element in the practical working of his plans, and the diversity of men's beliefs a barrier in the way of his "Social System." He thought it, therefore, necessary to success to put religion wholly out of the way, so that men might be free to devote their entire time and faculties to the business and the enjoyments of the present life. Believing the United States, where no State religion existed, to be best suited to his experiments, he purchased, in 1824, the property belonging to the Rappites, in Indiana, consisting of the village of New Harmony and thirty thousand acres of land, where he soon collected a community of several thousand persons, and where, under the influence of zeal and talent, the co-operative system seemed for a time to realize the highest hopes of its advocates. Mr. Owen himself,

constitutionally sanguine, was so confident of the success of his principles as to assert that, in the course of three years, the city of Cincinnati would be depopulated by the migration of its citizens to New Harmony. A very short time, however, was sufficient to dispel this illusion, and before the period fixed in his prediction had expired this seemed more likely to be fulfilled in regard to New Harmony itself, through the discords and disappointments which were constantly occurring, and which drove off many to distant cities. These ominous occurrences failed, nevertheless, to disturb the equanimity or the confidence of Mr. Owen, and since the religions of the world, in his superficial view of human society, seemed to be the occasion of much of the discord and division that everywhere prevailed, and "to contain in them," as he said, "the seeds and the germs of every evil that the human mind can conceive," he became more and more averse to them. He was hence induced, in his New Orleans challenge, to assail them publicly, having been specially moved thereto by certain articles which appeared in the newspapers proceeding from some of the clergy, and giving an erroneous view of his principles and plans. In consequence of the acceptance of his challenge by Mr. Campbell, he was now about to appear in Cincinnati (which, in utter disregard of his prediction, had persisted in increasing rather than diminishing its population), in order to prove that religion was the greatest bar to the supreme happiness of the world.

The importance of the subject and the reputation of the disputants had created an intense and widespread interest in the discussion, so that when the time arrived many persons were in attendance, some of whom had come even from New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia,

Tennessee and Mississippi. Application was made to Dr. Wilson for the use of his meeting-house, which was the largest in the city, but this having been refused, the Methodist society cheerfully granted their largest house for the purpose. Mr. Owen chose as moderators, Rev. Timothy Flint, Col. Francis Carr and Henry Starr, Esq. Mr. Campbell selected Judge Burnet, Col. Samuel W. Davis and Major Daniel Gano. These six chose Rev. Oliver M. Spencer, and Judge Burnet was appointed chairman. It was agreed that each disputant should speak alternately half an hour or less, but not more except by consent of the moderators. Charles H. Sims, stenographer, was appointed to take down the speeches in order to their publication for the benefit of the parties, and matters being thus adjusted the discussion began on Monday, April 13th, and continued, with the intermission of one Lord's day, until the twenty-first.

This debate—if debate it may be called where the parties hardly ever came into logical conflict—was heard with great attention by a large and highly intelligent auditory. At the commencement, the press was so great that many were unable to obtain seats, and were forced after a day or two to return to their homes. It was computed that on each successive day to the close there were not less than twelve hundred persons present, and the good order and decorum which constantly prevailed in this large assembly, and the solicitude manifested to understand the subjects presented, were never, on any occasion, excelled. Mr. Owen began by explaining the cause of the meeting, and giving a brief account of his European experiments, in the course of which he professed to have discovered certain "laws of human nature," a knowledge of which would, he

thought, abolish religion, marriage and private property, the three "formidable prejudices which," as he stated, "ignorance of these laws had made almost universal," and to which he attributed the vice and misery of mankind.

Mr. Campbell, in his opening speech, the only one he prepared beforehand, after apologizing for bringing the evidences of the Christian religion into debate, as though they were yet matters to be contested, which he could not admit, referred to the unkind and denunciatory style in which skeptics were generally treated by the advocates of Christianity, and to the rapid increase of infidelity in the land, owing, as he thought, to the lives of Christian professors, the sectarian spirit of the age and the absurd tenets and opinions taught as Christianity. He then stated that he had agreed to the discussion, not with the hope of convincing Mr. Owen, but for the sake of the doubting, wavering and unsettled public who were in danger of being carried off as with a flood by the infidel theories so diligently inculcated, and that he was prepared to show that there was all the reason which rational beings could demand for the sincere belief and cordial reception of the Christian religion. Passing thence to the early struggles of Christianity, he dwelt eloquently on its glorious triumphs over the nations by means of its evidences and its divine principles of self-denial, humility, patience and courage, and upon the love, purity and peace, the joys and hopes, which it imparted, and contrasted these with the rewards of disbelief, sensual indulgence and everlasting death. Glancing at some of the materialistic schemes and their degrading principles, he presented some general ideas of the plan he would pursue if he were at liberty to choose a method co-extensive

with the whole range of skepticism, and closed with an impressive admonition to the audience in regard to the ineffable importance of the great questions now pending:

"It is not," said he, "the ordinary affairs of this life, the fleeting and transitory concerns of to-day or to-morrow; it is not whether we shall live all freemen or die all slaves; it is not the momentary affairs of empire or the evanescent charms of dominion—nay, indeed, all these are but the toys of childhood, the sportive excursions of youthful fancy, contrasted with the questions, *What is man? Whence came he? Whither does he go?* Is he a mortal or an immortal being? Is he doomed to spring up like grass, bloom like a flower, drop his seed into the earth and die for ever? Is there no object of future hope? No God—no heaven—no exalted society to be known or enjoyed? Are all the great and illustrious men and women who have lived before we were born wasted and gone for ever? After a few short days are fled, when the enjoyments and toils of life are over, when our relish for social enjoyment and our desires for returning to the fountain of life are most acute, must we hang our heads and close our eyes in the desolating and appalling prospect of never opening them again—of never tasting the sweets for which a state of discipline and trial has so well fitted us? These are the awful and sublime merits of the question at issue! It is not what we shall eat, nor what we shall drink, unless we shall be proved to be mere animals; but it is, Shall we live or die for ever? It is, as beautifully expressed by a Christian poet:

> 'Shall spring ever visit the mouldering urn?
> Shall day ever dawn on the night of the grave?'"

This address made a very marked impression upon the audience, many of whom, from their exaggerated notion of Mr. Owen's abilities, had greatly feared for the fortunes of Christianity. The powerful grasp of the subject already indicated in Mr. Campbell's remarks,

his manifest consciousness of power, and his eloquent and truthful words, thrilled every Christian heart; all fears were banished, and the unbidden tear was seen to trickle from many eyes.

Mr. Owen in his next address commenced the reading of a manuscript of nearly two hundred pages foolscap folio, which he had prepared, and to which he continued to adhere throughout the discussion. In this he had laid down twelve positions, which he termed "facts," upon which he relied as the entire groundwork of that "Social System" by which he expected to renovate the world. Upon these "facts," chiefly mere commonplace truisms, affirming the power of "organization" and "circumstances" to mould and modify human character, and which left entirely out of view man's spiritual nature, and contemplated him as a mere "effect of causes irresistible in their influence," and as consequently undeserving of praise or censure, he descanted during the entire time of the discussion. In vain did Mr. Campbell complain that his twelve "facts" had no logical application to the propositions which Mr. Owen was pledged to sustain. In vain did the moderators suggest and insist that he should confine himself to one of the five propositions contained in his challenge until that particular subject was exhausted. Nothing could divert him from his "twelve laws of human nature," and the exposition of the happy results which would necessarily follow their universal adoption. These "laws" he evidently conceived to be a complete demonstration of all the propositions in his challenge. He endeavored to show that man according to these "laws" is "a being entirely different from what he has been supposed to be by any religion ever invented, and that none of these

religions apply in any degree to a being formed as man is." Taking it for granted that these "laws" were an exact summary of everything existing in human nature, a complete and exhaustive compend of all the principles of human action, he concluded that all religions were "founded in error, because their dogmas were in direct opposition to these self-evident truths and the deductions made from them."

Mr. Campbell, in his endeavor to bring Mr. Owen to close quarters, expressed his willingness to admit the alleged "facts," with the exception of the assertion that "the will has no power over belief," and then went on to show that these "facts" had reference to the mere animal man, that his intellectual and moral endowments were not considered in them at all, and that, as they presented no proper analysis of the powers or capabilities of the human mind, they were incomplete, and formed a very false and unsafe basis for any system. He showed that the "twelve facts" were just as applicable to a goat as to a man, and that a theory based on only a part of man was defective and at variance with reason and human experience. Taking the position of Locke, Hume and Mirabeau, that all our original ideas are the results of sensation and reflection, he inquired how man could have any idea the archetype of which did not exist in nature? Yet man possessed the idea of a God producing something out of nothing, he had the conception of an immaterial spirit, a Great First Cause and many other supernatural ideas, such as that of a future state, and those connected with the words *priest*, *altar*, *sacrifice*, etc. He therefore called upon Mr. Owen to show how upon his principles man could have obtained these ideas, and presented to him the problem formerly addressed to the editors of the

"New Harmony Gazette," requesting to know "how the idea of an eternal First Cause, uncaused, came into the world." Mr. Owen replied, "By imagination." Mr. Campbell then affirmed that, upon all established principles of mental philosophy, imagination could originate nothing, but could merely combine or arrange in new forms the images already derived from the various sources of human knowledge, and called upon Mr. Owen to furnish a proof of the incorrectness of this position by imagining a *sixth* sense. "That all religions were founded in ignorance," as Mr. Owen asserted, was not, he urged, if admitted as true and regarded in a proper light, a disparagement of religion, since schools and colleges were based on the ignorance of society, as was also human testimony to unknown facts or books to instruct the uninformed. As to the power of the will over belief, he showed the fallacy of Mr. Owen's assertion that it had none, for, admitting that belief was often unavoidable from the nature of the testimony presented, yet the will had much, and often everything, to do with the obtaining and proper consideration of the evidence necessary to conviction.

To Mr. Campbell's refutations, Mr. Owen, however, had nothing to oppose but his "twelve laws of human nature," the "gems," as he termed them, of his "casket," whose brilliancy he thought would easily excel and outshine that of all the lights of reason, logic and revelation. The parties seemed thus to be proceeding in two parallel lines which could never meet; and though Mr. Campbell took occasion to present views of human nature subversive of his opponent's system, and to point out the many inconsistencies in which it involved its author—as, for instance, in regard to his own attempt to control those "circumstances" which he alleged were

supreme in human affairs—the imperturbable philosopher continued to read and to expound his "divine laws," and to detail the admirable commercial, educational, governmental and economical arrangements which he had projected for his ideal communities. It soon became evident, indeed, that Mr. Owen *could* not reason, that he had no just perception of the relations between proposition and proof, and that it was vain to expect from him any logical discussion of the points at issue. As soon, therefore, as he had on Friday, 17th, completed the reading of his manuscript, and conceded to Mr. Campbell the privilege of speaking uninterruptedly, the latter went on to complete the course of argument he had already begun in defence of Christianity; and in a speech which, in all, occupied twelve hours, gave a view of its nature and evidences, which, for cogency of argument, comprehensive reach of thought and eloquence, has never been surpassed, if ever equaled. In this masterly effort he surprised Mr. Owen and the skeptics present by disengaging Christianity from the sectarian dogmas and doctrinal controversies and absurdities which had created so much infidelity, and to which Mr. Owen himself had attributed the origin of his own disbelief. Having already explored and exposed the false principles on which the various systems of infidelity were founded, and shown the impossibility of maintaining upon them any form of civilized society, he exhibited, in contrast, the grandeur, the power and the adaptability of the gospel to man as he is in all the relations of life and conditions of human society. He showed that Christianity was based upon the noblest and most philosophic views of human nature —not seeking to make men happy or reformed by legal enactments or vain theories, but by implanting in the

human heart, through the discovery of the divine philanthropy, that principle of love which fulfills every moral precept. Presenting the gospel as a series of connected facts, resting upon indubitable testimony of witnesses and of prophecy, he dwelt upon its simplicity, and took occasion to expose the folly of human authoritative creeds and the evils which had attended them, and to exhibit the distinctive views of the gospel which he taught, and its simple and expressive institutions, which gave to the penitent believer the assurance of pardon and admitted him to a holy and divine fellowship. He avowed his belief in the approach of a happy era for humanity, when more than all the peace, fraternity and prosperity anticipated in Mr. Owen's vision would be realized—not, however, by means of idle human schemes, but by the divine philosophy of making the tree good that its fruit might be good, and by the healing of all divisions through the universal spread of the primitive Christian faith. He exposed the inconsequence of Mr. Owen, who imagined that by asserting man's subjection to circumstances he had proved religion false, and reminded him that Calvinists supposed all things unchangeably decreed and fixed, yet found this no barrier to the belief of the Christian religion. Making his appeal to consciousness, however, he showed that man had the power to will, to examine into the matters that interested him, to decide in reference to them and to act upon his decisions; and illustrated this by Mr. Owen's proceedings in regard to the Mexican territory and other cases. Recurring to the partial view of human nature presented in his "twelve laws," he proved from the experience of mankind that the complete gratification of temporal wants fails to confer happiness; that man has higher aspirations,

which must be met, and which cannot be satisfied with sublunary pleasures. He dwelt upon the hope of immortality as that alone which could sustain man amidst the cares and disappointments of life, where pleasure was found to consist in the pursuit rather than in the attainment of the objects of desire, and justly urged that to place man in the position imagined by Mr. Owen, where he would have nothing to wish for or pursue, would be to cut him off from the most fruitful sources of happiness. He exposed also the futility of the idea that a society could permanently exist without the sense of obligation or responsibility, which on Mr. Owen's scheme must be totally banished, as the doctrine of "no praise, no blame," was to be taught in it from the cradle to the grave, and everything was made to rest upon the mere charm of social feeling. Such a society was perfectly utopian and unintelligible, since to form any community there must be stipulations, accountability, allegiance, protection; and hence an education which taught all from infancy that actions were equally right because equally the result of circumstances, and that men had no obligations to each other, was directly calculated to make men not only unfit for society, but dangerous to its peace and welfare.

He finally went on to show that in all its benevolent features Mr. Owen's plan was a mere plagiarism from Christian enterprise. Mr. Dale had given him his first ideas of the co-operative system, with its various arrangements for the improvement of the working classes, and Moses and Solomon had dwelt upon the advantages of bringing up children "in the way they should go." It was, however, to the French Revolution he was indebted for his infidelity, and to the theories of Dr. Graham and others for his system of free love. In the

whole matter there was really nothing new. It was but a reproduction, with a change of form, of the views of others, and he denied that the scheme had ever been in operation at New Lanark, where the people in the aggregate were religious, and where there were Presbyterian and Independent churches well attended, Mr. Owen himself having contributed to build the latter. As to New Harmony, Mr. Owen, he thought, would hardly derive from the issue of his experiment there any argument for his scheme. After all his reading, studying, traveling and vast expenditures, nothing as yet had been produced but the "twelve fundamental laws of human nature." New Harmony, the land of promise to which multitudes flocked with eagerness, had witnessed the dissolving of the charm, and the social builders were disbanding under the influence of the awful realities of nature, reason and religion. This result he thought chiefly due to the abolition of the marriage contract and the appointment of nurses to take charge of the infants of the community. In this connection he referred touchingly to the joys of the mother in having the care of her own offspring. "The smiles of her infant," said he, "the opening dawn of reason, the indications of future greatness or goodness, as they exhibit themselves to her sanguine expectations, open to her sources of enjoyment incomparably overpaying the solicitudes and gentle toils of nursing." He showed that the system, instead of being accordant with human nature, was at war with it, and "aimed a mortal blow at all our ideas of social order and social happiness."

Having thus dissected Mr. Owen's philosophy and exhibited the truth and excellence of Christianity, he concluded his long address with the following tribute to religion:

"Religion—the Bible! 'What treasures untold reside in that heavenly word!' Religion has given *meaning*, design to all that is past, and is as the moral to the fable, the good, the only good of the whole—the earnest now of an abundant harvest of future and eternal good. Now let me ask the living before me—for we cannot yet appeal to the dead—whence has been derived your most rapturous delights on earth? Have not the tears, the dew of religion in the soul, afforded you incomparably more joy than all the fleshly gayeties, than all the splendid vanities, than the loud laugh, the festive song of the sons and daughters of the flesh? Even the alternations of hope and fear, of joy and sorrow, of which the Christian may be conscious in his ardent race after a glorious immortality, afford more true bliss than ever did the sparkling gems, the radiant crown or the triumphal arch bestowed by the gratitude or admiration of a nation on some favorite child of fortune and of fame.

"Whatever comes from religion comes from God. The greatest joys derivable to mortal man come from this source. I cannot speak of all who wear the Christian name, but for myself, I must say that worlds piled on worlds, to fill the universal scope of my imagination, would be a miserable per contra against the annihilation of the idea of God the Supreme. And the paradox of paradoxes, the miracle of miracles and the mystery of mysteries with me, was, is now, and evermore shall be, *how any good man could wish there was no God!* With the idea of God the Almighty departs from this earth not only the idea of virtue, of moral excellence, but of all rational enjoyment. What is height without top, depth without bottom, length and breadth without limitation—what is the sublimity of the universe without the idea of Him who created, balances, sustains and fills the world with goodness? The hope of one day seeing this Wonderful One, of beholding Him who made my body and is the Father of my spirit, the anticipation of being introduced into the palace of the universe, the sanctuary of the heavens, transcends all comparison with all sublunary things. Our powers of concep-

tion, of imagination, and our powers of computation and expression, are alike baffled and prostrated in such an attempt.

"Take away this hope from me, and teach me to think that I am the creature of mere chance, and to it alone indebted for all that I am, was, and ever shall be, and I see nothing in the universe but mortification and disappointment. Death is as desirable as life; and no one creature or thing is more deserving of my attention and consideration than another. But if so much pleasure is derived from surveying the face of nature, from contemplating the heavens and the systems of astronomy, if there be so much exquisite enjoyment from passing into the great laboratory of nature and in looking into the delicate touches, the great art, the wonderful design even in the smaller works in the kingdom which the microscope opens to our view, what will be the pleasure, the exquisite joy, in seeing and beholding Him who is the *Fountain of Life*, the Author and Artificer of the whole universe! But the natural and physical excellences and material glories of this great fabric are but, as it were, the substratum from which shine all the moral glories of the Author of *eternal life* and of the august scheme which gives immortality to man! No unrestrained freedom to explore the penetralia of voluptuousness, to revel in all the luxury of worms, to bask in the ephemeral glories of a sunbeam, can compensate for the immense robbery of the idea of God and the hope of eternal bliss. Dreadful adventure! hazardous experiment! most ruinous project—to blast the idea of God! The worst thing in such a scheme which could happen, or even appear to happen, would be success. But as well might Mr. Owen attempt to fetter the sea, to lock up the winds, to prevent the rising of the sun, as to exile this idea from the human race. For although man has not, circumstanced as he now is, unaided by revelation, the power to originate such an idea, yet when it is once suggested to a child it can never be forgotten. As soon could a child annihilate the earth as to annihilate the idea of God once suggested. The proofs of his existence become as numerous as

the drops of dew from the womb of the morning—as innumerable as the blades of grass produced by the renovating influences of spring. Everything within us and everything without, from the nails upon the ends of our fingers to the sun, moon and stars, confirm the idea of his existence and adorable excellences. To call upon a rational being to prove the being and perfections of God is like asking a man to prove that he exists himself. What! shall a man be called upon to prove *a priori* or *a posteriori* that there is one great Fountain of Life! a universal Creator! If the millions of millions of witnesses which speak for him in heaven, earth and sea will not be heard, the feeble voice of man will be heard in vain."

Upon the Lord's day which intervened during the delivery of this address he preached by request to a very crowded audience in the house in which the debate was held, and on Monday evening, when he concluded his long speech, Mr. Owen rejoined, and while complimenting Mr. Campbell very highly for learning, industry and extraordinary talents, as well as for a manliness, honesty and fairness which he said he had heretofore sought in vain, he made no attempt to invalidate his arguments, but occupied himself in vague declamation against religion, renewed laudations of the twelve "jewels" of his "casket," and glowing pictures of the happy "circumstances" to be produced by their means. This speech he concluded on Tuesday in the forenoon. In the afternoon Mr. Campbell replied in a severe exposure of the inanity of Mr. Owen's effort to overthrow religion and establish his "Social System," by mere assertion without proof and by ridicule instead of argument. He admitted that sectarian divisions and discords furnished weapons to skepticism, but denied that Christianity, even in its most corrupt form, justly merited the imputations of Mr. Owen.

To this speech Mr. Owen responded by bringing up again his "twelve laws" to the consideration of the audience and descanting upon them for an hour, after which Mr. Campbell in a very happy manner exposed "the twelve laws" to contempt, and showed their utter inadequacy as laws of human nature. Mr. Owen then continued in a final speech his disquisitions upon his favorite "gems," and after courteously thanking and complimenting the audience and moderators for their patience and attention, closed by taking his leave "with the best feelings toward all." Mr. Campbell, having now to terminate the discussion, gave a recapitulation of what had been accomplished, and after comparing the triumphs of skepticism with those of Christianity, before dismissing adopted an unexpected and ingenious method of eliciting the sentiments of the assembly.

"I should be wanting to you, my friends," said he, "and to the cause which I plead, if I should dismiss you without making to you a very important proposition. You know that this discussion is matter for the press. You know that every encomium which has been pronounced upon your exemplary behavior will go with the report of this discussion. You will remember, too, that many indignities have been offered to your faith, to your religion, and that these reproaches and indignities have been only heard with pity, and not marked with the least resentment on your part. Now I must tell you that a problem will arise in the minds of those living five hundred or a thousand miles distant who may read this discussion, whether it was owing to a *perfect apathy or indifference on your part as to any interest you felt in the Christian religion, that you bore all these insults without seeming to hear them.* In fine, the question will be, whether it was owing to *the stoical indifference of fatalism, to the prevalence of infidelity*, or *to the meekness and forbearance which Christianity teaches, that you*

bore all these indignities without a single expression of disgust. Now, I desire no more than that this good and Christian-like deportment may be credited to the proper account. If it be owing to your concurrence in sentiment with Mr. Owen, let skepticism have the honor of it. But if owing to your belief in or regard for the Christian religion, let the Christian religion have the honor of it. These things premised, my proposition is, that all the persons in this assembly *who believe in the Christian religion*, or who feel so much interest in it as to wish to see it pervade the world, will please to signify it by rising up." [Here there was an almost universal rising up on the part of the audience.] "Now," continued Mr. Campbell, when all were again seated, "I would further propose *that all persons doubtful of the truth of the Christian religion* or who do not believe it, and who are not friendly to its spread and prevalence over the world, will please signify it by rising up." [Upon this, three persons only rose amidst the large assembly.]

This appeal to the audience was, under the circumstances, one of those master-strokes which serve to reveal the penetration and sagacity of Mr. Campbell. He had perceived that Mr. Owen was of a temperament so sanguine as to regard every one who treated him with respect and interest as his disciple, and to be constantly under the wildest illusions of hope as to the prevalence of his views. He determined, therefore, for Mr. Owen's sake as well as that of the cause he pleaded, that he would deprive him of any false estimate he might have formed of the impression made upon the intelligent audience by his labored exposition of the "Social System" during the eight days' debate, and prevent him or his friends from building false judgments and false hopes upon ignorance of results. The prompt and public expression of sentiment given by the audience was a mortifying disappointment to Mr.

Owen, in spite of all his efforts to conceal it, while to the friends of religion it was a most acceptable testimony to the power of truth as well as to the ability of its defender.

It need scarcely be said that this debate elevated Mr. Campbell to a very high position in the estimation of the entire religious community. For a time, party feeling seemed to be held in abeyance, and all were disposed to acknowledge their obligations to the defender of the common faith. The immediate effect of the discussion, too, was quite marked. Thomas Campbell, who had accompanied his son from Bethany and remained in the city for some time, and with whose urbanity, kindness and many excellences Mr. Owen was greatly impressed, baptized quite a number of converts, and subsequently many persons of intelligence, who had been skeptical in their views, acknowledged that all their doubts were removed by Mr. Campbell's arguments during the debate. Among these may be mentioned Dr. M. Winans of Jamestown, Ohio, a man of great acuteness of intellect and power of concentration, who became afterward one of the most able supporters of the Reformation, and whose short but pithy articles in Mr. Campbell's periodical gave great pleasure to its readers. The beneficial effects of the discussion were, however, incomparably extended by its publication, with interesting appendices and addenda. Mr. Owen, being about to return to Europe, sold his interest in the work to Mr. Campbell, who published a large edition of it, which was rapidly disposed of. An edition was some years afterward printed in London by Groombridge, in one octavo volume of five hundred and forty-five pages, which obtained an extensive circulation; so that wherever the English language was

spoken, Mr. Campbell's able defence of Christianity became known, and exercised its power of confuting and exposing the fallacies of the prevailing skeptical philosophies. Innumerable were the letters of gratitude and congratulation which he received from those who read the discussion and who were recovered from infidelity or confirmed in faith. The courtesy with which he had always treated the skeptical, and the manliness of his course in relation to Mr. Owen, gained for him the respect and confidence of all who labored under doubts and difficulties in regard to the truth of religion. They flocked everywhere to hear him; they often invited him to address them where they existed in organized societies; they heard his facts and reasonings with interest and attention; and it may be safely affirmed, that no individual was ever known to have been the instrument of converting so many skeptics to the truth of Christianity as Alexander Campbell.

As to Mr. Owen himself, it cannot be said that any change was effected. He was observed, indeed, toward the close of the debate, to qualify his previous denunciations of Christianity by the phrase, "as at present taught;" for Mr. Campbell had presented such a view of it that he could not offer a single objection; and it was remarked also that after the debate he was willing to admit there were "difficulties on both sides." But he seems to have returned to England under the same hallucinations which had heretofore governed his life. He still hoped to banish evil from the world and to renovate society, imagining at every moment that his plans were going to be tried in some particular country, and that all other countries would immediately be brought over to his views.

Shortly before the debate, Mr. Campbell had con-

cluded to discontinue the "Christian Baptist." He feared that the name *Christian Baptists* would be given to the advocates of the Reformation, and he wished to commence a new periodical of larger size and of somewhat different character. Desiring to begin this with January, 1830, and not having yet completed the outlines of his plan of the "Christian Baptist," he proposed to issue the seventh volume of the latter work concurrently with the sixth, so as to furnish both within the year. He was still engaged with his "Essays on the Ancient Gospel and Ancient Order of Things," and had in course of publication a very interesting series of articles on the primitive, the patriarchal, the Jewish and the Christian dispensations, which had a powerful effect in dissipating the confusion of thought which prevailed in reference to religion, and leading to clear and consistent views of the Bible. All these he desired to finish, so that a complete and connected view of the different subjects might be embraced in the "Christian Baptist" before its close. He felt at this time greatly encouraged by the success which had attended his editorial labors. For every day of the past six years he had received a new subscriber, and the principles he advocated were extending their influence in all directions.

"I have devoted myself to this cause," said he on the fourth of July, 1829, "and will, God willing, prosecute it with perseverance. The prospect of emancipating myriads from the dominion of prejudice and tradition, of restoring a pure speech to the people of God, of expediting their progress from Babylon to Jerusalem, of contributing efficiently to the arrival of the millennium, have brightened with every volume of this work. To the King, eternal, immortal and invisible, the only wise God, our Saviour, we live and die. To him

we consecrate the talents, information, means and every influence he has given us, and we trust the day will come when all shall see, acknowledge and confess that our labors in the Lord are not in vain."

This expectation he had abundant reason to cherish. In Kentucky his views had now been received by many of the Baptists, and had already awakened a bitter opposition on the part of those who were determined to maintain the usages of the party. This opposition, led by Dr. Noel, S. H. Clack, Edmund Waller and others, had already introduced proscription and division into some of the churches. Thus, when G. W. Elley, in 1828, convinced of existing errors, ventured, in Eighteen-Mile Church, near Westport, to depart from the consecrated method of textuary preaching, and to urge a return to the primitive practice of weekly communion, the usual devices were at once employed to excite prejudice against him and deprive him of influence as a public teacher. Finding the majority of the church averse to any reformation, and that they unjustly denied to him the rights accorded even by Baptist rules, he was induced, with others, to free himself from a thraldom to which he could not conscientiously submit, and continued from this time to advocate publicly, with zeal and efficiency, the restoration of the primitive faith and manners. In other parts of the State the reformatory principles seemed to be adopted with great readiness. Thus, in 1828, the Boon Creek Association went so far as to decide that the word of God did not authorize any form of constitution for an association, and that their constitution should be abolished. They then resolved the Association into a mere annual meeting for worship and hearing voluntary reports from the churches. In Christian county also several churches openly rejected

Baptist theories and usages. One of these, at Noah Spring, of thirty-three members, resolved to meet for weekly communion, appointing a worthy member, A. Linsey, as elder, and baptizing converts for the remission of sins. Throughout the State, indeed, the Baptist churches were gaining numerous accessions. Mr. Campbell's debates had brought the subject of believers' baptism prominently before the minds of the people, and the new interest lately thrown around the institution by the discovery of its immediate relation to the formal remission of sins had added immensely to the influence of immersionists, even where they did not fully embrace Mr. Campbell's teaching, but especially where they favored it. Thus, between November, 1827, and May, 1828, Jeremiah Vardeman immersed about five hundred and fifty persons in Kentucky, and during June and July, in Cincinnati, one hundred and eighteen more. John Smith, between February and the third Lord's day in July, 1828, immersed six hundred and three. Under the labors of Walter Warder about three hundred were added in the course of a few months to the church at Mayslick, and a very large number elsewhere under the preaching of William Morton, Jacob Creath and others. Jeremiah Vardeman, indeed, even from the time of the McCalla debate, had preached baptism for remission of sins with great zeal and effect. In November, 1826, he told Mr. Campbell that he had much more pleasure in immersing persons then than formerly, before he was aware of the meaning of the ordinance. He then went on to relate a rencontre he had had with the Catholics shortly before, on the question of remitting sins.

"The Right Rev. Mr. ——, from Bardstown," said he, "had the audacity to come over into my bounds, and right in

the field of my labors began to hold forth the rank doctrine of Catholic absolution. He contended that he and his brethren had the power of forgiving sins, and attempted to prove it all by Scripture. Well, thought I, my good sir, I will return the compliment. A few weeks after, I sent an appointment to Bardstown, and had it publicly announced that I was going to prove that the Baptist ministry had as much power of remitting sins as the Catholic ministry." This he endeavored to do from the language addressed to Peter: "Whosoever sins you remit, they are remitted," and by showing that Peter fulfilled this in announcing to believers baptism for remission.

Mr. Campbell greatly disapproved the practice of making such issues, and of using such strong and unguarded expressions as the "power of remitting sins" and "washing away sins in baptism." "These," said he. "have been most prejudicial to the cause of truth, and have given a pretext to the opposition for their hard speeches against the pleadings of Reformers." The habitual use of such expressions he thought also calculated to lead men to overlook or disparage that faith in the sacrifice of Christ from which alone baptism derived its efficacy. On this account, in baptizing persons, he used only the simple formula, "Into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," and forebore adding to it, like Mr. Scott and others, the expression "for the remission of sins." "When any doctrine," said he (Mill. Harb. for 1832, p. 299), "is professed and taught by many, when any matter gets into many hands, some will misuse, abuse and pervert it. This is unavoidable. We have always feared abuses and extremes."

In Nashville, Tennessee, the ancient order of things had been introduced without much difficulty, and the church was peacefully progressing. In the eastern part

of Virginia great interest had been excited by Mr. Campbell's discussions with Bishop Semple and Andrew Broaddus, and a number of intelligent Baptists had become fully convinced of the need of reform. Prominent among these was Thomas M. Henley, of Essex, one of the most earnest, candid and pious preachers of that portion of the State, and a warm personal friend of Mr. Campbell, on whose account and for his own fearless advocacy of the cause of Reformation he had had already much to endure from his former friends and associates. With him were associated also other preachers of considerable ability, as Dr. John Duval, of King-and-Queen, Peter Ainslie, M. W. Webber, John Richards and Dudley Atkinson, together with many private members of intelligence and influence. In the southern part of the State, also, a considerable impression had been made. Abner W. Clopton, who was one of the most popular Baptist preachers in that part of the country, had been at first pleased with Mr. Campbell's writings, but taking umbrage at his views of "experimental religion" and some other matters, became bitterly opposed, and endeavored by every means in his power to arrest the progress of the reformatory principles and to maintain the Baptist customs. Many, nevertheless, of his associates in the Meherrin Association took part with Mr. Campbell. Chief among these was Silas Shelburne, a preacher of very great influence and piety, born June 4, 1790, and son of James Shelburne, a Baptist minister of note, of whom a very interesting account is given in the life of Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton.

After deep religious convictions, Silas Shelburne had been baptized in June, 1816, and immediately began to exhort in the Church. Soon after he was ordained by

Elders James Shelburne, William Richards and James Robertson, and continued to travel and preach with his father until the death of the latter, when he was called to the care of the churches to which his father had ministered. The membership of these churches greatly increased under his labors, but he felt their need of some better plan of religious edification, as he could visit them but once a month. Having read the "Christian Baptist" from its commencement, he was impressed with the importance of the ancient order of things there described, and began by urging the churches to meet to attend to the Lord's Supper at least once a month. This being agreed to, he after a time proposed that elders should be appointed in each of the churches, and that they should assemble every Lord's day for reading, exhortation, prayer and attendance on the table of the Lord. This was opposed, but he succeeded in getting six congregations organized with elders, and in gaining over to his assistance some other preachers, as P. Barnes, D. Pettey, James M. Jeter and Paschal Townes. These endeavored to introduce better views into the churches, continuing to preach, as usual, faith, repentance and baptism in order to the knowledge of salvation, but maintaining that the heart was changed by the Holy Spirit through the belief of the truth. A violent opposition soon arose against these efforts to change Baptist usages and theories, but the thirteen churches composing the Meherrin Association failed to press matters to any final decision, so that Silas Shelburne and his associates continued for some time to labor as usual.

In the summer of 1826, a Baptist preacher, traveling as a missionary under the auspices of a female missionary society in Richmond, Virginia, when near the Natural Bridge happened to meet with a few numbers

of the "Christian Baptist" and the McCalla Debate, which he read with some surprise at the views presented. At first such was his dissatisfaction that he resolved to attempt their confutation, but upon more careful examination found himself unable to deny their scriptural correctness. This was Francis Whitefield Emmons, who was born at Clarendon, Vermont, February 24, 1802, and united with the Baptist church at Swanton, Vermont, April, 1816. After a good preparatory education, he was licensed to preach by the Second Baptist Church at Hamilton in 1821, and after completing the three years' course of study in the literary and theological seminary there in 1824, entered Columbian College, D. C. during the same year, and while there edited for a short period the "Columbian Star." After his missionary tour in Virginia he became, in 1827, a student of Brown University, where he graduated. After editing the "American Baptist Magazine" for a short time, at Salem, Massachusetts, he preached for the church at Eastport, Maine, over which he was ordained as pastor in 1829, at Providence, Rhode Island. While at Brown University he had become more and more impressed with the need of the reformation urged by Mr. Campbell, and hence ordered three complete sets of the "Christian Baptist" with the debates, New Testament, etc., which were received at Eastport in 1829. One set of each of these works was taken by Elder W. W. Ashley, of Eastport, who after reading them preached and taught as never before. Passing after a time into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Mr. Ashley disseminated there the principles of the Reformation and baptized for the remission of sins. Several preachers were convinced through his instrumentality, and churches established according to the primitive

order. One of the remaining sets of the same publications was sent by Mr. Emmons to Jonathan Wade, missionary in Burmah, and was received and read by him and other missionaries there with profit, E. Kincaid, upon his return to the United States some years after, assuring Mr. Emmons "that he had been much interested in the reading, that the work had helped him much and by directing him to the living Word, had enabled him to preach to the Karens the ancient gospel better than he otherwise would have done."

The influence of Mr. Campbell had been felt also among the independent churches in Europe. Of these there were a number in Ireland. One of them, as formerly stated, existed in Rich-Hill. Another, of considerable size, called the Tabernacle Church, had been formed in the city of Armagh. One of the members of this church, Robert Tener, becoming much interested in reading the accounts of the labors of foreign missionaries, was particularly struck with the fact that all the converts who professed faith were baptized. The idea at once occurred to him that he, as a believer, ought to be baptized. Knowing nothing whatever of the Baptists, he at once went to the minister of the Tabernacle, Mr. Hamilton, and told him he wished to be baptized. Mr. Hamilton asked why he desired this, as he had been already baptized in infancy. Mr. Tener replied that he had no knowledge of the fact, and that as he had only recently come to understand and believe the gospel, he could discern no difference between himself and the heathen in Otaheite, who were baptized after they believed. Mr. Hamilton then told him there was a sect called Baptists who thought so, and gave him some of their writings, together with some Pædobaptist works, to read. The reasonings of the Pædo-

baptist writers, and particularly the plausible argumentation of William Ballantine, who had published a treatise defending infant baptism, had the effect of settling Mr. Tener down for a time in the conviction that they were right. Removing, however, soon after to Dungannon, ten miles distant, he resumed his investigations, and after a careful examination of the Scriptures, became fully satisfied that he ought to be immersed. About this time (1810) a Robert Smyth, who had just returned from one of Robert Haldane's seminaries, engaged in the inquiry with him and with one or two others, was likewise convinced. Smyth said he knew of no Baptist in the entire North of Ireland except one old Englishman near Keady. "Then," said Mr. Tener, "go to him and be baptized, and then baptize me, my wife and William Smyth." This having been done, the four at once began to meet regularly to keep the ordinances in a large room used by Mr. Tener as a storehouse for linens. Here, in spite of petty persecutions and the indignation of the clergy, they continued to meet and to receive additions, but their number, being constantly reduced by emigration, seldom exceeded forty. This was the first church formed in Ireland on the plan of requiring a simple faith in Jesus as the Son of God and immersion into his name.

It happened that in 1825, Richard, a son of Robert Tener, was a clerk in the Bank of Ireland, at Newry, and Mr. Campbell having sent over during that year some copies of his debates and some numbers of the "Christian Baptist" to his relatives there, the latter, who were still Seceders, after reading some of them, told Richard Tener that these books would just suit his father, and that he had better send him some of them. Upon receiving them, Robert Tener and those with

him, though surprised and delighted to find that many of the views to which they themselves had been led by the Scripture had been advocated by Mr. Campbell in America, were yet at first quite dissatisfied with some of the things he taught. The clearer conceptions of the latter in regard to the different divine dispensations, the distinction between faith and opinion and the design of baptism, were, however, after some time perceived to be entirely just and scriptural, and the church at Dungannon came to be in general accord with Mr. Campbell.

About the year 1827, a commercial traveler, Peter Woodnorth, of Liverpool, a zealous Christian, called on the brethren at Dungannon, who talked with him freely upon these religious matters, in which they took great interest, and gave him some of Mr. Campbell's works. On his return to England he delivered to the Independent churches in Liverpool, Nottingham and Manchester the things he had learned, which were thus for the first time introduced into England. In the year 1829, under date of November 5, William Tener, a son of Robert Tener, an intelligent and estimable youth, opened a correspondence with Mr. Campbell, and spoke in the beginning of his letter as follows as to the effect produced by his writings:

"VERY DEAR BROTHER: Although personally a stranger to you, I have enjoyed an acquaintance with your writings for a length of time. From them I have received great advantages. Many opinions which I formerly held very strenuously I found upon examination were unfounded; and many truths of which I was ignorant have been brought before my mind through the instrumentality of that ably-edited periodical, the 'Christian Baptist.' Many of my friends in this your native land have reason to bless God that ever they saw it; and though their prejudices were great against you at first, they yielded to the

influence of all powerful truth. Many of *us* (for I class myself among them) were so prejudiced that when we read a few pages of the 'Christian Baptist,' we resolved on reading no more, conceiving your opinions to be heterodox, thus condemning you unheard. When we gave you a hearing, however, we found that your sentiments were in general accordance with the revelations of the King of kings and Lord of lords."

Thus it was that through various instrumentalities the principles advocated were widely diffused abroad, everywhere more or less opposed, but everywhere developing the power of truth and modifying the state of religious society; and Mr. Campbell found himself to be the centre of a constantly widening circle of influence, and, under Divine Providence, an acknowledged guide to a large and intelligent community zealously engaged in the work of reformation.

Before his return home from the Owen debate his family had been increased by the birth of a daughter, who was named Margaret Brown, after his first wife. He had had for some time, and continued to have, quite an extensive household, to take charge of which required no small degree of courage on the part of his second wife, who had not, like the first one, been brought up in the country and familiarized with the details of farm-life. All these she had to learn, and during Mr. Campbell's long absences to observe his directions for the cultivation of the fields and to engage laborers, which she did with so much judgment that Mr. Campbell always returned to find things in order, and never was known to utter a word of complaint or find the least fault with the arrangements made. In addition, she had to discharge the duties of a mother to her predecessor's little daughters, and to manage the affairs of the family, complicated

by the almost incessant visits of strangers, some of whom often remained for long periods. The presence of sickness, too, during the winter succeeding her marriage, when there were no less than thirteen cases of measles in the family, had greatly added to Mrs. Campbell's cares; but being an excellent nurse, and devoting herself assiduously to the duties she had undertaken, she succeeded in managing and arranging everything so happily as greatly to relieve Mr. Campbell and leave him free to pursue his accustomed labors.

About this time Walter Scott, being on a short visit to Pittsburg, rode out to see his former pupil, young Mr. Richardson, who was now engaged in the practice of medicine, some thirteen miles from the city. During the interview he related many interesting incidents connected with his labors on the Reserve, which excited much surprise on the part of the doctor, who had as yet remained quite uninformed in respect to the character of the religious movement in which Mr. Scott was now engaged, and was still a member of the Episcopal Church, though at the time in communion with the Presbyterian Church in his immediate neighborhood.

The statement that the Christian institution was quite distinct from the Jewish, and had a definite origin on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii.), and that penitent believers were then commanded to be baptized for the remission of sins, seemed to him as a new revelation, accustomed as he had been to the confused ideas of the different parties on these subjects. Upon searching out the import of the word *baptism* after Mr. Scott's departure, he soon found it to be immersion, and perceived that from trusting to human teachers he had been previously deceived in regard to it. Resolving, therefore, from thenceforth to be directed by the Bible alone, he

began a careful re-examination of it. Reflecting that whatever might be urged about "apostolic succession," there could be no flaw in the credentials of the *apostles themselves*, and that *they* at least knew how to preach the gospel, he was convinced that had he and the whole world been present when Peter said, "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, for the remission of sins," all would have been equally bound to obey, and that the case was in nowise different now with those to whom this word of salvation came. There could be no danger of deception or mistake in trusting to the words of one who "spake as the Holy Spirit gave him utterance," and he therefore felt it to be his duty to submit to the divine requirements. Setting out accordingly, he, after a three days' journey, found Mr. Scott holding a meeting at a barn in Shalersville, on the Reserve, which he reached about two o'clock on the Lord's day, just after the audience had been dismissed. Six persons had come forward and were preparing for baptism at the farm-house, and the doctor, pressing through the crowd, greatly surprised and delighted Mr. Scott by informing him that he had come to be baptized. After the immersion the meeting was resumed, and William Hayden addressed the people, his discourse being the first the doctor heard from any preacher in the Reformation; nor had he, before going down that day to the banks of the softly-flowing Cuyahoga, ever witnessed an immersion, having been led by the word of God alone to take a solitary journey of one hundred and twenty miles in order to render the obedience which it demanded, and to find in that obedience the fulfillment of the Divine promises, and a happy relief from the illusive hopes and fears, based on frames and feelings, which for several years had constituted his religious experience.

Soon after his return he became instrumental in forming a church, which led to the organization of a second one in a short time in Washington county, where several of the old Brush Run members still resided, and where the children of Thomas Campbell's ancient friend, John McElroy, now used their influence to promote the cause. Prominent among these was James McElroy, who not only defended the cause with intelligence and zeal, but contributed liberally of his means to sustain Walter Scott in the evangelical field. In his efforts he was earnestly seconded by his devoted brother John, as well as by his intelligent sister Susan, who as early as 1817 had, amidst the peculiar trials of that period, led the way in obedience to the primitive gospel. Subsequently she had been for a considerable time an inmate of Mr. Campbell's family, and then the wife of Jacob Osborne, whose sudden and untimely death by hæmoptysis in the spring of this year (1829), in the midst of eminent usefulness on the Western Reserve, was much regretted. The advocacy of the reformatory principles by these intelligent disciples, characterized by an unyielding adherence to the simple teachings of the word of God, contributed much to promote the cause—James McElroy rendering efficient aid to Walter Scott in forming a church at Dutch Fork, and also to William Hayden in constituting another at Braddock's Field, where, at the meeting held, four entire households were baptized, without an infant in one of them. After a time, the church with which the McElroys were connected, near Hickory, was dispersed, many of the members removing to Knox county, Ohio, where they soon established two flourishing churches at Jelloway and Millwood.

A few months after his union with the church, Dr. Richardson removed to Wellsburg, from which point he

had the opportunity of often visiting Bethany and enjoying the society of those who assembled around Mr. Campbell's hospitable board. Here he frequently met the revered Thomas Campbell and the beloved Walter Scott, with other pious laborers. Here the sincere Joseph Bryant, who lived on an adjacent farm which Alexander Campbell had lately purchased, together with other members of the old Brush Run Church, was often found. Here, too, Mrs. Bryant, with her fund of Scripture inquiry and original thought, as well as other pious females, added charms to the social circle and a lively interest to those religious conversations and biblical researches which formed the chief enjoyment of all.

However eminent and admired in all his relations to the public, it was at home, amidst his family and friends, that Mr. Campbell always appeared in the most amiable and pleasing light. It was delightful to witness with what unstudied courtesy he welcomed his visitors, and with what genial pleasantry he placed every one at his ease, so that no one could long feel like a stranger. Without apparent effort he constantly kept up the charm of social converse, adapting the theme to the feelings and circumstances of the company, and always seeking, if possible, to impress some scriptural lesson by an apt and often witty application of a text, or to communicate some truth or information both interesting and useful.

He seemed to be always at leisure to entertain his guests, and that, too, with a mind so full of gayety and free from preoccupation that no one could have suspected for a moment the immense business constantly resting upon him, and which he was regularly and daily despatching with an energy and a facility peculiar to

himself. His habit of rising very early—usually at three o'clock—gave him much valuable time well suited for composition, and at the hour when the house-bell rung for morning worship he would come over from his study, having prepared, often, enough of manuscript to keep his printers busy during the day. When breakfast was over, after arranging the affairs of the morning and kindly seeing off any parting visitors, he would call for his horse or set off on foot, perhaps, accompanied by some of his friends, to view the progress of the printing or the farming operations, and give instructions to his workmen. Delighting greatly in agriculture and its collateral pursuits, he was familiar with all their details, and, while ever eager to gain new thoughts from others, the most skillful farmers and breeders of stock often found in his company that they had themselves something yet to learn. After dinner he usually spent a little time in correcting proof-sheets, which he often read aloud if persons were present, and then he would perhaps have a promised visit to pay to one of the neighboring families in company with his wife or some of the guests. Otherwise he would often spend some hours in his study if engaged upon any very important theme, or occupy himself in his portico or parlor in reading or conversation.

It was the evening that was always specially devoted to social and religious improvement. At an early hour the entire household, domestics included, assembled in the spacious parlor, each one having hymns or some Scripture lessons to recite. After these were heard, often with pertinent and encouraging remarks from Mr. Campbell, the Scriptures were read in regular sequence, with questions to those present as to the previous connection or the scope of the chapter. These

being briefly considered, he would call upon Mrs. Campbell, who had a good voice, to lead in singing a psalm or spiritual song, in which he himself would heartily join, and then kneeling down would most reverently and earnestly present before the throne of grace their united thanksgivings and petitions for divine guardianship and guidance. Such was the customary order, but the details were often varied to suit the occasion. Family worship was not allowed to become a mere routine. He knew well how to maintain its interest, by making it a means of real instruction and enjoyment; and, by encouraging familiar inquiry on the part of the young, he managed to bring forward and to impress indelibly the most charming practical lessons from the sacred writings, having always something novel and agreeable to impart zest and interest to exercises which in many cases are apt to become monotonous by frequent repetition. In these praiseworthy endeavors to bring up children in the nurture of the Lord, much was due also to the judicious arrangements and hearty co-operation of Mrs. Campbell, who, like her predecessor, made all things subservient to the desired end, and in her husband's absence herself officiated at the family altar when there happened to be no brother present accustomed to the duty. To her, also, Mr. Campbell, as had been his custom with his former wife, was in the habit of reading his essays and other articles for publication, playfully reminding her of the preacher who was wont to read his sermons to his housekeeper before delivering them, in order to judge by their effect upon her what would likely be their reception by his congregation. Mrs. Campbell always took this smilingly, as a standing bit of pleasantry, well knowing the high respect her husband had

for her judgment. He was well aware of his own satirical vein, and wished to have pointed out anything which might possibly give unnecessary offence, listening attentively to any criticisms Mrs. Campbell was encouraged to make, and not unfrequently adopting her suggestions and softening what appeared to be too tart. He greatly respected those delicate sympathies which women possess, and Mrs. Campbell had an excellent taste, being a lady of considerable reading and culture, of a very serious and religious turn, fond of Young's "Night Thoughts," and the grave poetical and prose English authors; not at all addicted to gayety, but on the contrary, though cheerful under the surrounding happy circumstances, possessing a constitutional tendency to melancholy, which needed only the presence of calamity for its development.

Mr. Campbell greatly desired that the work he was about to issue should exhibit a milder tone than the "Christian Baptist." He thought the religious world was now sufficiently aroused from its apathy, and that the spirit of inquiry already set on foot would ultimately effect the deliverance of the people from clerical domination. From the rapid spread of the reformatory principles, the union of so many of different parties in the primitive faith, and the evident check given to the progress of the infidel schemes of Mr. Owen and others, he was also much impressed by the conviction that the millennial period anticipated by the Church was nigh at hand. He felt assured that a reformation such as he advocated, which proposed to go back to the very beginning and restore the gospel in its original purity and fullness, could leave no room for any other religious reformation, and must of necessity be the very last effort possible to prepare the world for the

coming of Christ. He did not presume to fix upon any very definite period for this event, Scripture analogies inclining him to the opinion that it would occur at the commencement of the seventh Chiliad, answering to the seventh day or Sabbath when God rested from the work of creation. He did not deem it accordant with the principles of the Reformation to assume dogmatically any position in reference to this point or any other of the vexed questions of eschatology, dimly seen through the veil of prophetic imagery, but as this particular subject was then one of great interest with many, especially with Walter Scott and the other preachers on the Western Reserve, and he intended to discuss to some extent the Scriptures relating to it, he concluded to call his new periodical "THE MILLENNIAL HARBINGER." He intended to embrace in this work a wider range of subjects, and to show "the inadequacy of modern systems of education," and the *injustice* yet remaining, "under even the best political governments," in regard to various matters connected with the public welfare.

CHAPTER IX.

Political experience—Beaver anathema—Extra on remission of sins—Annual meetings—Journey to Nashville—Discussion with Mr. Jennings.

SOON after the debate with Robert Owen, Mr. Campbell became unexpectedly involved in a political canvass for the office of delegate to a convention called to amend the constitution of the State of Virginia. Discontent had long existed, especially in that portion of the State west of the Blue Ridge, in relation to the basis of representation, the right of suffrage and some other matters. As representation was based in part upon slaves, and these were held chiefly in the eastern section of the State, the white population of the western portion, though nearly equal in number to that of the east, found themselves under the control of a majority disposed, they thought, to legislate too exclusively for the interests of their own section. Moved at length by the remonstrances of the western members, or fearful that the rapidly-increasing white population of the west would soon outstrip that of the east and secure political power, the Legislature, during the session of 1827–'28, passed an act to take the sense of the voters on calling a convention. A large majority being found in favor of it, a deep interest immediately spread through the commonwealth; and the most eminent men in the country were sought out as delegates, the east expecting to secure such arrangements as would enable it to

retain its supremacy; and the west hoping to gain over a sufficient number of votes to remodel the constitution upon different principles.

Four delegates were to be selected from the district in which Mr. Campbell resided. Among the distinguished politicians of the western section, Philip Doddridge, of Wellsburg, stood pre-eminent. He was a man of remarkable abilities, and had been repeatedly a representative in the public councils. All eyes rested upon him as the political champion of the west, and he was at once nominated. Up to this time, Mr. Campbell had been before the public only as an educator and a religious teacher. He had never sought nor held any civil office, and had no desire whatever to engage in political affairs. So strongly, however, were the public impressed by his commanding talents and his success in contending against clerical power that a very general desire was expressed to take him up also as a candidate for the convention. Many of those most forward in this were among those opposed to Mr. Campbell in religious sentiments, but from their confidence in his abilities they were the first to propose him and the most eager to induce him to accept the position. So entirely, however, was he devoted to religious reformation, and so averse to everything connected with political strife, that it was not without some reluctance and misgiving he finally consented to become a candidate. It was urged upon him that it was not a canvass for an office of emolument, but an occasion of the utmost importance to the State of which he was a citizen, as the organic law was to be amended and the control of the eastern and great slave-holding portion of the State to be resisted. His religious friends urged, on their part, that as the position was one of great dignity and quite

above the ordinary sphere of politics, it would not compromise him in any respect as a religious teacher, but would probably give him greater influence in this respect, and afford him an opportunity of extending the principles of the Reformation by personal intercourse with the eminent and influential persons in the State with whom he would be placed in communication. Influenced by these considerations, he finally consented, with the express stipulation on his part that he would not be required or expected to engage personally in the canvass. It was also expressly understood that Mr. Doddridge, whose influence was almost unbounded, fully approved of Mr. Campbell's nomination, and would gladly accept him as his colleague. No sooner, however, had the canvass commenced, than Samuel Sprigg, a distinguished lawyer of Wheeling, in the adjoining county, and a warm personal friend of Mr. Doddridge, offered himself as a candidate in opposition to Mr. Campbell, and it was soon discovered that Mr. Doddridge was lending his powerful influence to promote Mr. Sprigg's election. Upon this, Mr. Campbell addressed some letters to Mr. Doddridge, exposing and severely censuring the course he had thought proper to pursue, and announcing his determination, under the circumstances, not to retire from the field, as Mr. Sprigg's friends probably hoped he would do, but to leave the issue entirely with the people.

On account of this unexpected opposition, and as Mr. Sprigg was engaged in addressing the public at various points, Mr. Campbell's friends urged him to forego his purpose of remaining silent during the canvass, and insisted that it would be necessary for him also to make some speeches, especially in the more distant parts of the district, where he was less known. Yielding to

these representations, he filled several appointments during the few weeks previous to the day of election, at which time he made it a point to be present at one of the most doubtful and important precincts in Monongalia county, where Mr. Sprigg was also to address the voters at the polls. On this occasion Mr. Sprigg spoke first, and took occasion to descant upon the unfitness of persons of the ministerial profession for such duties as were to devolve upon the members of the convention, and upon the importance of sending delegates whose lives had been spent in the investigation and practical application of the principles of civil government and constitutional law. He expounded also the engrossing subject of representation, as founded upon the basis of the white population exclusively, or upon the compound ratio of white population and slaves, announcing himself in favor of the former as essential to the political equality of the western portion of the State. Upon these subjects he continued to speak so long that but little time was left for Mr. Campbell before the opening of the polls.

Under the circumstances, Mr. Campbell manifested that superior knowledge of human nature, and that fine appreciation of existing conditions, which, had he chosen to devote himself to political matters, would have enabled him to obtain almost any office within the gift of the people. Knowing that the audience were somewhat wearied with the political disquisitions to which they had been listening, he, upon rising, remarked that he could not think of detaining the people much longer from the polls, and then proceeded to rebut, in a few pointed remarks, the arguments which had been used by his opponent against the political competency of ministers of religion, and in favor of

the supposed claims of lawyers upon the confidence of the community. He then briefly expressed himself as in favor of having representation based entirely upon the white population, and depicted the evils growing out of the existing system, where men enjoyed political power in proportion to the number of persons they held in bondage. Admitting the propriety of requiring from candidates an expression of their principles, and perceiving that the audience consisted almost entirely of farmers, he went on to say that the principle which would guide him was one of a very plain and simple nature.

"As you well know, my friends," said he, "each portion of our widespread country has its own peculiar interests, and in my judgment this simple fact should govern the entire course of its legislation. If the people of Virginia were a manufacturing community, then its legislation should be directed to the fostering and protecting of manufactures. If we were a commercial people, then the interests of commerce should demand our special attention. But, gentlemen, our State, having no large cities, contains almost exclusively an agricultural population, and I hence argue that the interests of the farmer should be chiefly considered in whatever changes may be proposed in the organic law Agriculture is, with us, the commanding interest of the State; and while my opponent has been descanting upon the white basis and the black basis, you will permit me to observe that agriculture is with us the true basis of prosperity and of power, and that the honest farmer, who by his daily toil increases the wealth and well-being of the commonwealth, becomes its truest benefactor." Extolling this virtuous and most important calling, showing in eloquent terms the dignity of labor, and announcing himself as having been for years a practical farmer, holding with his own hands the plough, he gradually enlisted the warmest sympathies of his audience, declaring that should they think proper to send him to the convention, while he

would by no means neglect the special interest which the west had in a just and equal representation, his aim would be to secure such arrangements as would best subserve the great cause of agriculture. "'Tis the interest of the farmer,' said he, "that should be consulted. It is his welfare especially that should be promoted, since it is the farmer who has to bear at last the burdens of the government. Allow me," said he, in concluding, "to illustrate this by what I noticed when a lad on a visit to the city of Belfast. In viewing the city, I recollect that my attention was particularly engaged by a large sign over one of its extensive stores. This sign contained four large painted figures. The first was a picture of the king in his royal robes, with the crown upon his head, and the legend issuing from his mouth, 'I reign for all.' Next to him was the figure of a bishop, in gown and surplice, with the inscription, 'I pray for all.' The third was a soldier in his regimentals standing by a cannon and uttering the words, 'I fight for all.' But the fourth figure, gentlemen, was the most noteworthy and important of all in this pictorial representation of the relations of the different parts of human society. It represented a farmer, amidst the utensils of his calling, standing by his plough and exclaiming, 'I pay for all!'"

When the shouts and cheers which greeted this conclusion had subsided, the polls were opened. As the law then required each one to announce publicly the name of his candidate, in order to have his vote recorded, nothing for a long time was heard but "Campbell," "Campbell," and it really seemed as if the choice was about to be unanimous. At last one individual came forward and gave the name of "Sprigg;" upon which Mr. Sprigg arose and pleasantly remarked, with a bow, "I thank the gentleman for his vote, for I was really beginning to think you had all forgotten that I am a candidate."

When the votes of the different counties were re-

turned, it was found that Mr. Campbell and Philip Doddridge were elected, along with Charles D. Morgan and Eugenius M. Wilson, both of Monongalia, to represent the district consisting of Ohio, Tyler, Brooke, Monongalia and Preston counties. The convention, composed in all of ninety-six delegates, met at Richmond on the 5th of October, 1829, and was the most august assembly ever convened in the State, numbering among its members, James Madison and James Monroe, former Presidents of the United States, together with Chief-Justice Marshall and such eminent personages as John Randolph of Roanoke, Judge Upshur, Benjamin W. Leigh and Philip S. Barbour. Many persons from a distance attended to listen to the debates, and among them the talented T. F. Marshall, of Kentucky. The preliminary arrangements having been completed, committees appointed, etc.—Mr. Campbell being on that of the judiciary—it was not long until the existing issues between the east and the west were brought forward. After the discussion had proceeded for some time, and Mr. Doddridge and others had spoken, Mr. Campbell delivered an able speech against the proposition to apportion representation in the House of Delegates according to the white population and taxation combined, for which the east strenuously contended, and which on account of the tax on slaves would have had the effect of perpetuating the political power of the slaveholders.

It would be out of place here to enter into the merits of these discussions, or to institute a comparison between the arguments of Mr. Campbell and those of others. Suffice it to say that he endeavored to establish four points: 1. That the principles upon which such a proposition was founded rested upon views of society unphilosophic and anti-republican. 2. That such a basis of

representation was the common basis of aristocratical and monarchical governments. 3. That it could not be made palatable to a majority of the freeholders of Virginia; and 4. That the white population basis would operate to the advantage of the whole State. In discussing these points he entered upon the subject of human rights, and exposed briefly but pointedly the fallacies of those who wished to establish such an inequality in the right of suffrage. He here incidentally manifested the natural tendency of his mind to reach beyond merely arbitrary and conventional arrangements and to contemplate things in relation to some grand general principle.

"While, sir," said he, "I am on the subject of such a state of nature, or viewing man as coming into society, may I not take occasion to observe that man exhibits himself as possessing the right of suffrage anterior to his coming into the social compact. It is not a right derived from or conferred by society, for it is a right which belongs to him as a man. Society may divest him of it, but it cannot confer it. But what is the right? It is that of thinking, willing and expressing his will. A vote is nothing more nor less than the expression of a man's will. God has given to man the power of thinking, willing and expressing his will, and no man ever did, as a free agent, enter into any society without willing it. And, we may add, no man could enter into a social compact without first exercising what we must call the right of suffrage. It is a right *natural* and *underived*, to the exercise of which every man has by nature as good a reason as another."

Again, in referring to an argument of Judge Upshur, he remarked: "This gentleman starts with the postulate that there are two sorts of majorities—numbers and interests; in plain English, men and money. I do not understand why he should not have added also majorities of talent, physical strength, scientific skill and general literature. These are

all more valuable than money, and as useful to the State. A Robert Fulton, a General Jackson, a Joseph Lancaster, a Benjamin Franklin is as useful to the State as a whole district of mere slaveholders. Now all the logic, metaphysics and rhetoric of this assembly must be put in requisition to show why a citizen having a hundred negroes should have ten times more political power than a Joseph Lancaster or a Robert Fulton with only a house and garden. And if scientific skill, physical strength, military prowess or general literature in some individuals is entitled to so much respect, why ought not these majorities in a community to have as much weight as mere wealth? We admit that fifty men in one district may have as much money as five hundred in another, but we can see no good reason why the superabundant wealth of those fifty should be an equivalent, or rather a counterpoise, against four hundred and fifty citizens in another."

During the sittings of the convention, Mr. Campbell delivered several speeches, and sought earnestly to secure for the west the changes which were demanded. After many days' debating, however, it appeared evident that the eastern majority was determined to perpetuate its rule, and that no satisfactory adjustment or compromise could be effected. The constitution, accordingly, which was at length drawn up and submitted to the convention January 14, 1830, and which retained those provisions to which the west was opposed, was finally adopted by a majority of fourteen votes.

While in attendance as a delegate, Mr. Campbell never suffered his religious position to be obscured or compromised for a moment. The great matters concerning the kingdom of Christ were far dearer to him than any earthly interests, and he accordingly, during his stay at Richmond, was careful to make his position as member of the convention contribute as much as possible to his influence as a religious teacher. In his private inter-

course with distinguished persons and in the social circle, he neglected no proper opportunity to press the claims of religion, and on every Lord's day addressed large audiences upon the great themes of the primitive gospel. Many of the members of the convention attended his meetings, and were greatly impressed with his remarkable powers, the novel simplicity of his religious views, and the vast range of thought and scriptural knowledge which he displayed. As illustrating the impression which he made, it may be stated, that as ex-President Madison was returning home from the convention, he stopped during the first night with a relative, Mr. Edmund Pendleton, of Louisa, and early next morning, as he and Mr. Pendleton were walking on the portico, the latter, who was somewhat favorable to the principles of the Reformation, asked Mr. Madison what he thought of Alexander Campbell. Mr. Madison in reply spoke in very high terms of the ability shown by him in the convention. "But," continued he, "it is as a theologian that Mr. Campbell must be known. It was my pleasure to hear him very often as a preacher of the gospel, and I regard him as the ablest and most original expounder of the Scriptures I have ever heard."

Mr. Campbell's political position tended greatly to influence and to secure, even from those who were prejudiced against him, that consideration which his abilities and his native dignity of character merited. His sojourn and preaching in Richmond also contributed in no small degree to promote the spread of his views of religious reformation amongst the community there, and led to the formation of some warm friendships. Many came from a distance to see and hear him, and to confer with him on religious subjects. One, a young physician, who had been the subject of deep convictions,

and had become enlightened by reading the "Christian Baptist," traveled more than a hundred miles for these purposes and to be baptized by Mr. Campbell at Richmond. Many interviews were sought also by the citizens, and profitable conversations held, among which was one of unusual interest with the ruler of the Jewish synagogue, the venerable Mr. Judah, published in the "Mill. Harb.," vol. i., p. 561.

Among the persons there introduced to him was R. L. Coleman, a young Baptist preacher from Albemarle county, for whom Mr. Campbell conceived a special regard, and who became afterward one of the chief supporters of the cause in Eastern Virginia. Mr. Coleman was born three miles from Scottsville, May 13, 1807, and was the son of Joseph Coleman, a Calvinistic Baptist. The death of his mother when he was nine years of age made a very deep and permanent impression upon him, and led him to religious reflection and much prayerfulness. He was thus preserved from many youthful snares, and, though naturally of a fearless, sensitive and ardent temperament, was enabled to resist the influence and example of those who were wild and dissipated. When he had reached the age of sixteen, the death of his eldest brother greatly deepened his religious impressions, and he resolved that he would endeavor to become a Christian, devoting himself to reading religious works and attending religious meetings. Being under the impression that the Methodists were the most zealous and successful preachers, he first visited their meetings, and day after day, at the mourners' bench, sought the benefit of their prayers, in hopes of receiving that assurance of salvation he had been taught to expect. Failing in this, however, while many of his acquaintances, who had been careless and unconcerned,

professed to be converted, he, after a year or two, ceased to attend these meetings, which left him still uncomforted and unhappy, and remained at home to read the Bible and pray. Such, at this time, were his mental anxieties and constant watchfulness that his health failed and his spirits were greatly depressed. Finally, however, he became satisfied, from reading the Bible, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, that he had come into the world and died for sinners, and that he was both willing and able to save them. He felt, also, that he was a sinner, and that he was not only willing to be saved, but that he would give the world, if it were in his possession, to become a Christian. While sitting under a tree and reflecting upon this subject, the question presented itself to him—Why am I not saved? He saw that Christ needed not to be made willing to save him by the intercession of preachers, for he said, "He that is willing to come unto me, I will in no wise cast out;" but, though he fully believed this, and also knew that he was willing to be saved, he had no assurance that he was saved, and remained unable to give any reason why he did not enjoy this assurance. He was satisfied that his heart was changed, that he loved God and the people of God; and that he took pleasure in praying to God and desired to serve him, but still had no assurance that his sins had been forgiven. As he had now been for about three years diligently engaged in seeking for this, as the usual preliminary to a public profession, he felt that he could do no more, and determined to offer himself before the Baptist church as a candidate for baptism. He was unable to say that he had received any assurance of forgiveness, but when he had related to the church the exercises of mind which he had experienced, he was adjudged to be a fit subject for bap-

tism. Next morning, when he went down to be baptized, his mind remained still dark and gloomy in relation to the assurance of pardon which had so long engrossed it; but he was no sooner buried in baptism than he arose from the water with entirely new views and feelings. Perfected by obedience, his faith had become effective; the darkness of his mind was at once illuminated; he realized that his sins had been washed away in the blood of Christ, and that of this he had received, in baptism, the assurance he had so long sought in vain. From that moment his former anxieties and fears for ever disappeared.

Mr. Coleman was not at this time at all acquainted with Mr. Campbell's views. From rumor he had been led to regard him as a sort of semi-infidel, and little thought that in his own experience he had been just illustrating some of the very things which Mr. Campbell was laboring to impress upon the religious community—viz.: the error of waiting for special spiritual operations, and of depending on variable frames and feelings for the hope of acceptance, rather than upon the word of God and the obedience of faith. Shortly after this, a young Baptist preacher, Gilbert Mason, visiting that part of Virginia, insisted on Mr. Coleman accompanying him on some of his preaching excursions, and by degrees induced him to offer public prayer, and, after some time, to give an exhortation. Finally, he prevailed upon him to take a text and deliver a sermon. Much pleased with his effort, Mr. Mason persuaded him to renew it, until at length he so far overcame his diffidence that he consented to assist other preachers at their meetings. After traveling about for some time in this way, he was urged by two Baptist preachers, Elders John Goss and Porter Cleaveland, to unite with

them in keeping up alternately a monthly Baptist meeting in Charlottesville, where no church had as yet been formed. Having acquiesced through their persuasion and his desire to do good, an appointment was made for him, which afterward upon reflection he greatly regretted, being distressed at the idea of having to appear before the superior community of Charlottesville and the literary and distinguished persons belonging to the University of Virginia. Compelled, however, by his promise, he set out for his appointment oppressed with many anxieties and fears, and seeking for help in earnest prayer. At length, as he rode along, the thought occurred to him, "I am willing to be a fool for Christ's sake," when in an instant his anxiety disappeared and he became perfectly tranquil in resignation to the will of God. Entering the house, he found the congregation large, and feeling relieved from all considerations of self, he stood up in the pulpit without perturbation, and in the enjoyment of unusual freedom began to address the congregation from the text, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?" In appearance he was tall and prepossessing, graceful in his manner, copious in diction, abundant and apposite in his quotations of Scripture; and the people soon became deeply interested as the young preacher dwelt with feeling and earnestness upon the important query to which he had directed their attention. So highly pleased were all with the discourse that he was invited to speak again in the evening, but declined doing so. The other preachers failing to carry out their arrangement for monthly preaching, this now devolved upon Mr. Coleman, who subsequently, with the aid of Mr. Mason, held a meeting of some days, baptizing a number and constituting a Baptist church of some

sixty members. Under his labors the church there continued to prosper, so that in two or three years its membership had increased to two hundred, and he was duly ordained its pastor in May, 1831, by Elders John Goss and Porter Cleaveland. As he had now become one of the most popular preachers in the Baptist ranks, he was kept constantly in the field, happy in being able to speak to his fellow-creatures on the great subject of salvation and to enjoy the society and fellowship of those who professed to love the Lord. Such was his zeal and ardor that, though delicate in health, he labored more abundantly than many who were vigorous, preaching not only at Charlottesville, but in Scottsville, Lynchburg, through the valley from Staunton to the Warm Springs, and over the Alleghany to Pocohontas. Previous to the meeting of the convention, he had been reading Mr. Campbell's writings, and it was with great pleasure that, upon visiting Richmond, he for the first time saw and heard him delivering in the First Baptist Church a discourse of three hours' duration upon the covenants, based upon Ex. xix. and xx., and Heb. viii. Greatly impressed with his masterly development of the subject and his accurate and profound knowledge of the Scriptures, he became more and more convinced of the need of the reformation in religious society for which the speaker so eloquently pleaded, and, with his usual candor, expressed his approval of it and endeavored to maintain its principles among his Baptist friends.

Mr. Campbell, on his way home from the convention, filled an appointment for preaching in Upper Essex meeting-house, where he had a very agreeable meeting with many of his acquaintances in this portion of the State. He enjoyed particularly the pleasure of an inter-

view with the venerable Bishop Semple, who came to hear him, and with whom he spent the evening in religious and social converse at the hospitable abode of Thomas M. Henley. After prayer and praise they reposed upon the same couch, and in the morning, after Mr. Campbell had baptized a young disciple from King William, they parted with the kindest wishes.

"What I admired most of all," said Mr. Campbell, in speaking of the incident, "was the good temper and Christian courtesy of this venerable disciple, who, though unable to rise above all his early associations and the long-received opinions which a long course of reading and teaching had riveted upon his mind, yet did not lose sight of the meekness and mildness, the candor and complaisance which the religion of Jesus teaches, and without which, though a man's head were as clear as an angel's intellect, his religion is vain." This interview was succeeded by a somewhat extended correspondence in the "Harbinger" with Bishop Semple, which, though kindly in spirit, did not produce agreement in opinion.

Reaching home on the first of February, having been absent since the twenty-second of September, Mr. Campbell found many letters awaiting reply. Among them was one from William Tener of Londonderry, in his answer to which, after referring to his attendance at the convention, he says, in relation to the motives which had influenced him in becoming a candidate for the convention:

"But you may ask, What business had I in such matters? I will tell you. I have no taste or longings for political matters or honors, but as this was one of the most grave and solemn of all political matters, and not like the ordinary affairs of legislation, and therefore not incompatible with the most perfect gravity and self-respect, I consented to be elected, and especially because I was desirous of laying a foundation for the abolition of slavery (in which, however, I was not

successful), and of gaining an influence in public estimation to give currency to my writings, and to put down some calumnies afar off that I was not in good standing in my own State."

The constitution adopted by the convention proved, as Mr. Campbell expected, quite unpalatable to the people of the west. When the vote was to be taken on its ratification in Brooke county he was present, and, by request of the citizens, gave a brief exposition of its main features, expressing the hope that the people would reject it on account of the anti-republican principles upon which it was based, and quoting the case of one of the counties, largely slaveholding, which would have gained representation by its adoption, but which had, nevertheless, by its delegates, "voted for *principle* and against *power*." This brief address produced a marked effect, and was much admired for its sententious brevity and point; and when the voting was over it was found that in Brooke alone, of all the counties in the State, the rejection was *unanimous*, three hundred and seventy votes being polled against, and not one in favor of it. In several other counties, however, there was a near approach to unanimity, as in Logan, where, out of two hundred and fifty-seven votes, there were but two for ratification, and in Ohio county, where, out of six hundred and forty-six, only three were found in its favor. It contained, indeed, in its unequal provisions, the seeds of its own destruction, and it was not many years until the eastern portion of the State found it expedient to agree to a new convention and to concede many of the reforms which had been urged by Mr. Campbell and the other western delegates.

During Mr. Campbell's temporary connection with these political affairs important religious movements

were in progress, seriously affecting the relations of the reforming churches to the Baptist community. His kind personal feelings for many of the Baptist preachers, and his strong desire to continue in religious connection with a people whom he greatly esteemed, had induced him to bear with many deficiencies in their system, in hopes of leading them forward to better views. It was now becoming evident, however, that the increasing bitterness of those who were opposed to the Reformation and the high-handed measures they were disposed to adopt, would soon result in division. Mr. Brantly, Abner W. Clopton, Spencer H. Clack and others were writing with great acrimony in the Baptist periodicals, and giving such misrepresentations of Mr. Campbell's views as were well fitted to awaken and intensify prejudice and opposition. In Kentucky, John Taylor, an aged Baptist preacher, was preparing to circulate what he called a "History of Campbellism," giving the most distorted views of the teaching and purposes of the proposed Reformation, well calculated to create the most bitter hostility in the minds of the uninformed. In various places, indeed, exclusions and divisions had already occurred with individual churches, and a growing spirit of alienation was making itself evident. In the spring of this year (1830) the Third Baptist Church at Philadelphia excluded a number, who immediately formed an independent church, adopting the ancient order of things. But it was in Kentucky, and in certain portions of Virginia, where the principles of the Reformation had been most widely diffused, that the greatest difficulties occurred. It is not to be supposed that in these the Reformers were always faultless. As Mr. Campbell had formerly said, "When any doctrine is professed and taught by many, when any matter gets

into many hands, some will misuse, abuse and pervert it." Thus some excited prejudice unnecessarily by declaiming against church covenants, creeds, etc., to the legitimate use of which Mr. Campbell never had objected. Uninformed persons, here and there, gave just offence by dogmatical and crude assertions, nor did a conceit of superior knowledge and an overbearing disposition fail to quench in some that spirit of Christian love and moderation so necessary to success in any attempt to correct the religious errors of mankind. It cannot be truthfully denied, however, that the Reformers in general were conspicuous for the forbearance and patience with which they endured the misrepresentations and injuries of their opponents, who, in their hasty zeal to save from the flames of progress whatever they supposed to belong to the Baptist cause, destroyed by their rashness, in various instances, those precious things which had been so long and so nobly cherished by the Baptists as a people—the rights of conscience, church independency and Christian liberality.

In the existing state of feeling a slight impulse only was needed in order to precipitate results. This came from an insignificant and unexpected quarter. It had happened that two or three fragments of churches on the Western Reserve, as at Youngstown and Palmyra and the church at Salem, which refused to go into the Reformation, had united themselves with a small Association on Beaver Creek. Here, by the aid of a Mr. Winter, and one or two other preachers who were violently opposed to Mr. Campbell, they induced the Association to publish a circular anathematizing the Mahoning Association and Mr. Campbell as "disbelieving and denying many of the doctrines of the Holy Scripture," of which alleged heresies they went on to

present a portentous list. This document was circulated with great diligence, republished in the Baptist papers with commendation, introduced by Dr. Noel into the minutes of the Franklin Association in Kentucky, and its preamble quoted as an introduction to decrees by the Appomattox Association in Virginia, denouncing Mr. Campbell's writings and all persons holding the views expressed in the Beaver publication. These proceedings at once brought matters to a crisis, and induced the Baptists almost everywhere to separate the Reformers from their communion. A spirit of discord and intolerance seemed to sweep over the land, creating everywhere embittered feelings and high-handed and arbitrary decisions on the part of churches and associations. Unable to allay the fury of the storm, Mr. Campbell contemplated its movements with composure, and however much he regretted the extremes into which the Baptists were hurried through the misrepresentations and exaggerations of a few bigoted partisans, he entertained no fears for the results, which he plainly foretold and calmly awaited. After characterizing the Beaver anathema as "a tissue of falsehoods," and exposing, by irrefragable documents, the immoral character of Mr. Winter, one of its chief prompters, he asks:

"Who is making divisions and schisms? Who is rending the peace of the churches? Who are creating factions, swellings and tumults? We who are willing to bear and forbear, or they who are anathematizing and attempting to excommunicate? Let the umpires decide the question. For my own part, I am morally certain they who oppose us are unable to meet us on the Bible; they are unable to meet us before the public; and this I say, not as respects their talents, acquirements or general abilities, but as respects their systems.

Thousands are convinced of this, and they might as well bark at the moon as to oppose us by bulls and anathemas. If there be a division, gentlemen, you will make it, not I; and the more you oppose us with the weight of your censure, like the palm tree we will grow the faster. I am for peace, for union, for harmony, for co-operation with all good men. But I fear you not; if you will fling firebrands, arrows and discords into the army of the faith, you will repent it, not we. You will lose influence, not we. We covet not persecution, but we disregard it. We fear nothing but error, and should you proceed to make divisions, you will find that they will reach much farther than you are aware, and that the time is past when an anathema from an association will produce any other effect than contempt from some and a smile from others."

These anticipations were fully realized. The rent extended much farther than its originators expected or desired. Many who had been apparently undecided declared for the Reformers, who were found to constitute the larger and the more intelligent portion of many churches, and who, having the sympathy and confidence of the people in general, and the aid of many eminent and influential preachers, were able, after their separation, to sustain and carry on to still greater advantage the reformation in which they were engaged.

Among the distinguished preachers who about this time came publicly forward in support of the Reformation was Jacob Creath, Sr., who had heretofore been somewhat cautious and tardy in defining his position. To his surprise, as he advanced, he met Jeremiah Vardeman coming back. "Hey," said he, "Jerry, what's the matter?" "Oh," replied Vardeman, "if this thing takes, we shall all starve. The Baptists are not too liberal as it is." The diminished contributions from the churches, growing chiefly out of their unsettled and dis-

cordant condition, and falsely attributed to the teachings of the Reformers, had been employed as a successful argument to retain in the Baptist ranks one who was a reformer in sentiment, and who had done much to promote the cause of the Reformation in Kentucky. And as is usual in such cases, he thought it necessary to signalize his renewed zeal for the Baptist cause by urging the most extreme measures, as at the meeting of the Elkhorn Association in August, where through his influence the churches at Versailles, Providence and South Elkhorn were excluded without examination or committees of inquiry, apparently with a view of cutting off a few obnoxious individuals, as the Creaths and Josephus Hewit, who publicly advocated the primitive faith and order. It was on this occasion that Jacob Creath, Sr., delivered a speech to the Association in defence of the rights of the churches, which by Thomas Campbell and other competent judges present was regarded as almost unequaled for eloquence and power. No arguments, however, were of any avail. The majority in the Association, forty-two out of seventy-one, had resolved upon its course, and, much to its discredit with the public, proceeded to cut off the above-named churches, without employing any of the usual restorative measures indicated in the Scriptures or sanctioned by Baptist usage. As to Jeremiah Vardeman, his public life in Kentucky closed with these unfortunate proceedings, which at once spread division throughout the churches of the State. Removing immediately to Missouri, where he died in the course of a few years, he seems not to have retained much of his former influence. His name was always mentioned, however, by Mr. Campbell with affectionate regard, and often with the remark, "I knew him well, and if I had been in

Kentucky at the time, Jeremiah Vardeman would never have been persuaded to abandon the cause of the Reformation." As to Jacob Creath, Sr., from this meeting of the Elkhorn Association in 1830 he devoted himself wholly to the establishment of the reformed views in Kentucky, in which he was eminently successful, converting many sinners and in some cases bringing over nearly whole Baptist churches, and by his prudence and mildness doing much to allay the asperity and embittered controversies which existed at this period. Released from the continued opposition and jealousy of prejudiced brethren, and the trammels of Baptist customs and Calvinistic theories, this faithful laborer rejoiced in the freedom and fullness of the simple gospel, and along with many other able preachers, as William Morton, John Smith, Jacob Creath, Jr., etc., soon organized a large number of reforming churches, many of which, especially in towns, adopted weekly communion, while in the country others still continued the Baptist custom of meeting monthly, when only they could have the services of a preacher.

It was during this year, and about a month before the meeting of the Elkhorn Association just referred to, that Mr. Campbell issued his famous "Extra on the Remission of Sins," in which he presented also the scriptural meaning of regeneration, shortly before discovered by Dr. Richardson, and presented by him to the readers of the "Harbinger" in some essays signed "Discipulus." Entering largely into the whole subject of conversion, Mr. Campbell showed that baptism did not, any more than natural birth, change the *nature* of the thing born, but its relations, and was simply the means of introducing the new being into *a new state.* Making some clear distinctions between state and cha-

racter, and between the principle of faith and the actions which it produces, he gave, in this remarkable production of sixty pages, written within two weeks, such a presentation of the nature of primitive Christianity, and of the simplicity, completeness, efficiency and excellency of the gospel, as had never been exhibited since apostolic times. A very large edition of it was printed, and being extensively distributed, its effect upon the community was very observable. The simplicity of the gospel and the design of baptism had been already variously presented and illustrated, both in Mr. Campbell's previous publications and in the discourses of the numerous able preachers who were now advocating primitive Christianity; but an exposition of the gospel plan of salvation, so connected, so clear and comprehensive, had never before been presented to the public.

About this time the lawfulness of associations became a question of interest with the Reformers. The conduct of the one at Redstone, and the recent anathema issued by that at Beaver, with similar proceedings attempted in Kentucky and Virginia, had exhibited in a prominent light the tendency of such bodies to the exercise of arbitrary power. Many began to fear that such abuses were inherent in the very nature of such organizations, and that they might, however prudently managed for a time, become unexpectedly engines of mischief. As there was no positive command for them, others among the disciples regarded their existence as incompatible with the principle they professed of adhering closely to Scripture precept and precedent. Hence, when the Mahoning Association met this year (1830) at Austintown, there was found to exist an almost universal conviction that some public expression on the subject was demanded by the interests of the cause. Mr. Camp-

bell, who was present, entertained no doubt that churches had a right to appoint messengers to a general meeting, to bear intelligence to it and bring home intelligence from it, or transact any special business committed to them. He thought such meetings might be made very useful to promote the general advancement of the cause and the unity and love of the brotherhood, and was in favor of continuing the Association, or something like it, which would, he thought, be needed. He censured, indeed, the inconsistent conduct of which associations had been guilty in attempting to impose their decisions upon churches, but felt no apprehensions on this score in regard to the Mahoning Association, where the churches were so fully enlightened and so completely on their guard against encroachments on their rights. A large majority was, however, found to be opposed to everything under the name or character of an association, and it was finally resolved, unanimously, that the Mahoning Association, as "an advisory council" or "an ecclesiastical tribunal" exercising any supervision or jurisdiction over particular congregations, should never meet again. It was then resolved into a simple annual meeting for worship, and to hear reports of the progress of the gospel, and such a meeting was accordingly appointed for August of the next year, at New Lisbon. This closing session of the Association at Austintown was a season of great enjoyment. During its continuance more than thirty persons were baptized. The news from the churches was of the most cheering character, upward of one thousand converts being reported during the year, although out of the ten preachers in the field, not one had been constantly engaged, nearly all being farmers and compelled to labor for their families The entire contributions for itinerant services during the

year had scarcely exceeded five hundred dollars, evincing the spirit of self-sacrifice which prevailed among the preachers and the efficiency of the simple gospel as the power of God for salvation, even when presented by men of the most ordinary literary attainments.

In the same month in which the Mahoning Association resolved itself into a simple annual meeting, the same course was adopted by the Stillwater Association, assembled at Cadiz. Two years before, at its meeting three miles from Morristown, charges had been brought by some of the preachers opposed to the reformatory movement, against Cyrus McNeely, because he had without ordination baptized an individual who presented himself at the Cadiz Church where he presided. Mr. Campbell and his father and James Phillips were all present in the Association when the case was brought up, and defended the course of the Cadiz Church as being not only scriptural, but according to regular Baptist precedent. Elijah Stone, Mr. Pritchard and other opposed preachers, formerly of Redstone, could make no effective reply, and finding themselves baffled, withdrew from the Association and formed another one, which, from its *littleness*, was appropriately called ZOAR. The Stillwater Association met the following year at Well's Creek, above Steubenville, and in 1830, having at Cadiz, as before stated, resolved itself into an annual meeting, has continued ever since to meet in this capacity regularly on the Friday before the third Lord's day in August. The system of annual meetings thus introduced was afterward generally adopted by the churches in various districts throughout the different States. These meetings have been occasions of happy reunions between preachers and members of different churches, and have been usually attended with large

ingatherings. In no case has any attempt been made to resume the powers exercised by Baptist associations. The assembled messengers, instead of sitting as a court of inquiry to ascertain the standing of churches as to orthodoxy, have occupied themselves much better in laboring to convert sinners to Christ and in exhorting one another to love and good works.

During the spring of 1830, Mr. Campbell paid a short visit to Cincinnati and contiguous parts of Kentucky, attending a very interesting meeting at Mayslick, and in the month of October he undertook a more extended tour through Ohio and Kentucky, to Nashville, Tennessee. Traveling in a gig, in company with Samuel Parmley, of New York, he passed through Zanesville, where he preached, and continued thence through other towns to Wilmington, Clinton county. The whole Baptist church here, with the exception of one member, had embraced the ancient gospel, and within the previous five months about two hundred persons had been added to the churches in that region under the labors of Aylett Raines, Arthur Crihfield and Samuel Rogers, whom Mr. Campbell much rejoiced to meet. Mr. Crihfield was a man of considerable ability, though superficial in his attainments. He seemed much devoted to the cause, and afterward edited for some years a periodical which he called "The Heretic Detector." In this, growing heady and opinionative, as is common with those who consider other people's faults to the neglect of their own, he lost for a time the confidence of the brotherhood. This, however, by an abandonment of his censorious and imprudent course, he subsequently in a good degree regained, for he was a sincere-hearted believer, and falling after some years into a decline, gave ample evidence, not only of his

confidence in the truth, but of his regret for the improper spirit in which he had essayed to defend it.

Samuel Rogers, for whom Mr. Campbell had a very high regard, had been laboring for some time in the cause of religious reformation. His history is instructive, and may be best given in his own brief but expressive words:

"I was born in old Virginia, November 6, 1789; moved to Kentucky in 1793; settled in Clarke county, Kentucky, until 1801. Moved then to Missouri, called Upper Louisiana, then under Spanish rule. My mother, a pious Methodist, sewed up her Bible in a feather bed to keep the priests from finding it. This was the only Bible I ever saw until I was grown. My father urged my mother to leave her Bible, as it might give her trouble in this new territory, but she said she must have it to read to her children, and she did read it to us much, and by her piety and counsels tried to impress its truths upon our minds and hearts. As I was the eldest child, this was all the preaching I heard until a grown man.

"After my mother had taught me to write my name and spell a little, I was sent to school three months. At the end of this time, I graduated with honor, having learned to read, write and cypher to the rule of three. This was about all our teachers knew themselves. My mother's readings, prayers and counsels gave me early a high regard for her religion. Though my proud heart often rebelled, yet a mother's voice would bring me back to sober reflection again. I heard a Methodist preach the first discourse I ever listened to: soon after, I heard a Baptist. I liked the free salvation of the Methodist, but disliked his baptism. I liked the baptism of the other, but disliked his Calvinism. I returned to Kentucky about nineteen years old, and found a great stir occasioned by the late strange revivals under B. W. Stone and others. Many abused Stone, while others praised him; I, however, went to hear him for myself, and was much pleased. He called on all to come to Christ, and invited all to lay aside

their creeds and take the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. I was pleased with his preaching: it sounded like the truth—like the religion I had read of. Whatever may have been said of the errors of Stone and those people, it was evident they were spiritually minded, and the most prayerful people of their times. I was baptized by Stone, 1812. The war came on, and the Church became greatly demoralized; and I among the rest was by no means exempt from its unhappy influences. However, after the war, through the preaching of Stone and others, we all got to work again, renewing our covenants with God, and a glorious revival followed. I became an exhorter by necessity. We held little meetings from house to house, and often had to send for a preacher to baptize our converts. The preachers told me I was called of God to preach. I had not thought of being a preacher, but being convinced by their arguments that I was divinely called, I was ordained by Stone at Caneridge fifty-two years ago. He then gave me a Bible, saying: 'Preach its facts, obey its commands and enjoy its promises.' I was greatly troubled about my call. I contended that if I was called, as were the apostles, I ought to have their credentials and be able to prove my apostleship. I attempted to draw from dreams and visions and vague impressions, some superhuman aid; often went on long tours upon a mere impression of the mind, taking it as a call. I thought I ought to perform miracles. My mind was often in a wretched state. About this time I got the 'Christian Baptist,' and found relief. I believe I should have gone crazy but for Alexander Campbell. I was not slow to embrace his view, but knew it to be truth the very moment I saw it, and at once and in haste adopted it. This was about 1825. I had traveled thousands of miles, preached all over the wilds of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri—swam rivers, exposed myself to every danger, saying, 'Wo is me if I preach not the gospel!' I was ardent, impulsive, enthusiastic, and my labors were greatly blessed. But a heavy gloom hung over me when I would think of my call and compare it with that of the apostles.

"Bless the Lord! Alexander Campbell came to my relief. His debate with Walker, and then his debate with McCalla, waked up the people, and to me it was like the rising up of the sun after a long gloomy night. I heard him at Wilmington, Ohio, on his first visit. I compared him to Ezra of old, that great reformer who restored to Israel the lost law of God. Stone had given me the book, but Campbell taught me how to read it in its connection. I took his first periodical, the 'Christian Baptist,' and since that time have taken and read everything he ever published. I owe him more than any man since apostolic times. He preached no new gospel and brought in no new God, but taught us to worship intelligently the God whom we had ignorantly worshiped, and to go back over the heads of all human teachers to the great Fountain of truth for our faith and practice.

"Alexander Campbell taught as no other man, but with a clearness and simplicity that carried at once conviction to the mind of every man of common sense. He gave me the New Testament he published, with preface and appendix. I have it yet. It is the best of all new translations; his preface and appendix are invaluable.

"I have sacrificed my whole life for this cause—received almost nothing for twenty-five years of the time. Baptized my thousands—I think seven thousand, as near as I could tell—but have a beautiful home ready for me on the other side of Jordan. I am in my eightieth year, preach yet much, my voice as good as ever; can speak in the open air so as to be heard by one thousand people. Amen."

While at Wilmington, Mr. Campbell was much pleased to find that the churches in that vicinity had adopted the ancient order of things, and were walking in the ordinances and commandments of Christ. Under the labors of Samuel Rogers, the church at Antioch was the first congregation in Clinton county that met for these purposes. Nothing ever gave Mr. Campbell greater happiness than to find those who had

made a profession of the gospel leading pious lives and carefully observing the means of grace. These were with him always matters of far more interest and importance than the making of converts.

Having delivered a discourse at Wilmington from Acts iii. 12–26, one young man came forward and was immersed for the remission of sins by Samuel Rogers. On the fifth of November he went on to Cincinnati, where, at this time, there was a congregation of nearly three hundred members, prospering under the labors of James Challen. Here he spoke twice on Lord's day, four persons coming forward for baptism. On Monday he spoke at Mill Creek, and in the evening of the same day at Covington, Kentucky, where the Baptists generally had embraced the Reformation. Samuel Parmley, here embarking on a steamboat to descend the Ohio, Ephraim A. Smith of Danville, Kentucky, noted for his humility, zeal and devotion, and a particular friend of Mr. Campbell, became his fellow-traveler. Preaching in Cynthiana, Kentucky, in Leesburg and in Georgetown, he went on to the Crossing's meeting-house, where he also had an appointment. Here he received a pressing invitation from Richard M. Johnson, whom he designates in his journal as "the author of the Sunday Mail Report,"* to speak at his house in the evening,

* Mr. Campbell here calls Colonel Johnson "the author of the Sunday Mail Report" by courtesy, since, as chairman of the committee, he was of course the reputed author. He was probably led the more to do this as he did not wish the authorship to be attributed to himself, as had been done. When his friends said to him, "People say you are the author of that Report," he would laughingly reply, "People say a great many things that are not true," and so pass the matter by.

While, from a variety of circumstances, it is difficult to think that Mr. Campbell was not particularly concerned in getting up this document, if not by furnishing the original sketch, at least by suggesting the course of argument or sending a copy of his discussions with Prest. Wylie and others upon

but having to meet appointments at Frankfort, he was compelled to decline. At Frankfort he was very kindly received at the house of Governor Metcalf, whose wife was a member of the church. After preaching in the academy and baptizing a lady who presented herself, he went on to the neighborhood of Versailles and spent the night at T. Bullock's, where J. Creath, Jr., was holding a meeting, and where he found Josephus Hewit and L. I. Fleming. The latter was a very devoted and pious Christian, for whom Mr. Campbell had a warm attachment, and with whom he had become acquainted on his first visit to Kentucky in 1823. He was a native of Woodford county, born near Midway, October 15, 1798. His mother was a pious woman, and from early boyhood he was noted for his devotional spirit. He united with the church in Georgetown under the ministry of B. W. Stone, from whom he received the chief part of his education. He soon began to aid at

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the chief questions involved, it is due to the truth of history to say that some claim the actual authorship for Rev. Obadiah Brown, a Baptist minister at whose house, in Washington, Colonel Johnson boarded. Mr. Brown, when a young man, had filled the office of chaplain to Congress, but, by degrees, became much engaged with politics and politicians, having considerable influence over General Jackson, and affording him valuable assistance in the difficulties of his stormy administration. He was regarded by those who knew him best as a man of very great ability, and is said to have been in the habit of aiding Colonel Johnson both by his advice and in the preparation of documents. It is stated by a highly respectable Baptist minister of Albemarle county, Virginia—W. P. Farish, who was at the time a partner of Mr. Brown in the stage and mail-carrying business that he charged Brown with being the author, and that, after some evasive replies, he understood him finally to admit the fact, expressing, however, the desire that Colonel Johnson should have the credit of it. From these facts, some of which have come to the knowledge of the writer since the publication of the first volume, and for which he is indebted to R. L. Coleman of Virginia, the reader can form his own conclusions as to the authorship of this famous Report, which, at least, embodied the views which Mr. Campbell was known to entertain on the subject.

meetings as a public speaker, but was especially distinguished by his habit of visiting from house to house in order to promote the interests of Christ's kingdom. He was so humble and unassuming, and so universally recognized as one of the most pious of men, that he was everywhere gladly welcomed. He had a peculiar faculty of making himself at home wherever he went, attending to his horse, cutting wood, making fires and aiding familiarly in everything in which he could be of service. Nor did he enter less readily into the religious matters of the household, being everywhere "a sweet odor of Christ," and availing himself of every opportunity to impart some spiritual benefit. Ever preferring others to himself, he literally "went about doing good," and, indifferent to his own comfort, seemed to live only for the promotion of piety and humanity.

Mr. Campbell, after preaching in Versailles, where he found J. Creath, Sr., and John Smith, went on toward Lexington, and lodged with B. A. Hicks, where he had an interesting conversation with Brethren B. W. Stone and F. R. Palmer upon religious reformation. Arriving in Lexington on Saturday, he stopped at the house of his friend Joseph Ficklin, and after dining with Dr. Woods, president of Transylvania University, repaired to Dr. Fishback's, where, in the presence of a large company, he spent about four hours very agreeably in answering questions proposed by the doctor concerning the Reformation.

Next day he addressed a very large audience in Lexington, from John iii., and as this discourse exhibits strikingly his power of tracing analogies, and his usual comprehensive range of thought, the notes of it are here given from his journal:

"After attempting to show *why* John, and none of the other

evangelists, narrated the interview with Nicodemus, we proceeded to speak of the kingdoms of nature, grace and glory, as usually defined. The constituents of a literal kingdom were first detailed. The propriety of the application of the term kingdom to nature, grace and glory was next vindicated. Then the analogies between these three kingdoms were traced in the prominent characteristics of a kingdom: 1. The creation of each by a word of God. 2. The design of each to produce beings correspondent with its constitution—*natural* beings—*gracious* beings—*glorious* beings. 3. The adaptation of the means employed to each of the ends proposed, *natural* life, *spiritual* life, *eternal* life. 4. The three *births*, or the modes of introduction into each kingdom. The *first* birth, natural; the *second* birth, gracious; the *third* birth, glorious. The first birth of and from the *flesh*, the second of and from the *water and the Spirit*, the third of and from *the grave*. 5. The three *salvations:* 1st, From *natural* dangers; God is thus the Saviour of all men in the kingdom of nature. 2d, The salvation of the *soul* from the guilt, pollution and the power of sin in the kingdom of grace. 3d, The salvation of the *body* from the grave, or the glorification of soul and body at the resurrection of the just and in the kingdom of glory. 6. The impossibility of being a citizen or subject of any one of these kingdoms, without being born into it. 7. An illustration of the whole subject, drawn from the use and meaning of the outer court, holy place and most holy, in the tabernacle. In the conclusion, we emphasized on the kingdom of heaven, or of grace; the import of being born of water and spirit, or the necessity of *regeneration* in order to admission into the kingdom of grace. These were items in the series of illustrations presented on this occasion. After the discourse, Squire Hickman, once a Deist, cured by our writings, presented himself for immersion."

In the evening of that day he addressed, by special invitation, the medical class of Transylvania University on the following questions: 1. Has God ever spoken to man? 2. In what language has he spoken? 3. If in

human language, how is it to be interpreted? 4. What has he said to us in his last message by his Son?

From Lexington, proceeding southward through Athens, Nicholasville, Harrodsburg and Danville—at which latter place eleven persons presented themselves for baptism after his discourse, he continued on his way through Columbia, Glasgow and Bowling Green to Nashville, preaching at various points, and accompanied now by J. Creath, Jr. On Friday, 10th December, he delivered an address at Nashville upon the characteristics of the apostasy and the mystery of iniquity, in contrast with primitive Christianity; and as most of the clergy of the city were present he gave out an appointment for the following evening, when he proposed to attend to any inquiries or objections which persons might have to offer. When the time arrived, after some inquiries had been noticed, which were proposed through J. Creath, in regard to faith and repentance, the pastor of the Presbyterian church in Nashville, Obadiah Jennings, rose and controverted Mr. Campbell's views of faith as merely "natural faith," advocating a faith produced by a "supernatural operation." This was the same Mr. Jennings who had been active many years before in Washington county, Pennsylvania, in those fining associations called moral societies, which had attempted to enforce by law Presbyterian views of the Sabbath, and which Mr. Campbell had so successfully resisted.

Mr. Jennings was a zealous Presbyterian, and doubtless conscientious and sincere in his efforts to sustain the theological opinions of his party. He had relinquished the successful practice of law at Steubenville for the ministerial office, to which he had zealously devoted himself, having been pastor of the Steubenville congre-

gation for six years, and then succeeding Rev. Matthew Brown in the congregation at Washington in the spring of 1823. In 1828 he removed to Nashville. He possessed respectable abilities, but was not a popular preacher, being wont to write his sermons and speak from notes, but this practice did not appear to be necessary to him, as he was much more effective and fluent when compelled to speak extemporaneously. To his first address Mr. Campbell replied, and Mr. Jennings then rejoined in a speech of considerable length, after which, alleging indisposition, he retired, and Mr. Campbell, after a few concluding remarks, dismissed the assembly.

Next day he delivered a discourse on Eph. iv., after which ten persons came forward and were immersed in the Cumberland river in presence of an immense crowd. At the close of his sermon in the evening, three others came forward, who were immersed next morning by J. Creath. On Monday evening, Mr. Campbell preached again, and then left the city to visit Franklin and Columbia, Tennessee, in company with P. S. Fall. Returning again to Nashville on the 21st, he delivered another lecture there on Friday evening, at which Mr. Jennings was present. Having learned that the latter designed to make further objections if opportunity were afforded, Mr. Campbell then gave another invitation to objectors and inquirers, appointing to hear them next day (Christmas) at ten o'clock.

When the hour had arrived, he proposed that in order to prevent any misappropriation of time, some one should preside over the meeting, and that only twenty minutes should be allowed at one time to each speaker. Dr. Felix Robinson having been requested to preside, Mr. Jennings soon rose, and after inveigh-

ing against the proposed "Reformation," attempted a defence of the sects against the censures of Mr. Campbell, charging Mr. Campbell himself with making divisions. Mr. Campbell in reply showed that the principles he advocated were anything but sectarian, since they required that everything for which there was clear scriptural authority should be received, and that all opinions should be held as private property. Mr. Jennings then attempted to sustain the doctrine of a special divine call to the ministry, and in the course of the day touched upon a great many other points, charging Mr. Campbell with fraternizing with Arians, criticising at considerable length the new version, etc., and finally proceeding to deliver strictures upon Mr. Campbell's views of the "New Birth."

Mr. Jennings had very adroitly availed himself of the privilege which Mr. Campbell, from his fearless confidence in the power of divine truth, had given to objectors. Having provided himself with abundant materials in the numerous misrepresentations which had been circulated against Mr. Campbell and his views, he flitted from one subject to another, dwelling upon each just long enough to infuse the venom of the sting of sectarian hostility, and carefully evading any direct collision. Declining to assume the affirmative of any proposition which he himself believed, he said that "he had attended with a view to discuss, not Presbyterianism or Calvinism, but Campbellism." He determined to avail himself, accordingly, to the utmost, of an advantage which, had it not been conceded by Mr. Campbell, would have been justly regarded as ungenerous, since there is nothing, however true or sacred, against which plausible objections may not be offered, and that, too, in a much shorter time than is required for their

refutation. After Mr. Campbell had indulged Mr. Jennings thus during the day in making these assaults, he at length proposed to remain another day at Nashville, provided Mr. Jennings would select some one topic and confine himself to its discussion. To this Mr. Jennings assented, and gave as the subject, "To be born again; what is it, and what the effects thereof?" still carefully avoiding to commit himself to any definite affirmation. When the time for discussion arrived, Mr. Campbell objected to this as merely a topic, and not a logical proposition, and after considerable delay, Mr. Jennings finally agreed to the following: "To say that to be born again and to be immersed is the same thing, is *false* and cannot be supported by the word of God." Although Mr. Campbell regarded this as an awkward proposition, he consented to discuss it, provided Mr. Jennings, to save time, would concede that the term regeneration in Tit. iii. 5 was equivalent to being born again, in his sense of the expression. By this time it was one o'clock, and the moderators, Messrs. Hayes, Foster and Payne, adjourned to three o'clock. Mr. Jennings then spoke first, descanting on the uncharitableness of Mr. Campbell's view that the terms immersion and regeneration were applicable to the same act. Mr. Campbell, in reply, appealed to the congregation against such attempts to arouse prejudice, and which had nothing to do with the proof of the proposition, and showed by the article on the "Decrees" from Mr. Jennings' Confession of Faith how ill it became him to talk about the charitableness of systems. Mr. Jennings, continuing in the same strain, was called to order by Mr. Payne, the presiding moderator, who was a Methodist.

With regard to the merits of this discussion upon regeneration, it is evident that it was mainly a debate

about the meaning of a term, and that Mr. Jennings, in conceding in the beginning that "regeneration" and "being born again" were equivalent expressions, virtually yielded the whole question. Mr. Campbell showed that, while in the *process* of regeneration a begetting by the word of truth (James i. 18; 1 Pet. i. 23–25) was necessarily involved, the person thus begotten and quickened by the Spirit could be justly and scripturally regarded as born again only in the act of immersion, through which he formally entered into a new state and assumed publicly the relation of a child of God. As, naturally, a child is born of its father only in being born of its mother, so, spiritually, baptism became to the believer the new birth—the "washing," "bath" or "laver" (λουτρον) of regeneration, after which alone he could be scripturally recognized as born of water and spirit, and legitimately in the kingdom of heaven. Hence, by the early Christian writers, baptism was itself termed regeneration. Mr. Campbell did not really regard baptism as the whole *process* of regeneration, as Mr. Jennings sought to make appear, but insisted as strongly as any one upon a previous impartation of spiritual life through faith as indispensably requisite. As this, on the otner hand, constituted in Mr. Jennings' view the whole of regeneration, and he desired to reduce baptism to a mere emblem of "spiritual operations," it was evidently neither his policy nor his aim to understand or to represent Mr. Campbell correctly. The spirit of captiousness and perversion in which he carried on the discussion is indeed fully exhibited in the pretended report of it which he prepared, and which was published after his death by his nephew, S. C. Jennings, who was also a bitter opponent. This work, abounding in gross personalities, full

of misrepresentations and injurious insinuations, and bristling on every page with the most vindictive hostility, served only to show the power of bigotry to present one so amiable and irreproachable in a moral and social point of view, as was Mr. Jennings, in a light so totally different as a religious partisan.

During Mr. Campbell's stay in Nashville, more than thirty persons became obedient to the faith, and the cause of the Reformation was greatly strengthened. Bidding an affecting adieu to his friends there, on the 28th of December he set out for home, accompanied by his daughter Eliza Ann, who had been spending some time with her sister in Tennessee, Mrs. Ewing. Passing through Kentucky as rapidly as the state of the roads and weather would permit, he addressed large audiences at his different appointments on the way to Maysville, and was much pleased with the general prospects of the cause, finding that the feelings of the great mass of the non-professing community were on the side of the Reformers on account of the injustice and illiberality which had characterized the proceedings of their opponents. On Wednesday, the 26th of January, he crossed the Ohio river through the floating ice, and passing through Ohio, arrived at home on the evening of the 3d of February. "Thus," adds he in his journal, "under the kind and indulgent care of our heavenly Father, we finished a tour of fourteen hundred miles by land in one hundred days, without a single accident worthy of a name. . . . We found the same kind care and merciful providence had been extended over our family which had accompanied us by day and night, through all the dangers and toils of a winter journey through a great variety of country and circumstances."

CHAPTER X.

Mormonism—Its exposure—Co-operation—Evangelists—Infidelity—Work of the Holy Spirit—Divisions—Meeting-houses—Worship—Slavery.

TOWARD the close of this year (1830) the delusion of Mormonism began its course in Northern Ohio. Chief amongst its promoters appeared Sydney Rigdon, who was believed, upon good evidence, to have been also its originator. Captivating as a public speaker by his fluency and his exuberant fancy, he had depended upon these superficial endowments for popularity and success. In private he had been found petulant, unreliable and ungovernable in his passions, and his wayward temper, his extravagant stories and his habit of self-assertion had prevented him from attaining influence as a religious teacher among the disciples. He was ambitious of distinction, without the energy and industry necessary to secure it, and jealous of the reputation of others, without the ability to compete with them. Floating upon the tide of popular excitement, he was disposed to catch at anything which, without demanding labor, might serve for his advancement, and was naturally led to seek in deception the success which he found denied to indolence.

It appears that, while living in Pittsburg, he was connected with one of the printing-offices, and obtained access to the manuscript of a romance written by a former Presbyterian preacher—a Solomon Spaulding—

who, adopting the style of the Bible history, had, for his amusement, given a fanciful account of the nations inhabiting Canaan before the time of Joshua, and described, with great minuteness, their modes of life, wars, migrations, etc. He attributed also in it the settling of North America to the ten lost tribes, and, giving to his work the title of "Lost Manuscript Found," was wont to read portions of it frequently to his friends. Having copied or obtained possession of this manuscript, Rigdon seems to have secretly occupied himself during several years in altering and arranging it to suit his purposes; and discovering, at Palmyra, New York, as early as 1827, a suitable coadjutor in the person of Joseph Smith, a pretended fortune-teller and discoverer of hidden treasure, noted for his idleness and love of everything marvelous and mysterious, he arranged with him the plan of future operations. Accordingly, in 1830, it was duly announced that Smith had by an express revelation disinterred certain golden plates, on which were inscribed, in the "reformed Egyptian character," important divine communications, giving an account of the ten lost tribes, the origin of the North American Indians and revelations designed to usher in "the latter days." These plates Smith professed to have the power to decipher and translate by means of translucent pebbles which had been provided for the purpose, and by the aid of polygraphic angels; and a book in manuscript was speedily produced, called the "Book of Mormon," an edition of which was at once printed at the expense of a Martin Harris, who was so credulous as to believe in Smith's pretensions, and who alone, of those concerned, was able to defray the expense of publication.

Meanwhile, Rigdon had been for some time diligently engaged in endeavoring, by obscure hints and glowing

millennial theories, to excite the imaginations of his hearers, and in seeking by fanciful interpretations of Scripture to prepare the minds of the churches of Northern Ohio for something extraordinary in the near future. He sought especially in private to convince certain influential persons that, along with the primitive gospel, supernatural gifts and miracles ought to be restored, and that, as at the beginning, all things should be held in common. From his want of personal influence, however, he failed in disseminating his views, except to a very limited extent. In Mentor, where he resided, he was quite unsuccessful, but was more fortunate in Kirtland, the adjoining town, where a flourishing church became much disturbed and unsettled by his plausible theories and brilliant declamations.

Immediately upon the publication of the "Book of Mormon," Smith organized his dupes and abettors at Palmyra into the "Church of Latter-Day Saints," and sent forth his "apostles" to convert the people. Two of these, Cowdery and Pratt, soon made their appearance in Mentor, and were received as old acquaintances by Rigdon, who at once publicly endorsed their claims, and, with several others, was immersed into the new faith, which he immediately endeavored to propagate at Palmyra. The people there, however, knowing too well the character of Smith to believe that he could be charged with a heavenly message, treated the whole affair with contempt and ridicule. It became necessary, therefore, to change the basis of operations to some region where Smith was unknown, and the point selected was Kirtland, where the minds of the people had already become to some extent prepared by Rigdon, and where about one-half of the members of the church were soon led away into the delusion and filled with the

wildest fanaticism. Mormon "elders" and "apostles" were speedily sent forth, who traversed Northern Ohio and gained many proselytes among the ignorant and superstitious, and some even among persons of intelligence, who had been filled with vague expectations of a speedy millennium.

It is unnecessary to relate particularly the progress of this gross delusion or the history of its leaders, who, after erecting a temple and establishing a bank at Kirtland, found it necessary to emigrate to Independence, Missouri, from whence, largely increased in numbers, they were soon driven to Illinois, where they erected another temple and built the city of Nauvoo. Nor is it necessary to detail their introduction of polygamy, their establishment of a grand and successful system of missions throughout the world, their fortunes in Illinois, where open war with the citizens was prevented only by the voluntary surrender of Smith and others to the civil authorities at the instance of the governor; or the subsequent death of Smith at the hands of a mob in the prison to which he had been committed for safe-keeping. Suffice it to say, that upon his death Rigdon and Brigham Young disputed the right to the succession, and Young prevailing, Rigdon was expelled from the community and retired into the interior of New York, where he has since lived in obscurity. Meanwhile, under the guidance of their new and far more competent leader, the Mormons sought an almost inaccessible region amidst the mountains of Utah, beyond the boundaries of civilization, where, by incredible industry and the marvelous power of communism in promoting material interests, they have created, as if by magic, in the midst of an arid waste sown with salt, a magnificent city, through whose streets streams of pure water

conveyed from the mountains impart freshness and verdure to rows of beautiful shade-trees, and irrigate extensive orchards and fruitful gardens, and where on every side are seen commodious residences and vast public edifices reared by the hands of skillful artisans decoyed from the Old World by the wiles of no less skillful emissaries. Here is presented the strange spectacle of a social, political and religious absolutism in the midst of a free republic, and of an open, legalized licentiousness in the bosom of a Christian nation, which, extending itself around this corrupt community, gradually encircles it as a rapidly-growing tree encloses with its young wood a cureless canker in its heart.

From the first moment of its appearance, Mr. Campbell endeavored to stay the progress of this imposture and to expose the villainy of those concerned in it. Having obtained a copy of the "Book of Mormon," he published both in the Harbinger and in a separate tract of twelve pages a brief analysis of its contents and character, laying bare its flagrant falsehoods and its contemptible absurdities. The timely appearance of this tract, the active opposition of the intelligent preachers on the Reserve, and a visit which Mr. Campbell paid in June to Northern Ohio, where he spent twenty-two days, delivered eighteen discourses and baptized twenty-seven persons, greatly contributed to expose this shameless imposition soon after its first appearance, and to put a stop to its progress in the reforming churches, among which, indeed, with the exception of the one at Kirtland, it was far less successful than with the Methodists and other popular denominations, with whose views of special spiritual operations and communications it possessed a greater affinity.

The schismatic and partisan spirit which in Kentucky

and elsewhere had induced the Baptists to exclude the Reformers from their communion, was still steadily extending itself through the denomination. In Eastern Virginia, a conference of eight churches belonging to the Dover Association had been called in December, 1830, at which a report of a committee of nine was adopted, setting forth the alleged errors of "Campbellism," and recommending a declaration of non-fellowship with all who should persist in them. As both R. B. Semple and A. Broaddus were on the committee, it is to be presumed that this report presents as clear and intelligible a statement of the supposed differences between Mr. Campbell's views and those of the Baptists as could be given, and it is interesting as showing how strangely party-spirit can blind the eyes and warp the judgment of good men, and lead them to misconceive and misrepresent the plainest matters. "In *principles*," the report says, "the errors alluded to may be classed under four heads—viz., the denial of the influence of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of man—the substitution of reformation for repentance—the substitution of baptism for conversion, regeneration or the new birth—and the *Pelagian* doctrine of the sufficiency of man's natural powers to effect his own salvation."

"This," said Mr. Campbell, in his notice of the report, "is the *bill of indictment*, to every item of which we plead *not guilty*. . . . The four obnoxious 'principles,'" he afterward remarks, "are reducible to two. The whole matter in brief is the denial of their mystic influences of the Holy Spirit and immersion for the remission of sins. . . . That God has '*his own time*' for converting every person is a favorite point with many. . . . And because we differ from them in this *one opinion*, they have, if we do not repent of it, assigned us our portion with infidels and hypocrites. I say *one opinion*, for none of the other charges will at all, in

any conceivable latitude of interpretation, apply to us. We do not substitute reformation for repentance, except they mean *the term* and not the *thing*. But we prefer the term 'reformation' to their distinction between 'legal and evangelical repentance.' Neither do we substitute baptism for conversion. And as for the Pelagian notion of 'man's natural powers to effect his own salvation,' it is a chimera of their own heads. We never said nor thought such a thing."

As Mr. Campbell had the highest respect for Messrs. Semple and Broaddus, and could make all due allowance for their prejudices, he did not entertain or express the least unkindness on account of their misrepresenting him as above and thus holding him up to public odium. On the contrary, he said:

"I sympathize with you, believing you to be the most honorable of my opponents, and to be conscientious as far as any men can be who appeal to proscriptive decrees. I know you appear to fear that vital religion is endangered by our representations of the ancient gospel. We know that the reverse is the fact. Our greatest objection to your philosophy is, that it substitutes an imaginary work of grace upon the heart for that love and peace and joy and purity which a clear perception of, and an unfeigned submission to, the ancient gospel can alone produce and maintain.

"We plead for faith, repentance, reformation, a new heart and universal obedience; and ascribe to grace and the blood of Jesus, to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, everything which the Scriptures teach, in their own words and sentences, in the fullest import and meaning of them, but each in its proper place."

When the report above referred to was submitted to the church at Bruington, to which Bishop Semple ministered, Dr. Duval, in the presence of an unusually large assembly convened upon the occasion, exhibited so forcibly and eloquently the injustice done by it to

Mr. Campbell and his friends, that although Messrs. Todd, Semple, Broaddus and others used all their talents and authority to induce the church to receive it and enter its "resolutions" upon their church book, they were unable to prevail. Bishop Semple then insisted that those who would not vote with him should take letters of dismission and join some other church. This the majority declined to do. He then proposed a postponement, and finally a modification of the resolutions, but the meeting closed without any final action. Next day Bishop Semple and A. Broaddus preached, after which Reformers and anti-Reformers broke the loaf together, when the good old bishop's heart relented; he shed many tears and they had quite "a fine time." Such were the conflicts engendered in the hearts of many between the expansive Christian love which the gospel itself inspired and the narrow aims and policies of the spirit of sectarianism—the former prompting to union with all who trusted in Christ, the latter inducing those possessed by it to recoil from every one who questioned the authority of those human opinions and theories which were the boast and the reliance of orthodoxy.

While these matters were in progress, Mr. Campbell was discussing in the "Harbinger" various subjects of interest having an immediate relation to the existing state of affairs. Among these the co-operation of churches in sustaining preachers of the gospel occupied much attention. As the few overtasked preachers already engaged were poorly supported and wholly unable to supply the demands of the cause, Mr. Campbell strongly urged that the churches should be arranged in districts, as he endeavored to show was the case in primitive times, in order that, by mutual aid, they might sustain a sufficient number of evangelists in the field. It

was some time, however, before such arrangements could be properly carried out, as but few preachers could be obtained who were able to devote themselves wholly to the work, and vague notions of the "freeness" of the gospel, as well as a misapplication of his remarks on "hirelings" in the "Christian Baptist," and of his example in preaching without charge, still repressed the exercise of the liberality needed to sustain an effective ministry. The subject being brought to the attention of the annual meeting at New Lisbon, in August, 1831, a plan of co-operation by counties was devised and suggested to the churches, care being taken to distinguish it as a matter of mere expediency, "to be adopted, continued or discontinued, as experience might dictate." Mr. Campbell, indeed, in his recommendations to the churches, never presumed in the slightest degree upon his personal influence or authority. He was well aware of the existence among the churches of a spirit of independency and a jealous regard for their liberties, which his own writings had created, and which would not brook even the appearance of dictation; and while he sought on various occasions to guard against an extreme in this direction, he rejoiced to see the churches so much on their guard against that oppressive religious thraldom from which they had been released, and which he never betrayed the slightest desire to re-establish.

In the absence of specific directions in Scripture respecting the appointment and regulation of evangelists or preachers of the gospel, Mr. Campbell regarded these matters as left to the dictates of human prudence. Recognizing the Church as the authorized tribunal in such cases, he thought no one justified in assuming the office of a public laborer without the sanction of a congregation, and esteemed it proper, where several

churches existed in the district, that these should, as far as practicable, participate in the selection, recommendation and ordination of preachers whose field of labor necessarily included many churches, and whose conduct and standing might seriously affect the interests of the cause at large. Each evangelist, also, was required to have his membership in some particular congregation, to which he was amenable for the faithful performance of his duties, official or unofficial.

During this period Mr. Campbell continued his able defences of the gospel against the cavils of infidelity, in a series of letters to Humphrey Marshall, a bold and self-sufficient infidel of Kentucky, who had published some animadversions on the debate with Owen, and whose imaginary "Bible Contradictions" Mr. Campbell disposed of with great skill and point. He also defended with great power the divine mission of Jesus of Nazareth against the objections of L. H. Cohen, a rabbi of the synagogue in Richmond, Virginia.*

* This Mr. Cohen was a man of considerable ability, very zealous for the Jews' religion, and supposed to be a descendant of Aaron, his father having acted as high-priest and being succeeded in this office by his son. In youth he had conceived a sudden and violent passion for the granddaughter of Sir Charles Burdette, of London, an orphan, whom he met accidentally in Philadelphia. Her father, Malcolm Campbell, a Scotchman, had been a member of the Presbyterian Church, while her mother was an Episcopalian. Mr. Cohen's father, hearing of the engagement, was much distressed, and exacted from his son, in presence of the elders, a binding oath that he would marry none but a Jewess. Perceiving the difficulties which surrounded her affianced husband, Miss Campbell was induced to become a proselyte to Judaism, but after her marriage experienced great depression of mind in consequence, and finally returned to the Christian profession, on account of which her husband separated from her. She was a lady of literary tastes, and published a number of fugitive pieces of poetry in a little volume, which furnished also a touching history of her life and trials, and of the religious transports and death of her son, Henry Luria, who, as well as several others of her children, embraced the faith of Christ. Her sad narrative affords a striking illustration of the unhappy effects resulting from religious disagreements, especially

As the work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of man continued to be one of the chief matters of controversy with the Baptists, he, about this time, wrote his "Dialogue on the Holy Spirit," in which he proposed to develop the subject with special reference to the systems of the sects. In this he was led to employ abstractions and philosophical distinctions in relation to

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in the marriage relation. Among other matters, the volume contains two letters, addressed to her by Mr. Campbell, from one of which the following is an extract:

"MY DEAR MRS. COHEN: Your letters to Mrs. Campbell and myself were duly received. I am glad to learn that you are about to publish a narrative of your son's conversion from Judaism to Christianity. It will be no doubt a very interesting work. It will afford me pleasure to notice and commend it in the 'Harbinger.' I have heard my wife often speak with much pleasure of her having met you on the Ohio river and forming a very agreeable and interesting acquaintance with you, such as I once enjoyed in forming the acquaintance of your husband in Richmond. . . .

"Unfortunately, sects and schisms, and consequently controversies, strifes and alienations, have, more or less, through all Christendom, paralyzed the Church of Jesus Christ and greatly prevented the spread and power of the gospel of the great Messiah. As did the Jews, so do the Gentiles, more or less, render ineffectual the word and teachings of the Holy Spirit by their traditions. Christ's gospel is no theory, no philosophy, no mere dogmata, no opinionisms. It is a glorious and yet a simple development of the most significant, splendid and grace-abounding facts, precepts and promises that ever were or ever can be submitted to the human understanding, the conscience and the affections of men. Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles, as did Peter, the great apostle to the Jews, on the first Pentecost after Christ's ascension and glorification as Lord of all, Jew, Gentile and Samaritan, presented the facts of Christ's death as the only *sin-offering;* together with his burial, resurrection, ascension and coronation as Lord of the universe, as the foundation *alone sufficient and all-sufficient* for the salvation of Jew and Greek and Samaritan; and whosoever desires pardon, peace and eternal life may indeed enjoy all the blessings which the largest heart and the most ardent soul in the world can enjoy or entertain. But upon these glorious facts and realities I need not enlarge. You doubtless appreciate them. It is a personal, living faith in a Divine Redeemer; and it is this alone which can meet the essential wants and cravings of enlightened reason. Mrs. Campbell unites with me in kindest regards to you. In all benevolence,

"Yours most respectfully,

"ALEXANDER CAMPBELL."

"moral and physical power," etc., with a view, as he said, to make himself understood, but which only opened the way to new misunderstandings. As these distinctions were unknown to Scripture, and some of the conclusions built upon them seemed peculiarly liable to misconception, Thomas Campbell quite disapproved of the Dialogue as a full and just presentation of the subject, and it was from respect to his judgment that Mr. Campbell subsequently omitted it from a volume labeled "Christianity Restored," in the first edition of which it had been inserted, along with some of the Extras of the "Harbinger." In this Dialogue he had, indeed, applied his reasonings specially to the case of conversion, and had clearly stated in it that while the Holy Spirit operated upon sinners by the demonstrations and evidences of the gospel, he took up his abode in the saints. "The Spirit of God," said he, "the author of these proofs, by them opens men's minds to hear, to obey the gospel. Those who obey the gospel are in that gospel declared to be sons of God, and as such receive the Holy Spirit, promised through faith." The principles from which he reasoned had, however, a much more extensive application than to the case of conversion, and, like all human philosophy in religious matters, were calculated to create difficulties rather than to remove them. Hence, while his opponents raised a clamor against him as denying "the operations of the Holy Spirit," some of those who were professed advocates of the Reformation were led to construct a word-alone theory which virtually dispensed with the great promise of the gospel—the gift of the Holy Spirit to believers. These persons were found chiefly among those who had been previously skeptical, and who were habitually disposed to rely upon reason rather than to walk by faith; and their

crude and erroneous doctrines were well calculated to bring a reproach upon the Reformation. They were disposed to resolve religion entirely into a system of moral motivity; to disbelieve the actual indwelling of the Holy Spirit in believers; to deny special providences and guidings, and, by consequence, the efficacy of prayer. Taking Locke's philosophy as the basis of their system, and carrying his "Essay on the Human Understanding" along with the Bible in their saddle-bags, they denied even to its Creator any access to the human soul except by "words and arguments," while they conceded to the Author of evil a direct approach, and had more to say in their discourses about "the laws of human nature" than about the gospel of Christ.

It was to check the effects of such speculations, wholly inconsistent with the reformatory principles, but well suited to a superficial and unspiritual religionism, that Walter Scott at this period wrote and published his "Discourse on the Holy Spirit." In this he endeavored to show that "Christianity as developed in the Sacred Oracles is sustained by *three* divine missions —the mission of the *Lord Jesus*, the mission of the *apostles* and the mission of the *Holy Spirit*;" and furthermore that as the personal mission of Christ was to the *Jews*, and that of the apostles to the *world*, that of the Holy Spirit was to the *Church*. Dwelling upon these points, he showed that in each case, as propriety required, the mission terminated upon its proper object; Christ confining his ministry to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," the apostles going out into the world to disciple the nations, and the Holy Spirit, sent on the day of Pentecost, remaining in the Church or body of Christ, dwelling in all its members, and acting through them in comforting the saints and convincing the world

of sin, righteousness and judgment. Exposing the incorrectness of the popular notion that the Spirit was sent to the *world*, as being in direct contravention of Christ's declaration that the world *could not receive him*, he insisted upon the absolute need of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in every *believer* in order to real and permanent union with Christ, and to the production of those fruits through which Christ was glorified among men. Finally, he showed that while the personal mission of Christ to the Jews and that of the apostles to the world were *limited* in duration, the mission of the Holy Spirit to the Church was *permanent* in its nature, since the Comforter was to abide with it for ever. "There is no member of the body of Christ," said he, "in whom the Holy Spirit dwelleth not; for it will hold as good at the end of the world and in eternity as it does now, and it holds as good now as it did on the day of Pentecost and afterward—that 'if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.'"

This discourse, being widely circulated in pamphlet form, had a powerful effect in imparting clearness and definiteness to the views of the Reformers upon this important subject. It was the first time it had been publicly brought forward in so particular a manner, and the clear scriptural evidence presented in the discourse was generally received as decisive of the questions involved. This result was much aided by Mr. Campbell's warm commendation of the sentiments which it contained.

"Brother Walter Scott," said he—"who in the fall of 1827, arranged the several items of faith, repentance, baptism, remission of sins, the Holy Spirit and eternal life, restored them in this order to the Church under the title of Ancient Gospel, and successfully preached it for the conversion of the

world—has written a discourse on the fifth point (viz., the Holy Spirit), which presents the subject in such an attitude as cannot fail to make all who read it understand the views entertained by us, and, as we think, taught by the apostles in their writings. We can recommend to all the disciples this discourse as most worthy of a place in their families, because it perspicuously, forcibly and with a brevity favorable to an easy apprehension of its meaning, presents the subject to the mind of the reader. Our opponents, too, who are continually misrepresenting, and many of them no doubt misconceiving, our views on this subject, if they would be advised by us, we would request to furnish themselves with a copy, that they may be better informed on this topic, and, if they should still be conscientiously opposed, that they may oppose what we teach, and not a phantom of their own creation."

It was because Mr. Campbell opposed the popular notions of special illuminations and mystic influences of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, that he became obnoxious to the charge of undervaluing the exercises of the heart. In a very courteous review, published this year, of the Extra on remission, Andrew Broaddus remarked:

"The great error which lies at the bottom of Mr. Campbell's theory, of the actual forgiveness of sins in baptism, appears to consist *in an undervaluing of the exercises of the heart, and attaching to external conduct or action the importance which really belongs to those exercises.*"

"I doubt not," said Mr. Campbell, in reply, "that Mr. Broaddus thinks this is all correct, and yet a more unjust representation of my views was never penned. I cannot blame Mr. Broaddus for censuring in strong terms a view of Christianity against which such a charge could fairly lie. I would join with him and denounce such a representation of Christianity as leaves the heart of man not only out of view, but in the background. How often have we said that the greatest objection we have against the whole system we

oppose is because of its impotency on the heart? But Mr. Broaddus thinks that his system is the only one which takes the heart of man into good keeping, and consequently he that dissents from him leaves the heart out of view."

"Once for all," said he again, "let it be distinctly noted that we appreciate nothing in religion which tends not directly and immediately, proximately and remotely, to the purification and perfection of the heart. Paul acts the philosopher fully once, and if we recollect but once, in all his writings upon this subject. It is in his first Epistle to Timothy: 'Now the end of the commandment, or gospel, is love out of a pure heart and of a good conscience and of faith unfeigned.' . . . We proceed upon these as our axiomata in all our writings, reasonings, preachings: first, unfeigned faith; second, a good conscience; third, a pure heart; fourth, love. The testimony of God apprehended, produces unfeigned or genuine faith; faith obeyed, produces a good conscience. This Peter defines to be the use of baptism, the answer of a good conscience. This produces a pure heart, and then the consummation is love—love to God and man."

Mr. Campbell believed that as in nature the position of the earth in reference to the sun is changed in order to the production of summer fruits, so in religion the *internal* state of the sinner in reference to God is changed through the faith and obedience of the gospel, so that the heavenly influences might produce their proper effects. "Jesus," said he, "gives us the philosophy of his scheme in an address to a sinner of that time: 'Your sins,' says he, 'are forgiven you; go, and sin no more.' He first changes the sinner's state, not 'external but internal,' and then says, '*Go, and sin no more.*' He frankly forgave the debt. The sinner loved him."

These remarks were elicited chiefly by the course pursued by Mr. Broaddus in his review. This was

largely composed of disquisitions upon "real" and "relative" change, upon "state," "quality," etc., and was permeated throughout by that entire misconception of Mr. Campbell's teaching already adverted to, as neglecting the heart and having nothing in view but external and formal changes. Mr. Campbell showed in his reply that no changes are more real than such as are relative, and that the term "state" was as applicable to *internal* as to *external* conditions, to the latter of which Mr. Broaddus erroneously supposed Mr. Campbell to confine it. In his overweening estimate of religious "experiences," and his effort to represent Mr. Campbell as advocating a mere outward work or *opus operatum* in religion, Mr. Broaddus was led to speak of baptism as "an *external or bodily* act," and to controvert the view taken by Mr. Campbell that through it the "state" of the sinner was changed. In reply, Mr. C. expresses his surprise that the Baptists should have so long contended with Pædobaptists and broken fellowship with them about a matter which in their view was of so little importance. Entering then into the heart of the subject, he thus ably exposes the shallowness of the philosophy opposed to him:

"1. There are no acts of worship or of religion ordained by Jesus Christ that are at all to be regarded as *outward* or *external bodily acts*. 'God is a Spirit, and they who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.' *Vocal* prayer and praise, though they are exercises of the larynx, the tongue and the lips; the bending of the knee, or the standing erect or falling upon the ground; the eating of bread, the drinking of wine, or any other exertion of one or more or all of our organs, mental or corporeal, are not to be regarded as acts of religion except they are exercises of the understanding and the heart; and no man of any sense pleads for these, as bodily acts, as of any importance whatever.

"2. But the spirit of man cannot think at all without the body; it cannot think if the brain be not exercised; it cannot speak unless the tongue be moved; it cannot feel but by the nerves; it cannot move but by the organs of the body. How unreasonable, then, to separate or to regard human action in reference to the particular organ which operates! Immersion is as *spiritual* an act when proceeding from faith in God's promise as any act in which a person is either active or passive. FAITH IS AS MUCH A BODILY ACT AS IMMERSION. No man without the exercise of his senses can believe anything. 'Faith comes by *hearing*,' says a master in Israel."

Thus ever, upon his stronger pinions, Mr. Campbell rose above the highest altitude of his ablest opponents, and from his loftier point of observation was enabled to take wider and better views of truth and duty. His confutation of Mr. Broaddus' "Extra Examined" was throughout triumphant, and became the means of convincing many of the truth of the positions he advocated.

In October of the year 1831 his family was increased by the birth of a son, who was named Alexander. His domestic happiness continued uninterrupted, and at no period were his public labors more incessant. During the year he had been about half the time from home, laboring in word and doctrine, and had immersed about two hundred persons. Everywhere the principles he taught were undergoing the most active scrutiny, and gaining the confidence and the support of unsectarian and intelligent minds. His various publications were constantly gaining a wider circulation, and his incessant activity was still adding to their number. A pocket edition of the New Version of the Testament was about this time projected. Being subjected to a careful revision, in which he received important aid from F. W. Emmons, who had then taken up his abode in Wells-

burg, it was subsequently stereotyped and published in a small and portable form.

The intolerance with which, in many cases, the Reformers were treated by the Baptists served to illustrate more fully the tendencies and spirit of the sectarianism which Mr. Campbell sought to overthrow, and tended to justify more fully his efforts in the estimation of the people. It was impossible to explain satisfactorily, on Christian principles, the necessity of division where there were so many points of agreement, and the unprejudiced were unable to recognize as just reasons those distinctions which appeared so vast as seen through the magnifying glass of sectarian bigotry, but so minute and trivial in the eyes of Christian love. Mr. Campbell, however, by no means attached the blame to the Baptists as a people, but attributed the whole difficulty to a few individuals, who were bent on maintaining the supremacy of their own favorite theories, rather than the freedom and the clemency which the Baptists were wont to cherish.

These ancient characteristics, however, were at times still exhibited among them, even by Mr. Campbell's opponents, as may be seen in the following instance:

Toward the close of this year (1831), Thomas Campbell had set out upon a visit to the churches in Eastern Virginia. Upon arriving at Fredericksburg on a Friday, he was invited by Elder G. F. Adams, the pastor of the Baptist church there, to preach on the following Lord's day. Bishop R. B. Semple, coming into town on Saturday, was introduced to him, and next morning had another interview with him and accompanied him to meeting. Here the bishop listened to his discourse, and at its close added a few remarks. In the afternoon also he gave a short exhortation when the Lord's

Supper was administered, and afterward returned home, bestowing his parting benediction on Thomas Campbell, who was to preach again at night. In the kind and courteous recognition thus granted by Bishop Semple to Thomas Campbell it is not to be supposed that he intended to compromise in any degree his cherished religious sentiments, or to sanction what he still honestly thought to be defects in Mr. Campbell's teaching. After so much religious disputation, however, it was, under the circumstances, a very pleasing incident, showing that the supposed differences were not such, after all, in the estimation of Bishop Semple, as to preclude fraternal communion. Providence, too, seemed to give to this incident a peculiar significance, for in a few days Bishop Semple was seized with pleurisy, which terminated, on Christmas day, 1831, his long and useful life; and it hence so happened that the *last discourse* he ever heard was from the lips of the godly man to whom the Reformation owed its origin, and that it was likewise with Thomas Campbell he enjoyed his *last communion* upon earth—an antepast, it is to be hoped, of that higher *Eucharistic* feast where the pious, redeemed from all their prejudices and errors, shall sit down together with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God.

The jealousies and misconceptions created by Mr. Campbell's opponents among the Baptists continued nevertheless to produce their natural effects, and soon after Thomas Campbell's arrival at Richmond the pastor of the Baptist church there, and those with him, requested all favorable to the Reformation to withdraw and become a separate people. To this sixty-eight members finally assented and formed a distinct church, which met first in the Capitol on the fourth of March,

1832, on which occasion Thomas Campbell preached to a large assemblage with great acceptance. He continued for some time successfully his labors in Richmond, where he was at length confined by a serious and protracted illness, during which he received the kindest attentions from his friends and the medical visits of the eminent Dr. Cullen, who conceived a warm attachment for his patient, and would receive nothing for his valuable services. Separations between the Baptists and the Reformers occurred in various other portions of the State, and these were still farther extended by the action of the Dover Association in the fall, excluding six of the most prominent Reform preachers in their body, and recommending the churches to separate all "Reformers" from their communion. The preamble and resolutions adopted on this occasion, couched in terms to which Andrew Broaddus himself objected, contained so many incorrect and unjust statements that they occasioned no little bitterness of feeling between the parties, and tended to increase public sympathy for the worthy individuals, as well as for the cause they were designed to discredit. The consequence was a general division between the Baptists and Reformers, and a rapid increase on the part of the latter, who now met regularly without hindrance to keep the ordinances, and enjoyed the labors of a number of excellent and devoted preachers. A meeting-house was soon erected in Richmond, as well as one in Bowling Green, in Essex and at other points. These were plain, substantial buildings, conveniently arranged, and without any of those expensive and unnecessary ornaments in which vanity and pride so often expend the wealth which ought to be devoted to charitable and religious uses. Such, indeed, has in general been the character of the

meeting-houses built by the Reformers. Mr. Campbell himself, who was extremely simple in all his tastes and habits, was decidedly opposed to everything which savored of show or ostentation in houses, dress or equipage. On the character of church edifices he about this time made the following remarks:

"It is most devoutly to be wished that all who plead for reformation would carry out their principles in the plainness, convenience and cheapness of the buildings which they erect for the assemblies of Christians. No greater satire could be inscribed on marble against the religion of Jesus Christ than are many of the houses called churches, wherever the people have the means of gratifying the spirit which is in them. There is no difference between the Baptists and other sects in this particular. Opulent communities amongst them have stately edifices, with lofty steeples and ponderous bells. There are some Baptist cathedrals on which more than forty thousand dollars have been expended for the sake of showing that the Baptists would be as respectable as any other sect if they had it in their power. The spirit of baptized and sprinkled Calvinism, whether in the Presbyterian or Congregational form, is one and the same, if a thousand arguments could prove such a proposition. Large, convenient and permanent houses may be built for generally half the sum usually expended on the same number of square feet. The Quakers are more exemplary in this respect than any other sect. But even their plan could still be improved. Let there only be a regard to convenience and durability; let all that is merely to gratify the lusts of the eye and the pride of life be left to them who seek to gain influence over the children of the flesh by reducing Christianity to the taste and fashion of this world, and we can build two, three and sometimes four meeting-houses for the price of one of the same dimensions.

"Under the present political influences which govern society it is necessary to have synagogues or meeting-houses large enough for the accommodation of the disciples who can

meet in any one place, and such of the community as may desire to attend their meetings. But for the sake of the humble Founder of this our religion and the Author of our hope before God, let not the walls of the house nor anything in it reproach our profession."

Similarly, he loved to see the utmost simplicity in the order and worship of the house of God. He delighted in the public reading of the Scriptures, the plain and earnest exhortations of the brotherhood, and in solemn psalms and hymns of praise. He had no relish for anything formal or artificial, such as the repetitions in fugue tunes or the establishment of singing choirs. As to the use of musical instruments in worship, he was utterly opposed to it, and took occasion at a later period to remark in regard to it that it was well adapted to churches "founded on the Jewish pattern of things" and practicing infant sprinkling.

"That all persons," said he, "who have no spiritual discernment, taste or relish for spiritual meditations, consolations and sympathies of renewed hearts, should call for such aid is but natural. Pure water from the flinty rock has no attractions for the mere toper or wine-bibber. A little alcohol, or genuine Cogniac brandy, or good old Madeira is essential to the beverage to make it truly refreshing. So to those who have no real devotion or spirituality in them, and whose animal nature flags under the oppression of church service, I think that instrumental music would be not only a desideratum, but an essential prerequisite to fire up their souls to even animal devotion. But I presume to all spiritually-minded Christians such aids would be as a cow-bell in a concert." M. H., Series iv., vol. i., p. 581.

Shortly before the time of Thomas Campbell's visit to Richmond a slave insurrection in Southampton county, attended with the brutal slaughter of more than sixty persons, nearly half of whom were mothers and

children, had spread a feeling of alarm and insecurity through that portion of the State exposed to a similar calamity, and every one seemed anxious that something should be at once done to avert impending dangers. The subject of slavery, previously referred to only in the most guarded manner, was now everywhere freely and unreservedly canvassed, and various plans were proposed for its removal, its injurious effects upon the political and social interests of the State being strongly urged in the Richmond papers and in the Legislature. Although far removed from the troubled district and free from the immediate evils of the slavery institution, Mr. Campbell thought it his duty as a citizen to use his influence in favor of emancipation, and to express his sentiments upon the institution itself.

"*Slavery*," said he, "that largest and blackest blot upon our national escutcheon, that many-headed monster, that Pandora's box, that bitter root, that blighting and blasting curse under which so fair and so large a portion of our beloved country groans—that deadly Upas, whose breath pollutes and poisons everything within its influence—is now evoking the attention of this ancient and venerable commonwealth in a manner as unexpected as it is irresistible and cheering to every philanthropist—to every one who has a heart to feel, a tear to shed over human wretchedness, or a tongue to speak for degraded humanity. . . . We have always thought, and frequently said, since we became acquainted with the general views and character of the people of Virginia, that there was as much republicanism in Virginia, even in the slaveholding districts, as could be found among the same number of inhabitants in any State in the Union. And, moreover, we have thought that if the abolition of slavery was *legitimately* to be laid before the people of this commonwealth, as it now is, there would be found even among slaveholders a majority to concur in a national system of emancipation.

"Under this conviction we had digested a plan for the final abolition of slavery in this State, which we intended to submit in the Convention which framed the present constitution; and indeed this was a chief inducement to reconcile us to a seat in that body. But in the more matured judgment of many members of that convention with whom we conferred, and who were as alive to the subject as we could be, it was thought impolitic and inexpedient at that time to urge this subject farther than to guard against the insertion of a single word in the constitution recognizing the existence of this evil. The subject is then constitutionally within the power of the Legislature to take any measures, at any time, which in its wisdom it may think expedient."

As the plan recommended by Mr. Jefferson, which was to colonize beyond the limits of the United States all slaves born after a certain period, was then under discussion, along with other methods of getting rid of the evil, Mr. Campbell on his part proposed this plan: That the ten millions of dollars previously appropriated annually to the payment of the national debt then just extinguished, should thenceforth be applied to the colonization of the colored race, as stated in these terms:

"*Be it enacted*, That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, the sum of ten millions of dollars shall be annually appropriated to the colonization of all people of color, either slaves or free persons, in ——, until the soil of our free and happy country shall not be trod by the foot of a slave, nor enriched by a drop of his sweat or blood; that all the world may not believe that we are a nation of *hypocrites*, asserting all men to have certain natural and inherent rights, which in our practice we deny; and shedding crocodile tears over the fall of Warsaw, and illuminating for the revolution of the Parisians, while we have millions of miserable human beings at home held in involuntary bondage, in ignorance, degradation and vice, by a *republican system of free slaveholding*."

He adds: "Virginia can, and she will, rid herself of this

curse ; and we say the sooner she does it, the better for herself, morally, politically, religiously and every other way. But should the nation take it up, how gloriously would the cause triumph ! And as sure as the Ohio winds its way to the Gulf of Mexico, will slavery desolate and blast our political existence, unless effectual measures be adopted to bring it to a close while it is in the power of the nation."

Thus it was that Mr. Campbell, ever mindful of the best and highest interests of society, omitted no opportunity of employing his abilities and his influence in behalf of every measure likely to promote them. Prompt but not rash, conservative but not stationary, his plans were usually characterized no less by novelty than by prudence, and his thoughts upon political as well as upon religious and other subjects were marked by that breadth of view, that truthful simplicity and practical sagacity which ever distinguish superior minds.

CHAPTER XI.

Union with the "Christians"—Faith and opinion—Distinguished fellow-laborers—Eastern tour—Skeptics of New York—Editorial labors—Progress of truth.

THE tendency of religious theories to create division, as seen in the last chapter, was now to be contrasted with the power of the Scriptures to promote union. The good feeling between the "Reformers" and the preachers and members of the "Christian Connection," which a common advocacy of the Bible had produced some years before on the Western Reserve, had gradually extended itself to other parts of Ohio, and especially to Kentucky, where the "Christians" constituted a large and respectable body, estimated at from ten to twelve thousand members. It was natural that a warm mutual sympathy should arise between the two people whose religious views and aims in many respects corresponded, and that the high personal regard existing between Mr. Campbell and B. W. Stone, L. Fleming and other preachers of the "Connection," as well as between many of the private members of the two communities, should lead to mutual intercourse and to a better understanding upon religious subjects.

The agreement which was found to exist in all important matters had already given rise to desires and even plans for union, but each of the communities still preserved its separate organization, and, in some respects,

its distinctive character. B. W. Stone favored a more free communion. "As well," said he, "might we forbid unimmersed persons to pray, to praise, to teach, as to forbid them to commune. . . . What authority have we for inviting or debarring any pious, holy believer from the Lord's table? Though it is done by many, we see no divine authority for it." Mr. Campbell had formerly expressed sentiments precisely similar, but a fuller comprehension of the relations of baptism to regeneration and the remission of sins had latterly inclined him to stricter views. He dreaded even the appearance of setting aside any divine institution, or of assuming to judge of men by their supposed *sincerity* rather than by their actual *obedience* to the word of God. Again, B. W. Stone thought that the name "Christian" was given by divine authority and ought to be the distinctive title of every follower of Jesus. This was also the view of Thomas Campbell (C. B., vol. ii., p. 12), but his son did not concur in this, nor concede the correctness of the criticism on the word (*Χρηματίσαι*) upon which it chiefly rested. He admitted indeed that the name Christian was proper and appropriate, and only wished that all were worthy of it. He preferred "disciple," however, as a more humble appellation and of earlier and more frequent use in the New Testament. Much of Mr. Campbell's repugnance to the denominational name Christian was due to the fact that the anti-Trinitarian speculations of those who had already adopted it, had subjected them to charges of Arianism, a heresy to which he had a peculiar antipathy. These charges indeed he had found by intercourse with Mr. Stone and others to be unjust, and he had become latterly well satisfied that the "Christians" generally in Kentucky were dis-

posed to abandon all speculation about the *modus* of the divine existence:

"In Kentucky," said he, "and the South-west generally, this is getting out of fashion, and many of the congregations called 'Christians' are just as sound in the faith of Jesus as the only-begotten Son of God, in the plain import of these terms, as any congregations with which I am acquainted. With all such I, as an individual, am united, and would rejoice in seeing all the immersed disciples of the Son of God called 'Christians,' and walking in all the commandments of the Lord and Saviour. We plead for the union, communion and co-operation of all such; and wherever there are in any vicinity a remnant of those who keep the commandments of Jesus, whatever may have been their former designation, they ought to rally under Jesus and the apostles and bury all dissensions about such unprofitable subjects as those long-vexed questions about trinity, atonement, depravity, election, effectual calling, etc. If it had not been for this most unreasonable war about Arian or Unitarian orthodoxy, the name *Christian* would not have been traduced in the land as it has been, and much might have been done to promote the union of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ sincerely. With all such I am united in heart and in hand, and with all such I will, with the help of God, co-operate in any measure which can conduce to the furtherance of the gospel of Christ. Indeed I feel myself, as an individual (for here I only speak for myself), at perfect liberty to unite in every act of religious worship with any sect of Baptists in America—not as a sect, but as disciples of Jesus Christ—if their moral and Christian behavior be compatible with the gospel, irrespective of all their speculations upon the untaught questions of their creeds."

Thus *faith*, and not *opinion*, was ever with Mr. Campbell the basis of Christian union. He advocated fellowship with all who received the teachings of the Scripture in their simple and obvious meaning, and

whose conduct corresponded with these teachings. There was no need of strained interpretations, specious glosses or textual perversions where no theological theory was to be sustained, but all could learn the truth by taking the Bible in its proper connection, and construing it in harmony with the established laws of language. When, *from the necessity of the subject*, as in the case of the inscrutable myteries of the divine nature, a boundary was reached beyond which the human mind was unable to pass, there its investigations must be reverently stayed in humble adoration. Within these boundaries even, a just regard was to be paid to time and opportunity as to the *extent* of Christian attainment. The simple truths of the gospel could be received by babes in Christ, and upon these truths all could be united in one body, in which progress was indicated not by schism but by growth, and every part of which, "fitly joined together," thus made increase "unto the edifying of itself in love." All, if not taught, must at least be teachable; all must seek wisdom, but not to be "wise above what is written;" and in all cases obedience must keep pace with knowledge of the divine will.

Such were alike the guiding principles of both communities, and any apparent differences in progress were more complementary than antagonistic. Both Mr. Campbell and Mr. Stone were alike devoted to the great end of uniting the true followers of Christ into one communion upon the Bible, but each regarded the method of its accomplishment from his own point of view. Mr. Campbell, contemplating the distinct congregations with their proper functionaries as the highest religious executive authority on earth, was in doubt how a *formal* union could be attained, whether by a general

convention of messengers or a general assembly of the people. Barton W. Stone, on the other hand, looking at the essential spirit of the gospel, exclaimed, "Oh, my brethren, let us repent and do the first works, let us seek for more holiness, rather than trouble ourselves and others with schemes and plans of union. The love of God, shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto us, will more effectually unite than all the wisdom of the world combined." This great truth was not long in being exemplified, and that, too, by methods which, like the natural movements of the body, were the most direct and simple, and which will be fully seen in the brief notices which it is necessary now to take of some of the individuals who chiefly aided in accomplishing the desired end.

Among these may be particularly mentioned John Rogers, a younger brother of Samuel Rogers, already spoken of. Born in Clark county, Kentucky, December 6, 1800, he was taken in 1801, with the rest of the family, to the West, and spent his early years on the plantation owned by his father not far from St. Louis, then called *Pancour*. In 1809 the family returned to Kentucky, and settled near Concord in Nicholas county, where considerable religious excitement still lingered. After the baptism of his brother Samuel in 1812, his attention became strongly directed to religion, so that in the following year, during meetings held in Millersburg in Bourbon county, by B. W. Stone and others, and where Walter Warder and J. Vardeman also were preaching, he earnestly sought for some time that "religious experience" which was supposed to be conversion, and which apparently had been obtained by some of his associates who joined the Baptist Church. Being exhorted to pray on, and still hoping for some inexplic-

able, palpable or sensible manifestation by which he would "know his sins forgiven," he passed through various states of feeling, and was finally, in December, 1818, baptized by B. W. Stone, and united with the Christian Church. As he gave evidence of piety and speaking abilities, his brother Samuel obtained his release from his apprenticeship to the cabinet business, to which he had already devoted three years, and he engaged soon after in preaching in Ohio and elsewhere, working occasionally at his business in order to defray expenses, and encountering all the toils and hardships of the pioneer Christian preachers, traveling on foot and preaching almost daily with little pecuniary compensation, but considerable success in turning sinners to Christ. Having procured a horse, he worked again at his trade in Wilmington, Ohio, to obtain clothing and a saddle and bridle, and preached for a considerable time in that portion of the State. He accompanied afterward his brother Samuel on two long tours through Missouri, making a great many converts, and after his return visited various parts of Virginia. During all this time he was greatly troubled in regard to his "call to the ministry," it being strongly held by the "Christians" that there must be a sensible, special and unmistakable "call" to preach, and that no one should "take this honor to himself" or presume to administer the ordinances unless thus "called of God." As John Rogers had not been the subject of any special visitation, but felt impelled to labor simply from an earnest desire to serve the cause of Christ and to bring men to a knowledge of salvation, he often felt inclined to doubt his authority. These doubts, however, were subsequently transferred to the clerical theory which had created them.

In the year of Mr. Campbell's debate with McCalla (1823) he became the regular preacher for the church at Carlisle, in Nicholas county, Kentucky, where three years afterward he first saw Mr. Campbell, who was there on a visit. From this interview, and the reading of the "Christian Baptist," his views of the Christian institution were much enlarged, and he learned greatly to admire and love the individual whose developments of the primitive gospel had done so much to enlighten men's minds on the subject of religion. Being a true lover of the Bible, and a man of clear perception and sober judgment, he was not long in comprehending and appreciating aright those points in which Mr. Campbell was thought to differ from Mr. Stone; and as he had much influence with his own people, he became largely instrumental in removing prejudices and preparing the way for a cordial Christian union with the Reformers.

Another individual whose influence greatly contributed to this union was Thomas M. Allen, a native of Shenandoah, now Warren county, Va., born October 21, 1797. His ancestors were Presbyterians, and he received his education chiefly from Mr. Snyder and William Williamson, Presbyterian preachers, and from John S. McNamara, one of the most eminent mathematicians of the time. Before he was seventeen years of age he entered the army as a volunteer, and served for more than six months during the war with England, in a Virginia regiment commanded by Colonel Yancy. In 1816, while returning to Virginia from a visit to Kentucky, when within six miles of Washington, Pa., in a violent storm a large tree suddenly fell across the road, instantly killing a young lady by his side and crushing his own horse under him, inflicting upon him

at the same time so much injury as to result in the almost entire loss of the use of his left arm. Removing to Kentucky in 1819, he married in Fayette county, and attended the law school of Transylvania University, and subsequently, in 1822, commenced the practice of law in Bloomington, Ind. Here his success equaled his highest expectations, but he and his wife being immersed by B. W. Stone, he returned to Kentucky, and on the 23d of June, 1823, became one of the original six members of the church constituted at "Old Union," in Fayette county, the other male members being Samuel Ellis and James Rankin. He soon commenced preaching, and in May, 1825, was ordained at "Union." His speaking abilities, fine personal appearance and popular manners gave him great influence, and his labors were attended with marked success. He planted churches at Paris, Antioch and Clintonville in Bourbon county, and at Cynthiana in Harrison, being also a fellow-laborer with most of the distinguished pioneer preachers of Kentucky, and enjoying the confidence and esteem of the entire brotherhood.

He had obtained the "Christian Baptist" soon after it commenced, and was delighted with its developments of the simple nature of the religion of Christ, its distinctions between the different dispensations, and the new light which it threw upon the themes of the Bible. He quickly abandoned all the speculations for which with others he had been contending, and accustomed himself to speak always of Bible things in Bible words. The total avoidance of the terms of scholastic divinity, and the practice of speaking of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit just as the Scriptures speak, he soon found to do more toward settling the vexed questions about the "Trinity" than had been done by the

controversies of fifteen centuries. He aided much in extending the circulation of the "Christian Baptist" and of the views it presented, and in leading the people forward to more accurate conceptions of primitive Christianity, and labored to promote the most fraternal and friendly relations between the "Christians" and the Reformers.

In July, 1827, he baptized at Georgetown a young man about twenty-two years of age, who was destined to exert no inconsiderable influence upon the progress of truth in Kentucky. Born at Georgetown, John Allen Gano had received during his early years a good English education and some knowledge of the languages from B. W. Stone, Jesse Olds and Charles O'Hara. During this period his religious impressions were strong, but were afterward effaced by his love of society and youthful pleasure. Having studied law, he resolved, after his admission to the bar, to go to Texas as his permanent home, but upon his way, descending the Ohio, was seized with a severe hæmorrhage of the lungs, and was left at a village on the Kentucky shore to die. While in this alarming state, his religious feelings returned with great force, and as he slowly recovered he determined to study the word of God and to adopt a different course of life. When able to return to Georgetown, he waited on the ministrations of various preachers, but found so little light and so many contradictions in their teaching that he became discouraged as to the possibility of finding the way of life, and had nearly fallen into his old associations, when he fortunately attended the preaching of B. W. Stone and his brethren, under which he was brought into a state of deep conviction and was led to confess Christ. Possessed of warm feelings and great readiness of ex-

pression, he could not refrain from urging the claims of the gospel upon the people, both at the time he confessed his faith and at his immersion, and soon became fully engaged in the work of the ministry, in which he was eminently successful. It was in the year of his baptism that he first saw and heard Mr. Campbell, and was at once impressed by his preaching and teaching, which he thought excelled anything he had ever heard.

"I sought him out," he remarked, "at the residence of Brother J. T. Johnson. I feared I should be overawed in the presence of one so gifted. But I found him so easy of access, so kindly attentive to every question, such Christ-like humility and benevolence breathing in every word and manifest in every action, that I soon felt myself at home with him. I do not remember to have seen so much of heavenly wisdom and true dignity of character, blended with such child-like simplicity and meekness, except in the beautiful life of his co-laborer, B. W. Stone. I wondered that any one could see and hear him and not admire and love him. After this I read his writings with great interest and profit. Since then," he continues, in a recent communication, "I have had the pleasure of his company at our home and elsewhere, more or less through a period of nearly forty years. I have always found him the same truly courteous, affable, Christian gentleman—pure, chaste and dignified in deportment and conversation—a model of piety and devotion to God. Oh it was always a rich treat to listen to his words of wisdom and divine instruction, drawing as he ever did from the Book of books his lessons of truth and love! . . . I owe to this great and good man much indeed. And amongst the things not the least, the lesson that enabled me to distinguish the gospel, in its facts, commands and promises, from the opinions and speculations of men about them—the one the power of God unto salvation, the other powerless, empty and vain."

There was another individual, however, who perhaps more than any one else directly contributed to effect the

coalescence of the two communities. This was J. T. Johnson, at whose house Mr. Gano first formed a personal acquaintance with Mr. Campbell. Born October 5, 1788, in Scott county, Kentucky, and educated at Transylvania University, he studied law and was admitted to practice before he was twenty-one. After his marriage he resided on a farm near Georgetown, and early in the war of 1812 became a volunteer aid to General Harrison, and at the siege of Fort Meigs, in his fearless discharge of duty, had a fine gray charger shot under him, and was himself struck by a ball, though not seriously injured. After the peace he became, in 1815, a candidate for the Legislature, and was readily elected every year in succession till 1819. In the financial crisis of this year he lost his entire fortune, some fifty thousand dollars, which he voluntarily gave up to pay the debts of his friends, for whom his generous confidence had induced him to become surety. In 1820 he was elected to Congress, in which he served four years, and in 1828 was again returned to the State Legislature, after which, from his love for domestic quiet, he determined to abandon political life, much to the regret of the people.

Ever characterized by the highest moral integrity, he had evinced also a sincere religious faith, and before his first entrance upon congressional duties had become a member of the Baptist church at the Great Crossings during the summer of 1821. It was not, however, until after his retirement from the busy scenes of political life that he undertook to examine carefully those religious questions which were at this time occasioning so much excitement in Kentucky, and to which his attention had been particularly directed by the proceedings of the church at Great Crossings in 1828 against J.

Creath, Jr., who was at that time their preacher and known to favor the doctrines of the Reformers. During the years 1829–30 he himself says,

"I had more leisure. The public mind was much excited in regard to what was vulgarly called Campbellism, and I resolved to examine it in the light of the Bible. I was won over, and contended for it with all my might in the private circle. I was astonished at the ignorance and perversity of learned men who were reputed pious and otherwise esteemed honorable. My eyes were opened and I was made perfectly free by the truth. And the debt of gratitude I owe to that man of God, Alexander Campbell, no language can tell."

He was no sooner convinced of the correctness of the reformatory principles than, with that promptitude and earnestness which belonged to his character, he at once endeavored to introduce them into the church at the Great Crossings. These efforts, however, being resisted, and the church persisting in unscriptural usages, and in refusing to receive as members persons who had confessed Christ and been immersed into his name after the primitive model, he resolved to detach himself and form a society governed exclusively by the Bible. Accordingly, on the second Saturday of February, 1831, he, with two others, B. S. Chambers and W. Johnson, formed the nucleus of a separate congregation at the Great Crossings, and at this first meeting he baptized his wife and his brother Joel and his wife, thus constituting a church of six members. Abandoning soon after the lucrative practice of law in which he had been engaged, he began the public advocacy of that primitive gospel which, by its simplicity and wonderful adaptation to the wants and condition of a sinful world, had captivated his heart and enlisted all the powers of his noble nature. Abounding in human sympathies,

high-minded and honorable in all his feelings, he possessed a remarkable ingenuousness and simple directness of purpose which inspired at once respect and confidence. Without that profundity or reach of thought by which some men are characterized, he possessed a singular power of perceiving the practical relations of things and of disengaging at once the speculative and the fanciful from the actual and the positive. Hence he soon became distinguished as a preacher for the directness of his appeals and the scriptural simplicity of his addresses, while his high personal character, his well-known disinterestedness, his courteous bearing and fervid devotion to the cause of God and of humanity soon rendered him one of the most successful and effective advocates of the cause. In stature he was slightly above the medium height, and his person was finely formed. His countenance was pleasing, with an unmistakable air of frankness and kindness, which, together with the peculiar dignity of his manner, secured the most respectful attention.

His separation from the Baptist party, and his adoption of the Bible alone as the source of religious light, led him to a closer intimacy with B. W. Stone, who lived near Georgetown, and for whom he entertained a high regard, and he was urged by the latter to become co-editor of the "Christian Messenger," to which he acceded at the close of 1831. Heartily sympathizing in the earnest efforts of Elder Stone to establish the union of Christians upon the Bible, this subject engrossed much of his attention, and he appears to have agreed to aid in editing the paper in order to promote, if possible, a general coalescence between those in religious connection with Mr. Stone and the Reformers, who had recently been in a good measure separated

from the Baptists. He found that a union in sentiment and religious aims already existed between the two people to a great extent. Both desired to build upon the Bible alone; both were opposed to creeds as terms of communion; both desired the spread of the primitive gospel; both were alike persecuted and maligned by those who, glorying in orthodoxy of opinion, failed to recognize a scriptural unity of faith. He felt, therefore, that he could heartily co-operate with Elder Stone in endeavoring to overthrow the bigotry which he detested and to promote the Christian union which he longed to see prevail, and which was throughout his life one of his most favorite themes.

This editorial union of B. W. Stone and J. T. Johnson was soon followed by a fraternal union between the "Christian" church and a number of Reformers residing in Georgetown. Agreeing to worship together, they found so much agreement in all essential matters, and so happy an effect produced in the increased number of conversions, that they were induced near the close of 1831 to appoint a general meeting at Georgetown to continue four days, for the purpose of considering the subject of a complete union between the two people. This meeting included Christmas day, and a similar one was appointed for the following week, including New Year's day, at Lexington. Many of the leading preachers on both sides attended and took part in these meetings, and so much evidence was afforded of mutual Christian love and confidence, and such undoubted assurances were given of a firm determination on the part of all to have nothing to do with doctrinal speculations, but to accept as conclusive upon all subjects the simple teaching of the Bible, that there seemed to be no longer anything in the way of the most earnest and hearty co-

operation. After the meeting at Lexington, some further friendly conferences were held by means of committees, and by arrangement the members of both churches communed together on the 19th of February, agreeing to consummate the formal and public union of the two churches on the following Lord's day, the 26th. During the week, however, some began to fear a difficulty in relation to the choice of elders and the practical adoption of weekly communion, which they thought would require the constant presence of an ordained administrator. The person who generally ministered to the Christian Church at Lexington at this time was Thomas Smith, a man of more than ordinary abilities and attainments, and long associated with the movement of B. W. Stone. He was an excellent preacher and was considered a skillful debater. He possessed withal a very amiable disposition, and was highly esteemed by Mr. Campbell, whom he often accompanied during his visits in Kentucky. He was at first, like others, apprehensive that the proposed union was premature, and that disagreement might arise in regard to questions of church order. The union was therefore postponed, and matters remained for a short time stationary, but it soon became generally apparent to the Christian brethren that there were no exclusive privileges belonging to *preachers* as it concerned the administration of ordinances, and Thomas M. Allen coming to Lexington, induced them to complete the union and to transfer to the new congregation, thus formed under the title of "the Church of Christ," the comfortable meeting-house which they had previously held under the designation of "the Christian Church." This wise measure secured entire unanimity, and was especially gratifying to the Reformers, who had been meeting in

rented building. At Paris, also, Mr. Allen succeeded in effecting a union between the two churches, for one of which he had been himself preaching, while James Challen at this time ministered to the other. He proposed that both he and Mr. Challen should retire, and that the united churches should engage permanently the services of Aylett Raines. This was accordingly done, and Mr. Raines, leaving his field in Ohio, from this time continued to preach for the church at Paris, as well as for other churches in Kentucky, for more than twenty years, aiding besides in numerous protracted meetings, and by his steady, unremitting labors and able advocacy of the Reformation principles greatly extending their influence.

In this connection it is proper to mention F. R. Palmer, who had been for some time preaching at Caneridge. He was a warm friend of Mr. Campbell, and often with him during his visits in Kentucky. He had been educated by B. W. Stone, and was a man of superior abilities, a fine preacher and entirely friendly to the union, as was also his brother, Henry D. Palmer; and their history serves still further to illustrate the sufficiency of the Bible as the source of religious light and the basis of Christian union. Called providentially in the midst of an irreligious community in South-west Tennessee to the study of the Scriptures, they soon discovered how different were modern churches from the models given in the New Testament. Both were men of fine personal appearance, strongly resembling Henry Clay, not only in form and features, but also in gifts of oratory. Devoting themselves to the spread of the simple truths they learned from the book of God, they traversed the entire region west out to the Mississippi river, accomplishing great good. Subsequently

Francis came into Kentucky, and Henry, bringing his slaves to Illinois, freed them there and distributed among them a large portion of his estate. Finally settling in this State, he continued his labors in the gospel with extraordinary success until the close of life, greatly endeared by his labors and sacrifices and noble Christian character to the entire community. He had remarkably correct views of the gospel, great faith in God and in Providence, praying always for everything, and urging the necessity of a new and of a divine life, of spiritual-mindedness, of entire devotion to God and of the presence and aids of the Holy Spirit. In church discipline also he desired to see a strict enforcement of the Scripture precepts and a prompt separation of those who walked unworthily. Removing finally to Eureka, in Woodford county, he died in September, 1861. His brother Francis, emigrating to Missouri in 1836, has labored most successfully in that State, and still preaches as well as ever, though eighty years of age, having been for more than half a century engaged in the ministry.

The union of the churches in Georgetown, Lexington and Paris led at once to the union of the Christians and Reformers throughout the State. This was greatly promoted by the efforts of John Smith and John Rogers, who had been appointed at the Lexington meeting to visit all the churches and hold meetings in conjunction with each other, and who were most successful in removing any lingering doubts or prejudices—a result to which Elder Stone's earnest and intelligent advocacy of the movement greatly contributed. Thus, as the latter had foreseen, Christian love resolved, by simple and direct methods, differences and difficulties which would probably have been only augmented by any system of

church representation or any formal general convention, and Mr. Campbel. rejoiced in an issue which he greatly desired to see accomplished, but which he, for a time, feared was prematurely effected. He thought sufficient time had not perhaps been allowed for a thorough comprehension of the principles of the Reformation, and dreaded lest these should in any wise be overruled or lost sight of in so sudden and unceremonious an arrangement. His misgivings, however, proved to be entirely groundless. Everywhere throughout the united churches these cherished principles were found to be sincerely approved and carried into effect. Untaught questions were no longer debated; baptism for remission of sins, which had been adopted by many of the Christian brethren before the union, was universally practiced; weekly communion was generally adopted, and stricter rules recognized in relation to church order and discipline. All were united upon the Bible alone, and with the most fraternal feelings strove together for the faith and institutions of the gospel. Nor was the effect less striking as respects the community without. Never before had the word of God manifested so much power in the conversion of sinners. Never before were meetings so successful in bringing the people to an intelligent and scriptural profession of Christ. Multitudes were added to the churches throughout the State, and an impetus was given to the cause by the union of the two people, which served to illustrate the overwhelming power which the gospel would exert upon the world if, in like manner, all the sad divisions of Protestants could be healed. The sectarians of Kentucky, who had foretold a speedy disruption of the union, were surprised to find their vaticinations unfulfilled, and not less grieved at the inroads continually making upon their own power,

which, from this period, steadily and rapidly declined, until the Reformers became by far the most numerous and influential body in the State.

Mr. Campbell, himself, previous to the union, was not fully aware to what extent the principles advocated in the "Christian Baptist" had been diffused in Kentucky. Many of the Christian preachers, indeed, were already fully satisfied of their correctness, and some, as has been seen, had openly adopted them even before B. W. Stone had fully yielded his assent. To those of this class, already mentioned, may be added B. F. Hall, who, in 1826, on returning to Kentucky from some meetings in Tennessee, where many "mourners" were left uncomforted, and during which he had become greatly impressed with the conviction that the modern administration of the gospel must differ greatly from that in use in primitive times, happened at the house of a friend to meet with the McCalla debate. Turning the leaves slowly over, his eye caught Mr. Campbell's remarks on the design of baptism. Reading it carefully, he had scarcely finished, when he sprang to his feet and clapping his hands, cried out, "I have found it! I have found it!"

"I gave thanks to God," he said in speaking of the incident, "I had found the keystone of the arch. It had been lost a long time. I had never seen it before—strange that I had not! But I had seen the vacant space in the arch a hundred times, and had some idea of the size and shape of it, and when I saw baptism as Mr. Campbell had presented it, I knew it would exactly fit and fill the space. I felt as if converted anew, and was far happier than when I first made profession, and far more certain that I was right. Now all was light around me, and I felt that I was standing on a rock.

"In the summer of 1826," he continues, "I met B. W.

Stone and spoke of the matter to him. He told me that he had preached it early in the present century, and that it was like ice-water thrown on the audience; it chilled them, and he had in consequence abandoned it altogether. I insisted it was God's truth, nevertheless, and that I felt compelled to preach it at the meeting to which we were then going. He begged that I would not preach it while he was present, and said he was to leave after meeting on Lord's day morning, and then I could do as I thought proper. I complied with his request, but preached it privately to those who appeared concerned, and five of them were induced to take the Lord at his word, whom I immersed the next morning for the remission of sins. Our venerable Samuel Rogers was present at that meeting, and was the only preacher who did not oppose the doctrine."

Some time after the union was accomplished in Kentucky, Mr. Campbell paid a visit to the East, accompanied as far as Richmond by his father, who designed to make a tour through North Carolina and to disseminate there the principles of the Reformation. He was attended also by his daughters Maria and Eliza, the former of whom, in January preceding, had been married to R. Y. Henley, and who, with her husband, was now on a visit to East Virginia. B. F. Hall, also, who had arrived at Bethany shortly before, continued with Mr. Campbell during the most of his tour. Preaching at Fredericksburg, Bowling Green and other points, he arrived at Richmond about the 24th of October, and addressed the citizens in the new meeting-house, called "Sycamore" from the tree which shades its doors. The meeting being continued for some days by Mr. Campbell and others, among whom was D. S. Burnet who had been for some weeks in East Virginia, some twenty-five persons were added to the church. Mr. Campbell preached also at several points in the vicinity of Rich-

mond, and finally passing down to Jamestown, York town and Norfolk, took passage in the "Columbus' for Baltimore, where several meetings were held with great benefit to the cause.

Proceeding thence direct to New York, he found the Church there divided into several parts, owing to extreme views in regard to church order and unanimity of opinion. His labors were therefore chiefly directed to the restoration of unity and the correction of existing errors among the brethren, and were, to a considerable extent, successful in preparing the way for a reunion, which happily occurred in March, 1835. While here, he addressed the numerous skeptics of the city at Tammany Hall and Concert Hall on several occasions, obtaining a very respectful hearing and making a profound impression. At the close, Mr. Offen, in behalf of one of their societies, presented him with the following thank-offering:

"SIR: The trustees and members of the society of *Moral Philanthropists* (of which I am also a member) have deputed me to present to you their thanks for your friendly visit to Tammany Hall, being highly pleased with the splendid talents they have witnessed, connected with erudition the most profound, which has both delighted their ears and conferred dignity upon their hall. The friendly sentiments you have also expressed toward skeptics, appealing to them as men—as *honest men*—instead of treating them with contumely, as do the Christian priesthood of New York, are specially noted. These kind feelings, sir, they duly appreciate, and to them they heartily respond. As it respects some of the evidences of the Christian religion, you have candidly and ably stated them. Should a change take place in our views on that subject, be assured it will be honestly and publicly avowed.

"In the event you should again visit New York, you will be to us always a welcome guest. Permit me, sir, to tender

to you their best wishes for your health and prosperity, and be pleased to accept the full assurance of their high esteem."

During his stay at New York, he delivered several discourses in the Laurence Street Church, where Dr. Barker presided, and in Union Chapel, where ten persons came forward for baptism, two of whom had been skeptics. On one occasion in passing up Broadway he was struck with a statue placed in a niche in the front of St. Paul's Church, and in his characteristic vein of humorous satire made it the subject of a short article in the "Harbinger," headed "*Turning out the Apostles*," in which he says:

"One of the most appropriate designings in the various models of architecture in the church-building department in the city of New York is to be seen at St. Paul's Church, Broadway. Whether by accident or design in the plan of the chief architect, one thing is certain, he has most symbolically, graphically and emphatically pictured out the truth. On the *outside* of the church, in a very substantial and plain niche, facing the great thoroughfare, there stands in marble the Great Apostle. He seems greatly offended at being turned out of doors; has his parchments under his arm and his staff in his hand, as if hasting out of the walls of the cathedral. The little old man appears careworn and vexed with what he has seen within, and seems to cast an eye to heaven, welcoming the peltings of the storm rather than the mummery and the mockery of the blind adoration and insulting homage of wood and stone—instead of the religious obedience of man and woman to the Master through the traditions which he was commanded to deliver to the Church of Christ. The apostles, indeed, are turned out of all the fashionable churches in all the Atlantic cities, as far as we are able to judge. They are not only exiled from the great cathedrals with crosses and cowls, from the St. Pauls', the St. Peters', the St. Johns' and the Christs' churches of English and Roman Episcopacy, but from the religious theatres of all the daughters of the Scarlet

Lady. Thousands of dollars are squandered in all the pomp and pageantry of the pride of life to beautify and adorn masses of brick and stone, rather than to cover the nakedness and to feed and educate the inmates of the 'sordid huts of cheerless poverty.' Pulpits built of mahogany, cushioned and crimsoned in all the gorgeousness of unblushing pride, like inner temples, costing from two to three thousand dollars, environ the object of their adoration—encircle the golden altar on which they present their weekly oblations to that god who delights in a splendid house, in the ornaments of crimson and scarlet, in gold and silver, in the melodies of organs and the sound of unbelieving and unsanctified choristers, more than in the incense of a grateful heart."

During this period Mr. Campbell had himself many practical illustrations, not only of the unpopularity of the apostles but of those who in their name sought to reform religious society. These were exhibited not only in the usual form of detraction and misrepresentation, but in the absolute refusal by the religious parties to admit him to speak in their houses of worship. In New York he was refused all the Baptist meeting-houses. Even Archibald McClay, formerly one of his warmest friends, denied him the use of his house, because, as he said, "he was not in full fellowship with the Baptists." At Philadelphia, which he next visited, he experienced similar treatment. Mr. Chambers, who with his Presbyterian congregation had, as formerly stated, rejected creeds some years before, assured Mr. Campbell of his sincere wish that he should occupy his pulpit, but through the influence of the Baptists, as was supposed, his elders refused assent. He spoke, therefore, in a house courteously tendered by the Universalists, as well as in the Callowhill street meeting-house, where during his stay some sixteen persons were added to the disciples meeting in Bank street,

under the care of William Ballantine. This excellent man, formerly in charge of one of Robert Haldane's seminaries at Elgin, and whose essay on the elder's office had occasioned so much division in the Haldanean churches on the subject of church order, was now engaged at Philadelphia in teaching classes in Greek and Hebrew. Like many of his coadjutors in Scotland, he had been opposed to immersion, and had even written a work in favor of infant sprinkling, which, as elsewhere stated, falling into the hands of Robert Tener of Dungannon, had for a time deterred him from being immersed according to his previous intentions. Mr. Ballantine afterward, however, became enlightened on the subject and was himself immersed, so that when Robert Tener, in 1833, emigrated to the United States, the first person who arrested his attention upon landing at Baltimore and uniting with the church there, was William Ballantine, then a prominent member of the congregation. Mr. Campbell, after leaving Philadelphia, preached three times at Baltimore, also at other points in Maryland, reaching home after an absence of upward of three months, during which he had traveled seventeen hundred miles and delivered about eighty discourses. Much good had been accomplished, and about seventy persons in all added to the churches during his tour. Soon after, D. S. Burnet, calling at Baltimore on his way to Cincinnati, held some meetings, during which the church received an addition of fifty new members. Everywhere, Mr. Campbell had left scriptural truths so deeply implanted in the minds of the people that the fruits could be gathered long after his departure. After some time, William Ballantine visited Bethany, and Mr. Campbell published for him an edition of his essay on the elder's office, which

was well received by the churches. The questions, however, of which it treated had been long since considered and determined among them, and the scriptural truths it urged in relation to elders had been already embraced in the "ancient order of things."

On January 24th of this year (1834) another daughter was born to Mr. Campbell, and named Virginia. On the 24th of June following his eldest daughter, Jane Caroline, died of consumption. During the preceding winter she had removed from Nashville, Tennessee, with her husband, Albert G. Ewing, and her three children, to reside near Bethany, but a severe cold contracted during the journey at once awakened into activity the pulmonary disease inherent in the family, which proved rapidly fatal. Amiable in her disposition and patient in suffering, she calmly resigned herself in the midst of happiness and youth into the hands of the Redeemer in whom she had put her trust, and died in the hope of a blissful immortality.

Continuing unremittingly his editorial and other labors, Mr. Campbell not only maintained his positions against all assailants, and made successful raids into the territories of his opponents, but cultivated with assiduity the wide domain already possessed. James G. Bell, an intelligent, zealous and amiable disciple, who some years before had been an inmate of his family, had left by his will a small sum to be expended in essays on the Patriarchal, Jewish and Christian dispensations, in pursuance of which Mr. Campbell this year printed for distribution an extra embracing these subjects, but particularly expounding the nature and elements of the kingdom of heaven. In this he adopted and presented an analysis given by Dr. Richardson three months before in the "Evangelist," a periodical which

Walter Scott had established at Carthage, Ohio. Previously, the phrase "kingdom of heaven" had been supposed to signify the *Church*, and in consequence of this error various false interpretations had been given to portions of Scripture. It was shown that the idea involved in "kingdom" was a compound one, embracing at least three distinct conceptions—viz., a *king*, *subjects*, and the *territory* or place where the subjects lived under the government of their king. In the kingdom of heaven Jesus was the *king*, those who had acknowledged him were the *subjects*, and the world (κοσμος) in which they lived was the *territory*. This view both Mr. Campbell and Mr. Scott regarded as an important addition to the truths developed during the progress of the Reformation, as it served to elucidate various portions of Scripture, and to correct false and mischievous applications of the teachings of Christ, as especially exemplified in the parable of the tares (Matt. xiii.).

Much attention was at this time given to subjects of church order and discipline arising from the peculiar condition of the churches. The union between the Reformers and the "Christian" brethren in Kentucky had extended itself through most of the Western States, and immense numbers of new converts had everywhere been added to the churches, which were, as yet, but imperfectly supplied with elders, and but partially acquainted with the rules and principles of church government. B. W. Stone, removing to Jacksonville, Illinois, established there his periodical, and by his personal labors and those of his coadjutors greatly extended the spread of the gospel in the West. J. T. Johnson, in connection with B. F. Hall, started a periodical in Kentucky, where the former continued to labor with such

indefatigable industry and success that he became known as "the Evangelist of Kentucky," and everywhere imparted strength to the churches by his unfailing faith and courage.

Meanwhile, a young member, P. C. Wyeth, from near Bethany, going to England, united in London with the Scotch Baptist church there, over which William Jones, author of various works on Ecclesiastical History and former co-pastor with William Ballantine, presided. Mr. Jones, much surprised to hear from Mr. Wyeth the particulars of so extended a reformatory movement in America, and conceiving that in its general features it agreed with that attempted by Archibald McClean and the Scotch Baptist churches, at once opened a communication with Mr. Campbell and obtained some of his works, with which he was so much pleased that he determined to reproduce them in England in a periodical which he entitled "The British Millennial Harbinger." Thus the views of Mr. Campbell obtained favorable access to the minds of a community, themselves professing a desire to return to the primitive faith and practice, and numbering some thirty churches in Great Britain, many of which, however, were small, the one in London consisting of only thirty members, under the pastoral care of Elders Jones and Nixon. Elder Jones' letters to Mr. Campbell and the replies occupied considerable space in their respective Harbingers, until at the end of sixteen months William Jones suspended his publication, alleging increasing age and his desire to prepare for the press a volume of sermons. Subsequently, he thought fit to express publicly his dissent from some views which he erroneously attributed to Mr. Campbell, but this sudden turn was without avail to check the progress of free opinion, and

the republication of Mr. Campbell's writings was shortly after resumed by the congregation of disciples meeting at Nottingham, in a periodical called the "Christian Messenger, or a Voice from America," edited by J. Wallis, a devoted Christian and friend of Reformation, who for a number of years, with marked ability and prudence, continued to promote the interests of the cause in Great Britain and Ireland, which thus received in return the fruitage of those germs of independent thought and religious truth which, within those realms, had been long before implanted in the youthful mind of Alexander Campbell.

CHAPTER XII.

Sectarian hostility—Tour to Nashville—Bishop Otey—Discussion with Mr. Meredith—Tour to the Eastern States.

THE separation of the Reformers from the Baptists, instead of lessening, had at first only increased, sectarian hostility. At no former period had so great rancor been manifested toward Mr. Campbell or more strenuous efforts made to injure his reputation and excite the animosity of the religious world against him. Although the Reformers had been quite willing to fraternize with the Baptists, and in no case where they had the majority in a church had excluded them, the attempt was made to throw upon Mr. Campbell the odium of a separation which the Baptists themselves had effected, and to excite the sympathy of other religious parties, so as to induce them to refuse him the use of their houses of worship upon his tours, by representing him as having no higher object than to divide the Baptists. Blinded by their attachment to denominational theories and interests, they were unable to perceive the noble purposes for which Mr. Campbell labored, or to appreciate enlarged and synthetic principles which, from the nature of the case, can belong to no religious sect. From the more elevated region of religious thought which Mr. Campbell occupied, he could well look down with pity upon all the vain attempts which were at this time made to arrest the progress of his plea for the restoration

of the primitive gospel and the original unity of the Church. Knowing that a little time would correct unjust representations, and that the means employed to prevent the people from hearing him would only the more excite their curiosity to hear, he continued with unabated zeal to expose the errors and evils of sectarianism and to exhibit the excellency of the simple scriptural plan of salvation. Nor was he disappointed in his expectations. It was not long until a calmer state of mind supervened, and many were led to discover that they had been mistaken in regard to Mr. Campbell's views and purposes. The Reformers, in consequence, began to receive frequent accessions from the Baptist churches in various places, and the community became more and more enlightened as to the real nature of the reform proposed.

During this period many important practical subjects were treated by him in the "Harbinger" very interestingly in a series of dialogues, entitled "Conversations in Father Goodall's Family Circle," which were continued for several years and were much admired, communicating a large amount of varied and valuable instruction derived from the Scriptures and from the experience of human life. He published also several severe articles upon Roman Catholicism, to which he began now to pay considerable attention, having been long satisfied that it was its purpose to secure the political control of the United States. In occasional essays, too, upon education, he continued to manifest the great interest he felt in this important subject.

In February, 1835, in company with his daughter Lavinia, he made another tour to Nashville, and spent several weeks in Tennessee in disabusing the public mind of the false impressions made upon it by the mis-

representations of his opponents. Great crowds everywhere flocked to hear him, so that it was seldom any house could be found large enough to accommodate them. While he was in Nashville some twenty persons were added to the church there, which now numbered about six hundred. He found several new churches in the vicinity, established through the influence and labors of a Brother Hardin, of whose piety and devotion he entertained a high opinion. On the 30th of March, accompanied by T. Fanning, he set out for Louisville, where a Brother Gates had been for some time laboring. The church there, however, had not made much progress, having the use of the house of worship only a portion of the time. Recently they had sold out their interest in it to the Baptists and purchased a Methodist meeting-house, where, with the able assistance of the eminent Dr. T. S. Bell, who spoke for them as often as his professional engagements would permit, their prospects were more favorable. Here Mr. Campbell delivered several discourses and afterward visited New Albany, Jeffersonville and Madison, in Indiana, and spent some days at Cincinnati, where the church was progressing under the labors of D. S. Burnet. He also visited Carthage, where Walter Scott and Dr. Richardson then resided. After enjoying a pleasant interview with these and other old friends, he passed thence again into Kentucky and traversed the whole central part of the State, having appointments at all the principal points, and renewing his happy personal intercourse with a great number of his former acquaintances and fellow-laborers. From Georgetown he repaired, in company with the Hon. Richard M. Johnson, to his residence, eight miles distant, where, in the evening, he addressed the Choctaw Indians of the Indian Academy. At Lexington he

spoke twice in the hall of Transylvania University to large audiences, and then, setting out with B. H. Payne in his gig, he visited Paris and Mount Sterling, and proceeded to Mayslick, where he held a two-days' meeting, aided by Brothers Gates and Hall. As he was much exhausted by fifty days' continual speaking, he felt quite indebted to these brethren and to Aylett Raines for the effective assistance which they rendered him at various points in Northern Kentucky. At Mayslick he met with John O'Kane, who, some time before, had distinguished himself by his successful labors in Indiana, and had been recently preaching in Mason county, Kentucky. This individual continued for many years to sustain ably the cause of the Reformation in the Western States, and especially in Indiana. Of a tall and commanding figure, having a powerful voice, great earnestness and considerable ability, he became the means of adding great numbers to the churches. From Maysville, where he spoke three or four times, Mr. Campbell returned directly home, where he arrived May 10th, having been instrumental in inducing forty-five persons to embrace the gospel during his tour, besides removing much prejudice and in many ways promoting the interests of the cause.

While he was absent, his mother, who still resided with her daughter near West Middletown, Pennsylvania, ended her days in great peace and with unshaken confidence in the promises of her Redeemer. Of her last hours, Thomas Campbell, who was present with her, gives an interesting account in a letter to his daughter Alicia, published in the "Harbinger" for 1835, p. 284, in which also he pays a touching tribute to her many virtues.

During Mr. Campbell's visit to Tennessee he had

spent, by invitation, the evening of 18th March very pleasantly with James Otey, bishop of Tennessee, at his hospitable mansion. Amidst their pleasant conversation upon various topics, the bishop introduced the subject of the Christian priesthood in its relations to the Christian ministry. At parting he presented Mr. Campbell with a copy of a work by Bishop Onderdonk of Pennsylvania, entitled "Episcopacy tested by Scripture." Having the subject thus brought to his attention, he addressed afterward a series of eight letters to Bishop Otey, discussing the subject in the most courteous manner, and ably pointing out the fallacies in Bishop Onderdonk's reasoning, as well as in the works of J. Esten Cook of Lexington, and of Chapman, who had written in defence of Episcopal ordination. These cogent and argumentative letters attracted much attention, especially in Tennessee; and though Mr. Campbell courteously proposed to lay before his readers anything which Bishop Otey might feel disposed to say, no attempt was ever made to reply to them. About the same time he became engaged in a discussion with Mr. Meredith, of North Carolina, editor of the "Baptist Interpreter," and subsequently of the "Biblical Recorder," whom he justly designated as "one of the most respectable and honorable of the Baptist ministers in the South, a gentleman of very handsome attainments," and "the ablest editor of the Baptists south of New York." Mr. Meredith had written a series of articles reviewing Mr. Campbell's Extras on Remission of Sins and Regeneration, and now offered to give him page for page in his paper in order to discuss these subjects. This unwonted liberality quite won upon Mr Campbell, who at once accepted the proposition. Subsequently, however, he was led to think that Mr. Mere-

dith was about to decline adhering to the arrangement as he understood it, and in the July number for 1835 he noticed, in his peculiar way, the supposed fact in an article commencing with the following queer analogy: "The full-moon face with which our friend Mr. Meredith, of North Carolina, looked on us is now gibbous and fast waning into the last quarter." Mr. Campbell, however, was misinformed as to the intentions of Mr. Meredith, who remained quite willing to publish what Mr. Campbell chose to write in defence of his Extras. A discussion accordingly ensued, which, unfortunately, from the want of a clear statement of the propositions in dispute, consisted chiefly in a mere war of words, and proved altogether unsatisfactory. Mr. Meredith objected to Mr. Campbell's proposition in reference to the gospel facts, affirming that "when these facts are understood or brought into immediate contact with the mind of man, as a moral seal or archetype, they delineate the image of God upon the human soul." Taking this sentence apart from its connection, Mr. Meredith understood Mr. Campbell to assert that the gospel facts accomplished this work "*of themselves*." Mr. Campbell denied stating any such proposition, calling Mr. Meredith's attention to the context in which he had said: "These [facts] are the moral seal which testimony conveys to the understanding and faith brings to the heart of sinners, by which God creates them anew and forms them for his glory." So far from representing the facts as accomplishing this "*of themselves*," he had here expressly declared them to be a means or instrument in the hands of *God*, and in the proposition itself had affirmed that these facts delineated the image of God upon the soul, "*when understood and brought into immediate contact with the mind of man*," thus

leaving the question of co-operative agencies entirely open.

"I do believe," said Mr. Campbell in reply, "and have clearly taught time after time, that the Spirit of God is the regenerator, and that he does it only by his Word; and while I cordially reprobate your theory, or rather that of Andrew Fuller, about his previous holy principle and his regenerated unbeliever, and all that philosophy, I do teach that the Holy Spirit renovates the human mind by the instrumentality of his Word; while you and many others seem to me to contend that the Holy Spirit personally descends from heaven, enters the human heart, and, without his Word, miraculously creates a man anew." . . . "I pretend not to separate the Word and the Spirit of God. I do not say the Word alone nor the Spirit alone enlightens, sanctifies or saves. With the Lord Jesus I would pray to the Father, 'Sanctify them through thy truth; thy Word is the truth.' I would not say with you, 'Sanctify them by thy Spirit alone.'"

On his part, Mr. Meredith denied holding the sentiment which Mr. Campbell attributed to him, viz.: that regeneration was accomplished *without the Word*. He believed that there was an immediate and direct influence of the Holy Spirit in aid of the Word, and that the "*Word alone*, unattended by the Spirit, was insufficient for this work." Again he had said, "It is to the *direct action* of this omnipotent Spirit that the Word, *otherwise powerless*, is indebted for its triumphs over the natural heart." This *direct* divine interposition thus claimed, Mr. Campbell regarded as miraculous and as nowhere promised in the Scriptures. He thought the doctrine most pernicious, because it led men to disregard or undervalue the word of God, looking for sensible "impressions" or "operations" nowhere promised. He therefore utterly refused to commit himself to any positive statement or theory of the influences

by which the facts of the gospel were brought into immediate contact with the mind and heart of the sinner. He thought it the duty of all to leave these matters with God and simply to preach the Word. Speaking of regeneration, he said,

"The human heart must be changed and renovated by some cause; for unless the heart be reconciled to God, purified, cleansed, *no man can be admitted into the society of heaven.* These views I have always presented to the public. But the question is, *How is this moral change to be effected? By the Spirit alone? By the gospel facts alone? By the Word alone?* I do not affirm any one of these propositions. *I never did affirm any one of them.*

"How the Spirit operates in the Word, through the Word, by the Word, or with the Word, I do not affirm. I only oppose the idea that any one is changed in heart or renewed in the spirit of his mind by the Spirit without the Word."

Thus it was that the matter continued as before, the real question being, all the while, not whether influences accompanied the gospel, but what was the *nature* of those influences; Mr. Campbell declining to discuss or determine this, or to adopt the popular notions in regard to this untaught question.

As respects the doctrine of baptism for the remission of sins as set forth in Mr. Campbell's first Extra, there was really no appreciable difference between him and Mr. Meredith. Upon this subject, Professor Ryland of Richmond published about this time a discourse, in which he denied that Peter was to be literally understood to command the people to be baptized *for* the remission of sins, and endeavored to show that the Greek preposition, εἰς, rendered *for*, should be translated *into*, so that the meaning of Peter's words might be thus stated: "Be baptized into the confession or

doctrine of forgiveness." This discourse Mr. Meredith reviewed, and after disputing Dr. Ryland's criticism upon εἰς, went on to say:

"The proper question to be asked here, it appears to us, is this: What is the scriptural import of the phrase, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, in the text rendered 'for the remission of sins?' To answer this question in short we turn first to Matt. xxvi. 28, and read as follows: 'For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many (εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιων) for the remission of sins.' This passage is, in our opinion, decisive. That the blood of Christ was shed 'into the remission of sins' or 'into the confession or the doctrine of forgiveness,' we are sure no one will contend. On the contrary, that it was shed *for the remission of sins* as an end is equally beyond the possibility of a doubt. The same phrase occurs Mark i. 4: 'John did baptize in the wilderness and preach the baptism of repentance (εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιων) for the remission of sins.' This passage, when interpreted by the former, as it ought to be, is not less certain and decisive in its import. To say that John preached the baptism of repentance *into* the remission of sins would be to employ language singularly obscure, if not altogether unintelligible. See again Luke iii. 3: 'And he came into all the country around Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance (εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιων) for the remission of sins.' The same remark applies to this case which was made in relation to the preceding. These, including the passage in question, are the only instances in which the phrase εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιων occurs in the New Testament. That the first case is decidedly in favor of the present rendering, *for the remission of sins*, and that the others are but little less so, it seems to us cannot admit of a doubt. To say the least, there is certainly no evidence in favor of the rendering proposed by the author."

After objecting, then, to the rendering or paraphrase given by Dr. Ryland, as well as to the theology implied in it, he says, in conclusion, "We object in the last place to the neces-

sary tendency of the argument before us. This argument, if we understand it correctly, goes to show that baptism has no sort of connection with remission; and that although a positive institution of the New Testament, and the only authorized medium of admission into the Christian Church, it is nevertheless a matter in which the sinner's salvation is in no way concerned. Now, when we hear two evangelists speak of the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins—when we hear the King himself in his last commission affirm that 'he that believes and is baptized shall be saved'—when we hear an apostle acting under that commission require the people to 'repent and be baptized for the remission of sins'—when we hear Ananias say to Paul, 'And now why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins'—we believe that all these must mean something. And when we call to mind that three thousand were baptized on the same day of conversion; that the household of Cornelius had no sooner given evidence of repentance than Peter demanded their baptism; that the Ethiopian eunuch was baptized in the midst of his journey, and that the Philippian jailer and his household were baptized at midnight,—we cannot but believe that baptism has a much more important connection with salvation and remission than is now generally supposed. At any rate, we cannot but suspect the expediency of any attempt to explain away the force of passages which, if we be not much mistaken, are well sustained by the analogy of faith and the *usus loquendi*."

Such plain admissions as these brought, as a matter of course, upon Mr. Meredith charges of "Campbellism" from some of his brethren, but he was too independent and high-minded to yield his convictions of truth to any partisan clamors. Some years after, he thus wrote to a correspondent who accused him of agreeing with Mr. Campbell:

"That the Scriptures have connected baptism and remission in some sense it is worse than useless to deny. We are

aware that attempts have been made to destroy the force of the passages referred to; but always with such success as to betray the nakedness of the land, and at the same time to illustrate the deplorable effects of partisan prejudice. On this point, Mr. Campbell has always had the advantage of his opponents. He has triumphantly quoted such passages as Acts ii. 38, against which nothing has ever been offered better than a flimsy criticism or a palpable perversion of apostolic teaching.

"Here we have taken different ground from the rest of our brethren. We have promptly conceded to Mr. Campbell everything which candor seemed to demand. We have conceded that the evangelists and apostles, in the places referred to, meant what they said. We have conceded that, in a given sense, and under certain limitations and for certain ends, remission has been connected with baptism." Upon this, Mr. Campbell remarked: "The above concessions contain all that we are anxious to maintain. 'If the evangelists and the apostles meant what they said in the places referred to' for proof by us, we ask no more: for it was always alleged by us that 'in a given sense and under certain limitations and for certain ends, remission has been connected with baptism.' We never went further than this; our opponents said we did, but no man can show from our own language that we have ever transcended the words above quoted from Mr. Meredith."

The above candid and manly utterances of Mr. Meredith, so far from creating disaffection among the Baptists in North Carolina, only increased their respect for him, and tended to diffuse throughout the extensive Chowan Association to which he belonged a spirit of gentleness and liberality toward the Reformers scarcely found elsewhere. The consequence was, that division did not occur among the churches there, and the Reformers, both preachers and people, continued to hold and to express their sentiments without hindrance. And it is worthy of note that this concession to the

ancient spirit of Baptist toleration and freedom enured greatly to the benefit of the Baptists themselves in North Carolina, where the memory of Mr. Meredith, who was distinguished no less for piety and talent than for independence and candor, is still fondly and most deservedly cherished.

In the spring of 1836, at Mr. Campbell's desire, Dr. Richardson removed from Carthage to Bethany to assist in the editorial duties of the "Harbinger," in order that Mr. Campbell might be enabled to spend more time abroad in answer to many urgent calls. On the 30th of May, he accordingly set out on a tour to the Northeast, accompanied by T. Fanning of Nashville, and J. Taffe, of Wilmington, Ohio. Mr. Taffe had some time before abandoned the legal profession and devoted himself to preaching. He was much esteemed by Mr. Campbell for his abilities and many agreeable qualities, and especially for his earnest and intelligent advocacy of the cause of truth, whose interests he labored to promote, not only by his public addresses, but by the publication of various pamphlets, in which he treated some of the important subjects connected with the gospel in a very cogent and effective manner.

As some leading skeptics were at this time very actively propagating their sentiments in Northern Ohio, Mr. Campbell visited Ravenna, where he spoke six times, exposing the dark and dreary speculations of the Free-Thinkers, who were publishing there an infidel paper, deriving its contents largely from the "Boston Investigator," edited by the apostate Kneeland. Passing thence to Cleveland, he delivered several lectures on the evidences of Christianity, inviting the doubting to state their objections publicly. One of the leaders of the skeptics there, Mr. Irad Kelley, availed himself

of this privilege, and Mr. Campbell replied. Great interest being manifested by the people, the discussion was continued, and at the next meeting Mr. Kelley delivered a long tirade against the Bible, full of reckless assertions and incorrect statements. Mr. Campbell having become quite hoarse, requested Matthew Clapp, who had some time before married his sister Alicia, and happened to be on the ground, to reply to Mr. Kelley, which he did with much point and argument.

In the mean time, Dr. Samuel Underhill appeared on the stage as the defender of skepticism, and requested to be heard. A discussion consequently ensued, taking a somewhat wide range, during some eight or ten half-hour speeches, after which Mr. Campbell was requested to deliver a continuous argument on the subject of miracles before the citizens, Dr. Underhill being allowed to offer a reply. When the time for delivering this discourse arrived, a very large concourse was present, and Mr. Campbell presented a very powerful and overwhelming defence of miracles, dwelling in conclusion upon prophecy as a miracle to those who witnessed its fulfillment, and pointing out the dispersion and present state of the Jews, and the rise of the Man of Sin in the Christian Church, as matters thus clearly foretold and fully verified before the eyes of the present generation. When Dr. Underhill rose to respond, the congregation seemed disposed to adjourn, upon which the doctor appointed a meeting for the next morning, when but few attended, and he made but a feeble reply. Mr. Campbell then recapitulated the points made during the discussion, and contrasted the prospects and ultimate termination proposed in the two systems of Christianity and of infidelity with commanding eloquence and power. After a friendly exhortation to his antagonists,

he then closed the discussion, during which the greatest courtesy and good feeling had been preserved, and the effect of which was very marked in checking the progress of infidelity in that quarter.

It is unnecessary to pursue minutely the incidents of this laborious trip, undertaken in the midst of oppressive summer heats and the still more depressing evidences of the deep and unfounded religious prejudices with which the minds of the communities which he now, for the first time, visited, had been imbued by misrepresentation and bigotry, and which led the religious parties to deny to him everywhere the use of their houses. Some of his private letters written on his way may here furnish sufficient detail, while they will afford a more grateful view of the feelings and affections governing his inner life. That love for man *as man*, which induced him to undergo so many toils and sacrifices to dispense the blessings of the gospel, manifested itself even in the minutest matters. It led him habitually to send his salutations and kind wishes by name even to his domestics and to the hired blacks and the humblest Roman Catholic laborers on his farm. Nor is the elevated character of his aspirations less evident in the tender solicitude which he ever manifested for the Christian progress and perfection of the various members of his own immediate family and for the happiness of his intimate friends:

"LAKE ERIE, June 11, 1836.

"MY DEAR SELINA: The lake at this moment rolls in waves under a very strong wind, about as fierce as when myself and Eliza sailed up the Chesapeake Bay. We are now about sixty miles above Buffalo, and hope to be there to-night. The table rolls so that I can hardly sit up straight. But how pleasing the thought that we are always in the hand of our

Father in heaven, who is at all times equally able to save us from danger the most imminent as well as when no harm is visible! . . . I have spoken in Cleveland now for the space of six days in defence of the gospel. I trust much good will result from the discussions we have had with the skeptics of that place.

"Mr. and Mrs. Hawley and their amiable daughters have much affection for you, because Brother Hawley used to live in Shrewsbury, and was well acquainted with your mother before she was married. Add to this his great regard for the truth and for those who know and obey it.

"I trust you are all attention, my dear, to your health, and, next to your health, the education and improvement of our dear children. Remember, this is the great business of life: to transmit to those, and through those to whom you have given birth, the knowledge of God and of his Anointed for their sakes and for the good of others yet unborn. In this way alone you can pay your debts. Remember me most affectionately to all my dear children. The elder branches of my family are, I trust, daily improving in useful knowledge and growing up in the study and practice of all that is lovely and excellent.

"My father left me in good health yesterday morning, and will spend the summer in the Lake country. My kindest remembrance to all my household; and for yourself, accept the repetition of my conjugal and Christian love. Your husband,

"A. CAMPBELL."

"LEWISTOWN, N. Y. (opposite to Queenstown Heights and General Brocks' monument in Upper Canada, famous for the Battle of 1814, Niagara River), June 18, 1836.

"MY BELOVED WIFE AND DAUGHTERS ELIZA, LAVINIA AND CLARINDA CAMPBELL, *greeting:* Health and salvation through our God and Father and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!

"*Dearly Beloved:* Next to my own personal and eternal salvation through my Lord and Saviour, there is nothing on earth dearer to me than your present, spiritual and eternal

good. I wish you to be intelligent, pure and influential on earth, loving and beloved as far as mortals like you can be; to be ornaments in the kingdom of Jesus Christ, respectful and respected, honorable and honored, good and happy as my wife and daughters ought to be. On you all God has bestowed good mental capacities, powers of acquiring and communicating knowledge, fine feeling and many excellences capable of much improvement and of rendering you very useful in society. Now let me say to you that you are thereby under great responsibilities, and let me remind you that you all seek to be more intelligent, more amiable and more exemplary every day. I do not say this as though I did not think you are as much so now as any of my wide and extended acquaintances, but because I wish you to be of unrivaled excellence.

"I am just accidentally spending the night at the stage-office, waiting to start in the morning at three o'clock for the canal at Lockport. We have spent three days at the Falls of Niagara on the American and Canada sides, an account of which we will send you in a few days. I have not had such a feast in many years as I have enjoyed for three days. The scenes here beggar all description. This place is visited by men of all nations. One hundred gentlemen and ladies have been at our hotel for the last three days—from Boston, Paris and various American cities. I only spoke once since my arrival, and am rather here *incognito* for recreation. There are many very elegant ladies, highly cultivated and refined, from Boston and New York, as well as from other places, but none for whom God has done more intellectually, morally, and, indeed, in every way, than for my excellent wife and amiable daughters. And, therefore, it is my wish that you should all know how much God has done for you, that you may love, admire and serve him more and more.

"Take care of your health, your mind, your time, and keep your hearts from forgetting the Chief among the ten thousands—the Lord who has redeemed us. I cannot describe to you my feelings or regrets when I see so many of the fine

ladies of the country, and from the first circles, aliens from God and Christ—those who from their commanding eminence in society could influence many, themselves without religious feelings and without the proper knowledge of God. Seeing those of the first class so unapproachable and so dead to the matters of religion stirs up my soul for you and for many others. Seek to shine in all moral excellence and to be valiant for the truth.

"Remember me to Maria with all affection. I have for her the highest esteem and affection. My younger children are not yet capable of entering into these matters. God knows that I desire that they may be his children as they are mine, and that they will be brought up for him. May he bless them with all grace as he has blessed you all. Remember me most affectionately to Edwin and his Julia, to William and his Selina, to my son Robert and his household, to Mother Bakewell, to Theron especially, and particularly to my cousin Enos, to Betsy, to Susanna, to Charles and to James, and to Hugh McNally.

"Present my kindest regards to Sister and Brother Richardson, and may the Lord God that has preserved me from a thousand dangers, preserve you all, to his everlasting kingdom is the prayer of your most affectionate husband and father,

"A. CAMPBELL."

"NEAR ROCHESTER, June 21, 1836.

"DEAR BROTHER RICHARDSON: I rejoice with you in the pleasing intelligence that your Brother John has become to you dear in the Lord as well as in the flesh. Of all the joys that mortals taste in this vale of tears, those are the purest which spring from the approbation of our heavenly Father, and from the sight of our fellow-mortals turning with all their hearts to the Lord. They only who have felt the pardoning mercy of God in their own case can rightly appreciate the benefits that accrue to others from their submission to the Saviour, and therefore it is for them to rejoice in company with the angels of heaven over sinners returning to God. We are often solaced with those joys in the blessed work of

proclaiming the Word. For a week past, however, we have not, owing to the most unpropitious circumstances—of continual rains and mud opposition—had one such occasion of rejoicing. The towns on the canal are either wholly devoted to mammon and infidelity or to mammon and sectarianism, so far as we have found on an acquaintance of the last few days.

"I commence to-day, June 24, a series of lectures in Rochester, in the midst of a population of 18,000. In the court-house, too! Indications here are not favorable. The cause has been crucified here by one prominent individual. But I am not discouraged. We shall try. Yours truly and affectionately, A. CAMPBELL."

"SYRACUSE, NEW YORK, July 8, 1836.

"BELOVED SELINA: I have never been more busily engaged in all my life than on the present tour. I am like one settling in a new country, where everything is to do. I have labored incessantly since I came into this State, disabusing the public mind and teaching the disciples. There is a powerful opposition consolidated against the truth. I have spoken some thirty-seven times since I left home. I am now at the residence of our Sister Lathrop, who resides with her mother. She is one of the most amiable, intelligent and accomplished ladies in the city, and because of her piety and great talents exercises great influence here.

"I am really very tired and willing to seek repose, and could wish that my journey and my furlough were completed, but I must patiently bear the toil and endure the pain in hope of the reward. I have the great pleasure of enlightening many, of relieving the distressed and broken in spirit, and of making some rich in the faith and hope of Christ. I have left a good odor for Christ in every place. Yesterday there followed me nine miles a Presbyterian lady from Cicero—where some persons had been immersed—with many tears, desiring to obey the Lord. All the country behind me desire my return. But, unfortunately, I have to leave every place just when I get the prejudices broken down a little. This

is a hard, worldly, skeptical place. To-night I speak to the infidels.

"The New Yorkers are intelligent and shrewd. Generally the ladies are well accomplished; some very refined, but not superior to the Virginia ladies. They read much, work little, but are great economists.

"A company have just this moment called in. I am called on. My ardent affection for all my children and for yourself.

"I need not say that on this earth there is to me none so dear as the wife of A. CAMPBELL.

"The Lord bless you, my dear, and all my children. Give my love by name to all of them, and remember me affectionately to all my household.

"Farewell once more. A. C."

"SARATOGA SPRINGS, July 23, 1836.

"MY DEAR SELINA: Through the kindness and constant care of our heavenly Father I have safely arrived at this place. It is now fifty-four days since I bade you, my dear Selina, and my dear children, adieu, and during that time I have delivered fifty-nine public discourses and traveled more than eight hundred miles. I came here on Wednesday, the 20th inst., very much exhausted, and have in company with Father Carman and Brother Taffe taken lodging for one week at a private boarding-house, and am now quite comfortable. We drink of these healing waters and bathe in them every day. I have a shower bath every morning and a warm bath of the mineral waters every evening, and have got my companions all persuaded to follow my example; so that we eat, drink, bathe and recruit ourselves here in good earnest in the midst of all the gayety, splendor, equipage and show of this rich and proud nation. . . .

"Here they are from all States and countries, and from Europe. The lame, the halt, the feeble are here drinking the healing streams. But there are more, many more, here who come to show themselves and to be seen rather than for health —many ladies to look for husbands and many men for wives.

So that we have beauty and fashion, pride and pomp in full style and glory. . . .

"We shall leave here on Wednesday, the 27th, and proceed to Vermont, where I expect to preach on the 28th. Then we shall pass on through New Hampshire into Massachusetts, and proceed to the capital of the State. I expect to spend the first week of August at Boston, and then to pass into Rhode Island and Connecticut, and so on to New York city, thence to Philadelphia, thence to Baltimore, thence to Bethany some time in September. I have no doubt my tour will be useful to many, and I think the cause of truth will be much subserved by it; but really it is a very great toil personal, and a great sacrifice of domestic comfort.

"To one who so much loves his wife and children and the whole family circle, and delights in making them happy, it is not an easy task to forsake them all for so long a time, but when I think of Him who forsook the Palace of the Universe and the glory of his Father's court, and condescended to be born of a woman and to live in an unfriendly world, and to be treated a thousand times worse than I have ever been, to save us from our sins, I think but little of all I have done or can do to republish his salvation and to call sinners to reformation and to build up the cause of life, of ancient Christianity. My success in pleading the cause has been proportioned to the means used and the interest felt by those who co-operate in it, and I have no doubt but so it will continue to be.

"My dearly beloved, take care of your health and that of our dear children, and see that the minds of the young are not under some evil influence. Watch over our son, and remember he is a precious deposit committed to your and to my care. I have not received one letter from you since I left home—only a few lines at the foot of one. I cannot now say where I could hear from you unless you would write forthwith to New York city, if you receive this eight days after date. If longer, write me at Philadelphia.

"I need not mention by name any of my children or any

brethren and sisters at Bethany, for them all I entertain the esteem and affection due to them, of which you may remind them; while I remain your sovereign husband, liege lord, till God himself dissolves the covenant by taking one of us to himself. In which hope of being taken to the Lord I remain truly and affectionately yours, as you are mine till that day,

"A. CAMPBELL."

After spending a week at Saratoga, where he delivered two addresses, he visited several points in Vermont, and after meeting with a church of disciples at Pawlet, took passage for Boston, where he was kindly received by Brother Himes, elder of the Christian church there, to which he delivered several discourses during his stay.

He was much impressed by what he observed in the New England States, and in his journal pays to them the following just tribute:

"For general intelligence, morality and good order I need not say that in the New World no city surpasses—I say more, no city equals—the capital of New England. Puritanism, with all its faults and foibles, has stamped a virtuous character on the whole nation of New England, which centuries have not effaced and which centuries to come cannot obliterate. The severe discipline, stern morality and untemporizing conscientiousness of the Pilgrim Fathers demonstrate their excellency in the vigor, health, and prosperity of their sons. And if the fruit of every tree is to test its character, assured I am that no system of education hitherto adopted has more to recommend it, as a whole, than that experimented by those godly Protestants, founders of our free institutions, which has given to the world so virtuous a race as that which yet occupies the soil on which the pious Fathers first offered the unbloody sacrifice of Christian gratitude in the savage tents of Shem. I could not, on surveying the whole premises—the industry, economy, prosperity, wealth, morality and religious regard for the Bible generally apparent in those

old States—I say, I could not but congratulate myself and my fellow-citizens of the West that we have so pure a cradle, so healthful a nursery, from which to replenish the new States with sons and daughters, who will transmit to future times the good habits of the most virtuous and prosperous people in the world."

Visiting Lynn and Salem, he was much pleased with his interviews with many of "the Christians" of New England, whom he found candid and intelligent, and willing to be taught the way of the Lord more perfectly. Remaining in Massachusetts about two weeks, he passed by way of Providence to New York. While on the steamboat on the Sound he greatly admired a sunrise which he witnessed and described. As an illustration of his skill in what is termed "word-painting," his account of it is here given:

"I awoke with the morning star, and going out on deck, from the brilliant and mild appearance of the heavens I anticipated the glories of a sun-rising at sea, and accordingly hastened to awake my companions to enjoy with me the richest of Nature's feasts. Soon as we were all seated on the upper deck at the stern, with our faces to the east, and while yet the morning star beamed in a cloudless sky, we began each to designate that point from which we expected the sun to lift upon us his effulgent countenance. As we gazed upon the pacific and silvery brow of the tranquil sea, which, as a splendid mirror, seemed to reflect the glories of the heavens fresh upon us with every tremulous swell which urged us to the desired haven, we saw a brightness in the orient which indicated to us the near approach of the joyful monarch of the day. The crepuscular glimmerings gradually spread over all the east, and as they swept a loftier arch toward the empyrean, they assumed the brightness of liquid brass; while deeply bedded in the far distant horizon, two pyramidal columns began to rise, as if the clouds from the Atlantic had suddenly formed themselves

into pillars for the gates of the morning, erecting a sublime port for the entrance of Nature's luminary. Instantly the empyreal sovereign streaked with gold the inner side of these two colossal pillars, from between which he seemed resolved to enter upon the race of a summer day. Deeper and broader he laid on the molten gold till these two columns, capped with rubies, stood gilded from top to bottom. The curtain of night, which seemed to encircle this glorious arch, culminated over the spot where the eyelids of the morning began to open; but before we could take the dimensions of this new portico of day, the sun himself in all the gorgeousness of his own peerless glory, gently raised himself to peep over the silvery deep from which he was about to emerge. After a single glance, which dazzled on the back of every gentle curl on the surface around him, he suddenly, at a single bound, stood upon the sea, and by another effort drew after him from the briny deep a golden pedestal as if from a surface of liquid fire, on which he seemed for a moment to sit, while from his dazzling locks floods of light and splendor began to flow. His yellow hairs, as if baptized in a sea of glory, dropped light and joy upon a world starting into life, while the gradual expanding of his wings proclaimed him about to fly the circuit of the universe. Bidding farewell to sea and land, he began his flight to heaven; and as he onward and upward bent his way, I was reminded of Jesse's son, who while a shepherd-boy used to sing: 'The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. No speech nor language is there where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. In them he has set a tabernacle for the sun, who is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of heaven, and his circuit to the end of it, and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.'"

After speaking several times in Philadelphia and

Baltimore, he set out on the 30th of August (1836), and reached home safely, having been absent ninety-four days, during which he traveled two thousand miles and delivered ninety-three discourses, averaging one hour and twenty minutes each. During the trip about seventy persons in all had been immersed and united with the churches

CHAPTER XI.

College of Teachers—Roman Catholic debate—Discussion with Mr. Skinner—S. W. Lynd—Christians among the sects—Mr. Styles.

IN a few weeks after his return from his Northern tour, Mr. Campbell visited Cincinnati, where he had agreed to deliver a lecture before the College of Teachers. This association consisted of those who were or had been teachers, and its sessions were devoted to public lectures on education and to discussions upon the various important questions connected with that subject. When the college met, 3d of October, Dr. Joshua L. Wilson gave the introductory lecture, in which he recommended the Bible as a universal school-book. To this objection was made in the subsequent discussion by Bishop Purcell, who had formerly been in charge of the Catholic seminary, "Mount St. Mary's College," at Emmittsburg, Maryland. Mr. Campbell, surprised at the bold manner in which the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools was advocated, was still more so when, after the delivery of his own lecture on "Moral Culture," in which he had connected the rapid march of modern improvement with the spirit of inquiry produced by the Protestant Reformation, Bishop Purcell took strong exception to this doctrine, openly affirming that "the Protestant Reformation had been the cause of all the contention and infidelity in the world." As this proposition was quite foreign to the business of the con

vention, where religious discussions were not allowed, Mr. Campbell informed the bishop that, if he wished a discussion on that subject, he was prepared for it, and would attend to it when convenient to him, but that in the College he could only defend his assertion as to its bearings on education. Bishop Purcell, in reply, declared himself in favor of free discussion, saying that his word was the word of God, commanding, "Let there be light." As he did not, however, signify his acceptance of Mr. Campbell's proposition, the latter, after the meeting, gave public notice that he would speak upon the subject on the Monday evening following in the Sycamore Street meeting-house. At the close of his address, Bishop Purcell, who was present, was invited to reply, but requested an adjournment to the next evening, when he spent most of the time in a tirade of abuse against Martin Luther and the Reformation, and when Mr. Campbell proposed to have the discussion subjected to moderators and to proper rules, declined any further debate. Mr. Campbell then, on the following evening, in the Wesley chapel, addressed a very crowded assembly upon the subjects involved, and gave notice at the close that he designed to prosecute the matter no farther, summing up the whole, however, in six propositions, which he declared himself at any time able to sustain. Next day he received the following note:

"CINCINNATI, October 13, 1836.

"TO THE REV. MR. CAMPBELL:

"DEAR SIR; The undersigned, citizens of Cincinnati, having listened with great pleasure to your exposure and illustrations of the absurd claims and usages of the Roman Catholic Church, would respectfully and earnestly request you to proceed immediately to establish before this community the six propositions announced at the close of your lecture last

evening. This request is made under the conviction that the present state of feeling in this city, and the critical state of the country with reference to Romanism, demand this, and will fully justify such a course, and also with the expectation that it may result in much good to the cause of Protestantism in the West."

This letter was signed by a large number of the most respectable citizens, and the following P. S. was added: "One-half of the city could be obtained would time permit. Fearing your hasty departure induces the above persons to hand it in without delay."

Mr. Campbell, in reply, after giving a brief statement of the circumstances which had led to the introduction of the subject, and re-stating his propositions, frankly consented to sustain them publicly against Bishop Purcell or any of the Catholic priesthood, stipulating only that, in order to give proper publicity to the matter and to afford him time to fulfill his existing engagements, the meeting should be postponed till about the beginning of the new year, when he would, either in a discussion or in public lectures, endeavor to maintain the propositions he had submitted. Bishop Purcell having subsequently consented to meet Mr. Campbell, the propositions were arranged as follows:

"1. The Roman Catholic institution, sometimes called the Holy Apostolic Church, is not now nor was she ever catholic, apostolic or holy; but is a *sect* in the fair import of that word, older than any other sect now existing; not the 'mother and mistress of all churches,' but an apostasy from the only true, apostolic and catholic Church of Christ.

"2. Her notion of apostolic succession is without any foundation in the Bible, in reason or in fact; an imposition of the most injurious consequences, built upon unscriptural and anti-scriptural traditions, resting wholly upon the opinions of interested and fallible men.

"3. She is not uniform in her faith or united in her members, but mutable and fallible as any other sect of philosophy or religion—Jewish, Turkish or Christian—a confederation of sects under a politico-ecclesiastic head.

"4. She is the Babylon of John, the Man of Sin of Paul, and the Empire of the Youngest Horn of Daniel's sea monster.

"5. Her notions of purgatory, indulgences, auricular confession, remission of sins, transubstantiation, supererogation, etc., essential elements of her system, are immoral in their tendency and injurious to the well-being of society, religious and political.

"6. Notwithstanding her pretensions to have given us the Bible and faith in it, we are perfectly independent of her for our knowledge of that book and its evidences of a divine original.

"7. The Roman Catholic religion, if infallible and unsusceptible of reformation, as alleged, is essentially anti-American, being opposed to the genius of all free institutions and positively subversive of them, opposing the general reading of the Scriptures and the diffusion of useful knowledge among the whole community, so essential to liberty and the permanency of good government."

The following were the rules of discussion:

"1. We agree that the copyright of the discussion shall be sold to some bookseller, who shall have it taken down by stenographers, and that all the avails of the copyright shall be equally divided between any such two public charities as Bishop Purcell and Mr. Campbell shall respectively designate.

"2. That the discussion shall take place in the Sycamore Street meeting-house, and shall continue seven days, exclusive of Sunday, commencing this morning, from half-past 9 o'clock, A. M., to half-past 12, and from 3 to 5 P. M., each day.

"3. Mr. Campbell shall open the discussion each session, and Bishop Purcell respond. During the morning session the first speech of each shall not exceed one hour, nor the

second half an hour. In the afternoon each speaker shall occupy only half an hour.

"4. The discussion shall be under the direction of a board of five moderators, of whom each party shall choose two, and these the fifth; any three of which shall constitute a quorum.

"5. The duties of the moderators shall be to preserve order in the assembly and to keep the parties to the question."

The moderators appointed were John C. Rodgers, Mr. Hite, William Disney, Samuel Lewis and Jacob W. Piatt. On Friday, January 13, 1837, the debate commenced, and was conducted with the utmost order, harmony and good feeling. A constantly increasing interest was manifested by the citizens until its close.

As this discussion has been extensively circulated in print, it would be unnecessary to speak particularly of its merits, which have been so generally acknowledged. Some matters connected with it, however, and the impressions made upon the community at the time, may be given. Mr. Campbell, on this occasion, had to contend against several unfavorable circumstances. On the way to Cincinnati he had contracted a violent cold, which rendered him feverish, and by which he was much oppressed during the consideration of the first three propositions. At the close of this period, upon taking some medicine, he obtained relief, and a marked difference was afterward noticeable in the clearness of his voice and the vigor of his replies. His next speech of an hour on the fourth proposition was so grand and overwhelming that it made a most profound impression, not only upon the audience, but apparently upon Bishop Purcell himself, who, it was observed, seemed quite unable to recover from the force of Mr. Campbell's graphic delineation of Romanism and its identification

with "the Babylon of John, the Man of Sin of Paul, and the Little Horn of Daniel's vision." Meanwhile, Mr. Charles Hammond, editor of the "Gazette," for whose abilities Mr. Campbell entertained a very high respect, had taken unexpectedly, as was supposed for political and personal reasons, the side of the Catholics, and endeavored to forestall public opinion by representing the debate as a war upon the Catholics, and as a failure in the estimation of the citizens even while it was yet in progress, and he had not himself heard the full discussion of a single proposition. This misrepresentation of public opinion led to a large meeting of the citizens at the close of the discussion, at which the following resolutions were passed:

"1. *Resolved*, That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that the cause of Protestantism has been fully sustained throughout this discussion.

"2. *Resolved*, That it is our opinion the arguments in favor of Protestantism, and the objections to the errors of popery, have not yet been met.

"3. *Resolved*, That we look forward to the publication of this discussion as a powerful antidote to the sophistry and arrogance of all the advocates of Romanism; and that we have the fullest confidence in submitting it to the impartial decision of the American people.

"4. *Resolved*, That we approve of the spirit and temper, and were pleased with the power of argument and the authorities by which Mr. Campbell sustained his positions, and concur with him in possessing no unkind feeling or prejudices toward individuals, but believe the principles of Romanism inconsistent with our free institutions."

A high degree of excitement prevailed through the city, and some severe animadversions were published in the papers upon the course which Mr. Hammond had thought proper to pursue. A sharp correspondence

upon the subject also took place between him and Mr. Campbell, and distinguished clergymen, among whom was Asa Shinn, who had heard the debate, felt called upon to come forward and give their testimony as to its merits. Among various notices, highly complimentary to Mr. Campbell, the following appeared in the "Philanthropist" from the pen of its editor, Mr. Birney, a distinguished lawyer and a gentleman of high standing and unblemished character:

"Although we attended through nearly the whole of the discussion, we do not intend to give any connected summary of the arguments. We give no more than our impressions. The debate is in course of preparation to be published, and we can confidently say it will be found not only interesting, but instructive to its readers in a matter about which we are all more uninformed and supine than we ought to be.

"We found no reason in the late debate for altering the opinion we expressed, when speaking about the former one, of the deficiency of Bishop Purcell in *argumentative* powers. He is evidently a well-read man, especially in the history of the Roman Church, and his mind is handsomely enriched with the current literature of the day. His mental laboratory is abundantly replenished with facts. They seem, however, rather to have been provided for its garniture than for any more profitable use. In the employment of these for the purposes of manly and dignified argument he seems, in our judgment, exceedingly unskilled and inexperienced. This deficiency arises, we apprehend, not so much from any feebleness in any natural powers as from erroneous mental training, which receives everything that is *Roman Catholic* as true, and everything that is *not* Roman Catholic as false. The debate of the first day satisfied us that in the mere struggle between the disputants there could be but little of interest. Their strength was altogether too disproportioned; and had it not been for the various unworthy appeals made by the bishop to the prejudices of the audience (for these attempts continued

throughout, and aggravated as the end drew near) to win favor by casting odium on Mr. Campbell personally, we should have felt for him the same kind of commiseration that we do for a man of diminutive bodily size and feeble powers, who, although he is the aggressor, is receiving from his overgrown, two-fisted adversary good-humored though long-continued and painful castigation.

"Ill as we thought of Romanism before on many grounds, but chiefly because it demands of the great body of its *rank and file* to surrender to the 'officers and staff' the most precious right that God has bestowed on them—*the right of judging for themselves on their most important concerns for this life and for that which is to come*—and because its management is mysteriously and sedulously concealed from the inspection of the community, our opinion of it is now tenfold more unfavorable. If Bishop Purcell has made for it the best defence of which it is susceptible, or one that is even *respectable*, it is a deeply-contrived system of absurdities in theory and abominations in practice, and calls at once for examination, that it may meet with the abhorrence of every republican and Christian who has any proper regard for personal liberty or intellectual independence.

"Every one present at the debate must have wondered at the strangeness of the scene in this country—a well-informed man, a good scholar, a learned man, and on other matters apparently in his right mind, insisting substantially, before an American audience, that it was incumbent on those who had not already done so to assign all their right of judging and determining for themselves in religious matters to a CHURCH, some fifty or more of whose HEADS (the popes) were acknowledged to be now, probably, suffering in penal fires the just recompense of lives spent in iniquity! Yet this he did, and we doubt not with all due sincerity. Nor did it appear less strange to hear such a one contending that the bread and wine used in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper were converted into the actual and *bona fide* flesh and blood of the Saviour.

"So far as Mr. Campbell was concerned, we can speak with unalloyed pleasure. His facts were judiciously selected, his historical landmarks well chosen, presenting, without the confusion that too often occurs from introducing too many things, his case with great plainness and simplicity. Every point on which we heard him fully, we thought he fully sustained. And then it was all done with such unaffected calmness, such dispassionateness and an evident desire to arrive at the truth for the truth's sake; with such Christian forbearance in the midst of provoking assaults from his adversary (although he had multiplied opportunities for impaling him), and the most ungenerous treatment received daily from a part of the political press of this city, that, had we ever before entertained any prejudices against Mr. Campbell, he would, by his conduct, amidst so many and such long-continued trials, have well nigh dissipated them.

"Toward the conclusion of the debate, the bishop increased in excitement—so much so, that on one occasion during the afternoon of the day previous to its termination, when he supposed Mr. Campbell had quoted inaccurately from a Roman Catholic author, it appeared almost unnatural.

"But we must draw our remarks to a conclusion, with these inferences from what we know and from what we have heard of Romanism. It cannot be made to consist with free political institutions nor with mental independence. Like slavery, it demands *all*—is content with nothing less. Its mode of warfare is to imprison, to cramp, to crush the mind, knowing that when this is accomplished every other triumph is easily won.

"Bad as is our opinion of it in theory and in practice, there is but one way of putting it aside—*free and fair and generous discussion*. Let there be among its opposers *no guile*, no malice, no persecution, but give the TRUTH room, and with its naked and unshorn energies it will put this and every other error, however formidable and securely entrenched, to a full and everlasting flight."

The quotation referred to by Mr. Birney as the occa-

sion of Bishop Purcell's singular excitement was from the Moral Theology of Alphonsus de Ligorio, of which a synopsis in English had been given by a Mr. Smith, of New York, a convert from Romanism. The passage read thus:

"A bishop, however poor he may be, cannot appropriate to himself pecuniary fines without the license of the Apostolic See. But he ought to apply them to pious uses. Much less can he apply those fines to anything else than religious uses, which the *Council* of *Trent* has laid upon the non-resident clergymen, or upon those *clergymen who keep concubines.*" Lig. Ep. Doc. Mor., p. 444.

Mr. Campbell had introduced this passage to show that amongst the Roman clergy marriage was a greater sin than concubinage, because marriage produced instant excommunication, while concubinage was *fined* and *winked* at. Bishop Purcell declared that no such doctrine was ever taught by Catholics, and that no such passage was ever written by St. Ligori.

"I have examined," said he, "these volumes," pointing to the nine volumes of Ligori on the stand, "from cover to cover, and in none of them can so much as a shadow be found for the infamous charges. I have pledged myself to show to every man of honor in the city that the last allegation read by the gentleman, purporting to be from the works of Ligori, is not to be found in the works of that author."

The bishop then called on Professor Biggs to examine the nine volumes of Ligori to see if he could find the passage referred to by Mr. Smith. But the professor finding that the paging did not accord with that of the edition used by Mr. Smith, declined examining farther. The bishop then referred the case to Mr. Kinmont, a classical teacher in the city, who, after hav-

ing had a day to examine, was brought upon the stage by the bishop and testified that he had not been able to find the passage. Great excitement was naturally produced by the directness of the issue thus formed, and the vast importance which the bishop seemed to attach to it. Mr. Campbell not being able to find the passage from the reference in Mr. Smith's synopsis, promised to investigate the matter, and F. W. Emmons, who was present, having at his request despatched a note to Mr. Smith upon the subject, received from him at once a reply, stating that the passage in question was on page 444 of the eighth volume. Upon receiving this communication, Mr. Campbell asked from Bishop Purcell the loan of St. Ligori's works, and on turning to page 444, volume eighth, ***found every word in the bishop's own edition*** just as had been quoted. He then took the original Latin and the synopsis of Mr. Smith to Mr. Kinmont, who then certified that the version of Smith, as quoted, was a faithful translation of the passage. The bishop's emphatic denial of the existence of such a doctrine in the moral theology of Rome, had, at the time, considerable effect in creating doubt upon the subject, but the result of the investigation greatly injured the cause he defended and justly served to throw discredit upon his frequent denials and denunciations during the debate in regard to other authorities and evidences which Mr. Campbell adduced in support of his propositions. The people could hardly impute to ignorance of the "Moral Theology" of his own Church or of the writings of St. Ligori, his positive averments that no such doctrine as the one in question was held by Roman Catholics, and were consequently led to attribute his bold denials to motives to which the application of the epithet "*moral*" was as inappropriate as it

was to his "Theology" itself, but certainly quite as much *needed* for the information of the credulous.

The discussion terminated greatly to the satisfaction of the Protestant clergy of Cincinnati and vicinity, among whom was the celebrated Lyman Beecher, and they concurred in bestowing upon Mr. Campbell the warmest commendations. It had a happy effect also in disabusing them of much of the prejudice they entertained against him, and of gaining for his plea for primitive Christianity a more candid hearing. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, continued to employ as usual every means in their power to throw discredit upon him and to conceal the discomfiture of their champion. The debate, when published, had a very extensive sale, and a powerful effect in exposing to the community at large the false pretensions and dangerous tendencies of the Roman hierarchy, and raised Mr. Campbell to a much higher position than he had yet attained in the estimation of the public. His share of the proceeds arising from the sale of the book he donated to the "American and Foreign Bible Society" and to the "American Bible Society" in equal portions. Early in 1838, eight hundred dollars had already accrued from the copyright, which was six cents per copy.

Prior to the Catholic debate, Mr. Campbell had received overtures for a written discussion of Universalism with a Mr. Skinner, who was one of the most prominent of its defenders. This accordingly commenced immediately afterward, and was continued in the "Harbinger" for more than two years. As much of it consisted in mere debates about words and criticisms upon translations of certain words, it excited but little interest; and though Mr. Campbell clearly confuted the Universalist arguments, and proved the cer-

tainty of future punishment from the Scriptures, Mr. Skinner's quibbling and abusive course in the discussion led him to employ a severity distasteful both to himself and to his readers, so that he regretted having agreed to allow Mr. Skinner space for a specified number of essays, and that he could not promptly dismiss his captious cavils from the pages of the "Harbinger." Far different in tone and character was the discussion which Mr. Campbell carried on during a portion of the same period with S. W. Lynd, a talented Baptist minister of Cincinnati, upon the interminable subject of converting power, Mr. Campbell still opposing the popular doctrine of a regeneration before faith, or the necessity of special spiritual operations to enable sinners to believe the gospel, as calculated to make the word of God of none effect, and as a modern theological theory without any scriptural evidence of its truth.

"But," said he, "in rejecting these speculative traditions of the elders, I am very far from rejecting the Spirit himself as necessary to our sanctification and salvation. God our Father gave his Son for us, and he gives his Spirit to us. The promise of his Son was a peculiar glory of the Old Testament, while the promise of his Spirit is the distinguishing excellency of the New. By the sacrifice of his Son the *guilt* of sin is taken from us; by the power and grace of his Holy Spirit the *power* of sin is subdued within us.

"Nor do we think it necessary to inquire *how* or *in what manner* the Spirit operates through the truth on our spiritual nature before we confidently ask for his presence, power and comfort. It is enough to know that the Holy Spirit has been promised and that we are commanded to ask for it. In no other matter would a person wait till he understood how a favor was to be bestowed before he asked for it. We have a command to ask, to seek, to knock, and the promise of receiving, finding and obtaining all that we ask in faith, and

all that we could wish on the subject. Our duty is plain, however mysterious our philosophy; our privileges are clear, however dark our metaphysics may be."

About this time a somewhat protracted discussion was carried on in the "Harbinger" in relation to the position of unimmersed believers to the Christian Church. In this M. S. Clapp, T. M. Henley, M. Winans and others took part, and it became evident that a widespread conviction existed that the term Christian could not, in its scriptural, legitimate and full sense, be applied to any except those who had been baptized into Christ according to the primitive model. Mr. Campbell, admitting this, urged, nevertheless, that the term had now come to be applied to the *character*, rather than, as in the beginning, to the *state* or profession of an individual, and that in this respect it might be employed, or that they who manifested the *character* of Christians, even though mistaken in regard to baptism, might be called at least *disciples of Christ*, as this designation was used in Scripture of those who were as yet but imperfectly acquainted with the nature and institutions of the gospel. Among the reasons which led Mr. Campbell to give place to the discussion of this subject at the time, he mentions several, such as that some professed Reformers "were too much addicted to denouncing the sects and representing them *en masse* as wholly antichristian and corrupt." . . .

"These very zealous brethren," continued he, "gave countenance to the popular clamor that we make baptism a saviour or a passport to heaven, disparaging all the private and social virtues of the professing public." He gives as another reason that he had been accused of "aspiring to build up and head a party"—an impression which he desired to remove. He showed that from the very beginning the Reformation had

called upon the people of God among the different parties to come out from among them and unite upon the true and original "foundation upon which all Christians might form one communion," and that in the "Christian Baptist" and the "Harbinger" he had often expressed similar views. He regarded "a conciliatory, meek and benevolent attitude" on the part of the Reformers "not only the most comely and Christian-like, but the most successful in bringing men to understand the gospel." "Many of the Protestant teachers and their communities," said he, "are much better disposed to us than formerly, and I conclude the day is not far distant when many of them will unite with us. They must certainly come over to us whenever they come to the Bible alone."

The evidences of this favorable change in the feelings of most of the religious parties was indeed constantly accumulating. The debate with Bishop Purcell had awakened a considerable degree of sympathy among Protestants, who had been somewhat surprised to see one whom they had mistaken for a foe become the defender of the great truths and doctrines which they cherished in common. They began accordingly to examine more dispassionately Mr. Campbell's writings, and to perceive more clearly through the breaking mists of prejudice the truly catholic character of the principles which he advocated.

On the 24th of June of this year (1837) another son was born to him, to whom, from his unbounded admiration for the great English Reformer, he gave the name of Wickliffe. In the fall (Oct.), he attended the meeting of the College of Teachers at Cincinnati, at which, to his high gratification, a resolution was passed to the effect, "That in the judgment of the College, the Bible should be introduced into every school, from the lowest to the highest, as a school-book." To this was added, at Mr. Campbell's instance, an amendment, seconded

by Bishop Purcell, that the Bible should be "without denominational or sectarian comment." From Cincinnati he visited Dayton and spoke three times, and from thence proceeded to Versailles, Kentucky, where he held a three days' meeting. The succeeding day (Monday) he devoted to a conference with a Presbyterian preacher, a Mr. Styles, who for a number of months had been loudly inveighing against the views which he imputed to the Reformers, and had vauntingly called upon them to bring Mr. Campbell to defend them. At the conference, however, he declined to attempt to sustain his allegations, for which he apologized by imputing them to his peculiar temperament, and agreed to give Mr. Campbell the right hand of fellowship if he would concur with him in the position that the *Spirit* accompanied the *Word* in conversion. Mr. Campbell replied that "this was not a point of controversy between him and the Presbyterians; and that whether true or false, this doctrine was comparatively innocent, because it led men to the Bible and to expect no saving light or health but through the written Word. But the theory he opposed was that of a holy principle wrought in the heart before and without any knowledge of the Word, by a special act of the Spirit. Hence he would debate only this dogma of spiritual influence without the Word, because this certainly made the word of God of none effect, and had opened the door for all the enthusiasm and fanaticism of latter times."

Mr. Styles replied that he did not believe this doctrine, and that the Presbyterians did not teach it, and brought forward the Confession of Faith to prove his assertion. Mr. Campbell took the same Confession and showed that it did teach it, but said he would settle the matter with a single question, viz.: Did he not believe

and teach that infants, even elect infants, *dying in infancy must be regenerated in order to salvation?* Mr. Styles declined to answer this question, and appeared so entirely disconcerted and unnerved in the presence of Mr. Campbell and the large audience assembled, that he could not be induced to enter upon any discussion whatever. As he had previously attracted a good deal of attention and stood high as a man of abilities, his discomfiture under the circumstances was of no small detriment to the cause of Presbyterianism in Kentucky. After leaving Versailles, Mr. Campbell, on his return, spoke at Lexington and Georgetown, and taking a boat at Cincinnati along with Walter Scott and P. B. Pendleton of Virginia, arrived safely at Bethany on the 24th of October.

CHAPTER XIV.

Religious society modified—Estimate of labors—Dr. Thomas—Tour to the South—Letters—Bereavements—Education—Bethany College.

THE success which had thus far attended Mr. Campbell's efforts to remodel religious society had been remarkable. The text which he had chosen when he delivered his first discourse at the organization of the little Brush Run Church in the secluded valley of Buffalo had been literally and fully verified: "Though thy beginning be small, thy latter end shall greatly increase." Already numerous flourishing churches in almost all the States of the Union, as well as in Great Britain and Ireland and the British Provinces, were keeping the ordinances as enjoined by the apostles, and holding forth the Word of Life in its primitive simplicity and power. Already had large and respectable religious bodies yielded to the reformatory principles, and, abandoning human theories and traditions, formed a firm and happy union upon the Bible alone. Still more had the divine efficiency of the original gospel been displayed in the conversion of thousands of the most intelligent portion of society, and in its steady and onward progress amidst the hostile ranks of sectarian opposition. Nor was the influence of the truth less manifest to the thoughtful and observing in the changes and modifications enforced upon almost all the Protestant communities, both in their teaching and in their practice.

These changes, indeed, slowly and reluctantly conceded by the spiritual rulers to satisfy the awakened spirit of inquiry and to secure what might remain of clerical authority, were doubtfully acknowledged by some, and even positively denied by others who wished to conceal unpleasing facts. They were, however, perfectly obvious to all who had watched the progress of events, or who chose to compare the existing liberalized tone of religious society with the intense bigotry and active divisive spirit which formerly prevailed. The idea of the possibility of a universal Christian union upon the Bible alone had insensibly pervaded a large portion of the religious world, and human standards had lost much of their usurped and arbitrary domination over the consciences of men. Their feeble and uncertain light had grown pale before the bright beams of divine truth now shed forth by the Bible as held aloft in the hands of Mr. Campbell, and whose radiance multitudes everywhere now began to enjoy without recognizing immediately the source from which it emanated. Hence, when Mr. Campbell's opponents in those communities which had been thus modified by his influence jeeringly asked the Reformers, "Wherein do you excel?" "Is this your boasted Reformation?" he justly replied:

"I should be pleased to compare notes and the present state and history of the Baptist society and other societies around us, with their state and standing when we first said Reform! We have much to say on this subject whenever our brethren are seriously disposed to canvass this matter with that sincerity and gravity which it demands. Meanwhile, though it may appear invidious were I to institute such a comparison, I would say, as I said to the Roman Catholic bishop at Cincinnati, when he asked, with regard to Protestants, where they had reformed: 'Sir, said I, 'when I wish to compare Protestants and Roman Catholics in those respects of which you

speak, I do not compare Protestants with the Romanists which live among them, and have been in part enlightened or reformed by them; but when I draw the invidious comparison which you institute, I select a society of pure and unmixed Catholics in New Spain or Old Spain, and alongside of those I place a congregation of American Protestants.'"

Amidst all his successes, however, and though consciously wielding a prodigious influence over the minds of a large portion of the religious world, Mr. Campbell never for a moment entertained the thought of becoming the head of a party or of allowing himself to be recognized as the *founder* of a religious denomination. Thus, when, at New Orleans, one of the papers so represented him in announcing his appointments there, he at once addressed to the editors the following note:

"To the Editors of the Commercial Bulletin:

"Gentlemen: Allow me to thank you for the kind and complimentary notice which you gave, in your issue of the 13th inst., of my arrival in your city.

"I also feel very grateful to the ministers and members of the Methodist Church for tendering me the use of their house of worship for Lord's day evening, and regret that it is not in my power to accept it.

"You have done me, gentlemen, too much honor in saying that I am the 'founder' of the denomination, quite numerous and respectable in many portions of the West, technically known as 'Christians,' but more commonly as 'Campbellites.'

"I have always repudiated all *human heads* and *human names* for the people of the Lord, and shall feel very thankful if you will correct the erroneous impression which your article may have made in thus representing me as the founder of a religious denomination.

"With very great respect, I am yours,

"A. Campbell.

"New Orleans, March 14."

Nor was he at any time unwilling to acknowledge his

liability to err, and to admit that in the various trying circumstances in which he had been placed, he had committed, unwittingly, mistakes and uttered unguarded expressions.

"It is not for us," said he, in 1838, in speaking of the events of 1823–1827, "to form a proper estimate of our own labors or of those of others; we are not good judges of such matters, and therefore I presume not to do so. I leave this matter to the judgment-day. . . .

"It is a common cause in which all are engaged, and much has been done and much is doing by many distinguished brethren, of whom I am persuaded better things than that they labor for a temporal prize, or for the comparative honors that human breath can bestow. We have all more credit than we deserve; for we ought to have learned, years before we did, what the Christian institution is in all its parts from such competent instruction as the New Testament affords.

"I will say, with Father Campbell, to whom, under God, the friends of Reformation (not to draw an invidious comparison) are as much indebted as to any living man, if the Lord will graciously forgive all I have done wrong in pleading his cause, I shall be perfectly content with the humblest place in his everlasting kingdom, and to unite with all my brethren in lauding that mysterious and overwhelming grace which condescended to save our sinful persons and accept such unworthy services at our hands."

The occasion of these remarks was a tendency for a time, on the part of Walter Scott, to exalt beyond measure the importance of the practical restoration of the design of baptism, and to claim that this was in reality the restoration of the gospel. Mr. Campbell could not, with his more enlarged views, regard this, or any other *particular* development of truth in the progress of the Reformation, as the restoration of the gospel—an honor which he urged might, with even more propriety, be

claimed for the restoration of the primitive confession of faith in Christ. He accordingly deprecated any partial views of this nature, and any unjust comparisons which were calculated to create rivalry and strife among those who were engaged in a common cause. His humble estimate of his own labors and his frank admission of imperfection in his best endeavors, together with his well-timed former "Letters of Epaphras," and the replies in the "Harbinger," had the happiest effect in correcting errors and eccentricities which, if less kindly and prudently treated, might have resulted in still greater evils, and compromised, in some measure, the success of the Reformation itself.

It was also his remarkably firm adherence to the original principles and primitive spirit of the Reformation which led him to oppose publicly about this period certain materialistic speculations broached by one who, for a time, had promised to become an efficient coadjutor in the cause. This was a young Englishman of the name of John Thomas, a physician, who, soon after his arrival at Cincinnati, had been baptized by Walter Scott. After paying a visit to Bethany, where he was hospitably entertained by Mr. Campbell, he went to Philadelphia, where he remained for some time in connection with the church there, and where he had proposed to establish a periodical. Hoping, however, to find a better field in Eastern Virginia, he removed to Richmond, and there commenced the publication of the "Apostolic Advocate." Ambitious of distinction, fluent and captivating as a public speaker, and manifesting, especially in his writings, a bold spirit of independence, he soon acquired a considerable degree of popularity. Being unfortunately, however, self-confident in his disposition, and having imperfectly com-

prehended the principles of the Reformation, he soon began to evince a spirit of dogmatism and of opinionativeness wholly inconsistent with them. This was first shown in his refusing to recognize religiously or even pray with any who had not submitted to the gospel as he understood it, and in his bold advocacy of the doctrine that immersion, as practiced by the Baptists, was invalid. By his specious reasonings several who had been Baptists became unsettled in regard to their baptism, and Albert Anderson and a few others were induced to submit to reimmersion. It was the Baptists themselves, indeed, who, some time before, had originated the practice of reimmersion, having required it of some who had been baptized by the Reformers and who wished afterward to unite with the Baptist Church. Mr. Campbell had, however, always been entirely opposed to the practice of reimmersion upon such trivial grounds as were alleged in favor of it, believing it to be in all cases valid where there was a sincere belief in Christ, however uninformed the baptized person might be at the time with regard to the nature or design of the institution. Nothing, he justly thought, could ever justify reimmersion, except a consciousness on the part of the individual that at his first baptism he was destitute of faith in Christ. Dr. Thomas, however, in his zeal against sectarianism, seemed disposed to nullify all the proceedings of the religious parties and to establish his own opinions and decisions in the chair of infallibility. His positive assertions on the subject of rebaptism were well calculated to disturb weak minds, and several individuals, even, who had been baptized by Reformers and for the remission of sins, began to doubt their former obedience and to solicit reimmersion. Among these was the wife of Dr. Thomas himself,

who had become thus disquieted in her mind, though formerly baptized on a profession of her faith by D. S. Burnet.

From his personal regard for Dr. Thomas and unwillingness to discuss a subject so unprofitable, Mr. Campbell long forbore to notice, publicly, the course pursued by him, but was obliged at length by his persistency to express in the "Harbinger" his dissent from such views. This duty he performed in a mild spirit, hoping that Dr. Thomas would be induced to abandon his course. This expectation, however, was not fulfilled, for the doctor going on to broach various materialistic theories in regard to the nature of the human soul, the state of the dead, etc., and evincing a determination to dwell upon these untaught questions, Mr. Campbell was finally reluctantly compelled to reprove publicly his factious course, and to expose in an Extra published December, 1837, his vain and idle speculations.

In this, as the doctor had perverted the freedom of discussion and of opinion allowed in the Reformation into license, Mr. Campbell found it necessary to restate its leading principle, that "opinions upon all subjects not revealed were to be private property, and that no citizen of Christ's kingdom had a right either to demand or propound them with any authority whatever."

"Liberty of speech and of the press," said he, "is not with me licentious extravagance nor disregard for the opinions of others; nor is the proper use of our rights the sustaining of every restless demagogical spirit who will be conspicuous for something—for anything. On all Bible facts, precepts, promises and declarations, on all its various documents, ordinances and statutes, we go for full and free discussion; but we say it is abhorrent to the Reformation for which we plead to prop-

agate mere opinions and speculations; and that it is entirely off the ground we occupy to favor those who devote their tongue or their pens to build up any theory, ancient or modern, original or borrowed."

Leaving then the doctor's case to the church of which he was a member, Mr. Campbell resolved to dismiss the subject. As the doctor had recently removed to Amelia county, a small congregation there under his influence undertook to justify him, but the church at Richmond, where his membership still remained, at once repudiated both him and his speculations.

Having received many urgent calls from the Southern States, Mr. Campbell, in the fall of 1838, determined to make them a visit. Setting out accordingly on the 8th of October, accompanied by his daughter Lavinia and Joseph Henley, he proceeded, by way of Baltimore, to Washington. On the way from thence to Fredericksburg, he was accompanied by William Carman, a warm friend and worthy member of the church in Baltimore, and also found himself seated in the stage with Bishop Meade, of Virginia, with whom he had a long conversation, and with whose liberality, candor and good-nature he was much pleased. At Fredericksbug he was met by R. L. Coleman, who, he remarks in his journal, "continued with us the whole time in Virginia, much to our gratification and comfort."

"We found," he adds, "our brethren, Bagby, of Louisa, and Henshall, of Richmond, waiting for our arrival at our old friend Woolfolk's, of Caroline. The former was with us at several points, and the latter continued in our company till we arrived at Richmond. We met our much esteemed brethren, Henley, Du Val and Pendleton, with many others at Antioch; and so continued to meet at every point other brethren of note among the disciples till we arrived at Brother Carter's, in the environs of Richmond.

"At Newton, King-and-Queen county, we had a very pleasing interview with our old friend Andrew Broaddus. He attended our meeting, and favored us with a little friendly conversation on incidental topics. He enjoys good health, but like most men in the environs of seventy, is evidently descending the hill of life. It would be a consummation devoutly to be wished could he, before he passes the Jordan of Time, induce his brethren to rescind their '*Orders in Council*,' and to open their ears to a candid consideration of the points at issue between them and us. It would do them no harm to move forward a few paces toward the primitive simplicity of the gospel and to the practice of the ancient institutions of Christ. They would not have to give up any truth in admitting all we contend for, as many of them now concede. We only ask for a renunciation of human traditions; and wherever they are found they ought to be abandoned. The word of the Lord shall stand for ever, but the counsels of men shall come to nothing."

Mr. Campbell had resolved not to pay any farther attention to the speculative errors with which Dr. Thomas and some of his adherents were disturbing the churches in Virginia. Finding, however, that these pernicious teachings were persisted in by some two or three individuals in almost every church, he found himself compelled to speak, first in private and then publicly, against these roots of discord. Passing on from Richmond to Charlottesville, he spoke there four times and twice in Scottsville, in the same county. The students of the University greatly desired to have him deliver a special address to them, but failed to obtain permission, owing to what Mr. Campbell wittily styled the *quadrangular orthodoxy* of the establishment, which required the chaplain to be either an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Methodist, or a Baptist. After visiting Monticello and the grave of Jefferson, he passed down

into Amelia county, and sent word to Dr. Thomas that he would be at Painesville on Monday, and would there examine publicly the views which the doctor had presented in a discussion he had recently held with Mr. Watt, a Presbyterian preacher, and that if he chose to attend he should have liberty to reply. To this arrangement the doctor agreed, and after the matters objected to by Mr. Campbell had been discussed for several days with the utmost equanimity and good feeling, but without any prospect of coming to agreement in opinion, Dr. Reuben H. Dejarnette, during recess, took Mr. Campbell aside, and reminding him of his expressed desire to recover Dr. Thomas, if possible, from his errors, and not to push the discussion so far as to injure him or drive him wholly from the Reformation, suggested to him to refer the matters in debate to the brethren present, as he was convinced that the doctor's speculations were sufficiently exposed. To this proposition Mr. Campbell assented, reserving the right of rejecting the action of the referees if he should find it necessary. Dr. Dejarnette then proposed to Dr. Thomas to refer the matter to the brethren, to which he agreed, and the proposed reference was then publicly announced and the discussion terminated. In order to avoid, however, an abrupt dismissal of the audience, it was agreed that each speaker should deliver a short address on some general topic before concluding. Some twenty-three of the principal brethren then met, and after duly considering the questions of difference, framed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That whereas certain things believed and propagated by Dr. Thomas, in relation to the mortality of man, the resurrection of the dead and the final destiny of the wicked, having given offence to many brethren, and being

likely to produce a division among us; and believing the said views to be of no *practical* benefit, we recommend to Brother Thomas to discontinue the discussion of them, ***unless in his defence when misrepresented.***"

Dr. Thomas having consented to abide by the requirements of this resolution, the matter was seemingly adjusted, and great hopes were entertained at the time that he would devote his abilities to the cause of Bible Christianity.

"I cannot but hope," said Mr. Campbell, speaking of the interview with Dr. Thomas, "that the discussion held at Painesville will fully satisfy all that where the Bible is silent we ought to be as silent as the grave; and when it speaks often and clear, we ought to speak with corresponding clearness and frequency. May the Lord bless all who are led by the Bible!" The hope, however, it may be here stated, that Dr. Thomas would abandon his speculations, proved fallacious. His indomitable self-esteem would not suffer him to keep his covenant with the brethren and allow the world to remain ignorant of his imagined new discoveries. He, therefore, soon after, while on a visit to England, endeavored to spread his materialism there, and after his return commenced in Illinois the publication of a paper called the "Investigator," in which he so openly displayed his apostasy from the cause he had at first espoused that Mr. Campbell was compelled to denounce him publicly as having departed from the Reformation ground and as seeking to form a new party. In this, however, the doctor's success was extremely small, for, notwithstanding the most persevering and unwearied efforts on his part, he was able to make but few converts to his opinions, and soon ceased to attract attention, being utterly discountenanced by the churches.

Mr. Campbell, after the Painesville discussion, went on to Charleston, South Carolina, which had recently suffered by a terrible fire and a visitation of yellow fever. After making in his journal some judicious remarks upon the frequent misapplication of the meaning of providences, he thus speaks with regard to slavery:

"We conclude that slavery has proved no greater blessing to the far South than it has done to Virginia. It has exhausted whatever of natural fertility had been originally in the soil; and South Carolina seems to have once had a reasonable proportion of fruitful territory. It has superinduced the worst system of agriculture which one could easily imagine; and it has imposed on the whole community views, feelings and habits exceedingly inimical to the resuscitation of the soil and the agricultural improvement and advancement of the State. Tobacco, rice and cotton are profitable crops for slave labor, but exceedingly unprofitable for other labor; and it seems they are predestined to live together; they are legally married in the South, and South Carolina favors no sort of divorces, literal or figurative, except in the conjugal affinities of States."

Visiting Dr. Irwin and other friends in Barnwell district, who had gone to Charleston in hopes of meeting him there, but were disappointed, he went on thence to Augusta, Georgia, where he met with E. A. Smith. The Savannah Baptist Association being in session, it passed a resolution advising the churches to refuse him the use of their meeting-houses. He obtained, however, the Methodist and Unitarian houses of worship, in which he spoke for several days. From what he saw of the state of society, he made the following remarks in his journal:

"I am convinced that more than half the white population of the Carolinas and Georgia are an age behind the same class in the North and West of our national patrimony. And

still worse, I am of opinion that their condition can never be improved under the institutions of those regions. It is of the essence and of the tendency of those institutions to concentrate all power, wealth, learning and respectability in the hands of an elect few, peers of the realm, princes and nobles of the land, 'lords of the fowl and the brute.' The good citizens at the South, amongst whom are many good and choice spirits, are not to blame for these institutions. They did not create them. They are themselves the creatures, not the creators, of these institutions. They are born and educated under them, and cannot be blamed for the vices of a dominant majority when they do not countenance them. It is of the essence of our national creed that the minority shall submit to the majority in all things temporal and political—things spiritual and eternal are always excepted."

After speaking at various points in South Carolina and Georgia, and enjoying the kind hospitalities and aid of many warm friends, he proceeded to Montgomery, Alabama, where he was met by the amiable and talented James A. Butler, one of the most active Reformation preachers in the State. After speaking at various points, he at length reached Mobile, where he remained three or four days, and then sailed on board the "Giraffe," by way of the Gulf and Lake Pontchartrain, for New Orleans. His general impression of the state of things in the regions he visited may perhaps be best learned from the following letters written while upon his tour:

"STEAMBOAT 'TAPALOOSA,' ALABAMA RIVER, January 16, 1839.

"MY DEAR BROTHER RICHARDSON: I have been daily resolving for two months past that the next vacant hour would be occupied in writing a few words to Brother Richardson. But vacant hours are with me rare almost as angel visits. It has been with me a sermon of three months' continuance, interrupted only by the stages of a journey of some three

thousand miles. My public addresses have been in Virginia thirty-four, in South Carolina twenty-three, in Georgia twenty, in South Alabama ten, besides some hundred fireside sermons, almost as laborious as those in public assemblies. I am a wonder to myself in enduring fatigue; often almost done out, yet as fresh in the morning as ever. I perform daily ablutions, either sponging or *rantizing* the whole person, followed up by friction *sweats;* which lustrations, being performed about the dawn of day, greatly invigorate and fortify against colds and the accidents of new lodgings and a very variable climate.

"No accident worth stating has yet overtaken us. That Eye that slumbers not has watched our down-sittings and uprisings, and guarded, as well as guided, all our paths. No shield like that of Jacob's God, no munition like the Rock of Ages! We have had a stream of consolation following us all the way, as well as a bright cloud animating our onward course. We have the prayers of many Christians and the benediction of them that love the city of our God.

"My present tour reminds me of those in 1823–'24–'25, when I was widely scattering the seeds of reformation in the West. The first principles of things—the objections of the captious, the scruples of the conscientious, the problems of the curious and the ambushes of the enemies—all require and receive a degree of attention. We have to dispossess demons and exorcise unclean spirits, as well as to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. The chief priests, the scribes and the rulers of the people are generally in league against us. But there are some more noble than in Thessalonica, who hear the word with teachableness. Upon the whole, opposition is strong, well disciplined and co-operative. Still, the truth is omnipotent and many minds are leavened by its power, and though but a few have yet turned out courageously to avow their purposes, some have, and many more will. We are getting into the confidence of the best part of the Baptist communities, which are very numerous in the South.

"But alas for the South! None are more enslaved to men

than slave-owners. A few demagogues in religion and politics first make the people, and then represent them. . . . In religion, two or three little *popes* govern all the associations and conferences—they *think*—and the people pay them for it.

"I have aimed at disabusing the public ear and propitiating a favorable hearing of all the main points at issue, and have generally succeeded. A few preachers are well disposed to examine; one or two have boldly asserted their independence, and I doubt not but others will follow. Upon the whole, things are as hopeful as such a latitude and such institutions and manners and customs will permit. But alas for the South!

"I expect to be in New Orleans about the 22d, and will leave there about the 29th for Jackson, Louisiana, and then peregrinate Louisiana and Mississippi up to Vicksburg, thence to Louisville, through Kentucky by land to Maysville, thence to Bethany, *Deo volente*, where I may arrive some time in March. Lavinia joins me in kind regards to yourself and Sister Richardson. . . . Affectionately, as ever, your brother in the hope of eternal life, A. CAMPBELL."

"MOBILE RIVER, January 17, 1839—Steamboat 'Tapaloosa.'

"BELOVED BROTHER COLEMAN: Time has not passed so smoothly since I saw thee last. 'There is no place like Virginia,' says Lavinia, and I am almost of the same opinion. Disciples of Christ are not numerous in the South. . . . We are disabusing the public mind of false impressions and presenting definite views of first principles. The Baptists are exceedingly opposed through the decrees of their Associations, who have forbid the opening of their meeting-houses to me and the brethren. Still we find some among them who will hear and open their houses. Favorable impressions have been made in all places, and a few converted. But our population in the South is much more ignorant than in Virginia. We have a few educated intelligent men, as we have a few rich and powerful; but the majority are poor, ignorant and uneducated. . . . Such persons are not interested in clear, distinct perceptions; they are fond of mystic doctrines, man-worship

and enthusiastic feelings. The brethren are of the best class of citizens and of very respectable attainments. But it will require many sermons and labors, or much reading, to achieve much in these regions. They want preachers, they want houses and they want a more concentrated population to work upon. Farms are large—from one thousand to ten thousand acres—consequently not much society. Many negroes, everything dear, traveling very high—twice the Virginia rates. . . Still, I would not have you to think that little has been done, or that little can be done, in this benighted region. But it will require much effort. Several preachers are already much prepossessed; one has come out for Reformation, and others, I think, are on the way. . . . I sketch this in a crowd in the cabin of the steamboat. Since you parted with me at Petersburg we have traveled nearly two thousand miles. I expect to be at New Orleans on the 22d, and then to commence my tour in Louisiana and Mississippi. I expect to arrive in Kentucky in March, and at Bethany about the beginning of April, when I shall expect to hear from you and soon to see you.

"Lavinia joins with me in her kindest and most Christian regards to yourself, Brother and Sister Goss, Brother Poindexter, and indeed all our special acquaintances in Charlottesville. May the love of God, the favor of Jesus Christ and the communications of the Holy Spirit be with your spirit, my dear brother! In all affection, yours in the Lord,

"A. CAMPBELL."

"NEW ORLEANS, January 23, 1839.

"MY DEARLY BELOVED SELINA: Through the unceasing kindness of our Father in heaven we are safely arrived in this great commercial emporium of the South and South-west. But we have brought a poor article to this market; few bidders and no buyers inquiring for drafts on the Bank of Heaven. Bonds drawn on the richest bank in the universe and at the cheapest price are unacceptable and uninteresting to this community 'Buy wine and milk without money and without price.'

"I am to offer my wares and merchandise this evening at the Congregational meeting-house of Mr. Clapp. It is announced in all the city papers. This city appears much more orderly and decent than I expected, and has some very fine buildings. But the population is of all castes but the right one, and everything is more in demand than the things of heaven.

"O Mammon! Mammon! Riches, honor, fame, whatever thou art that captivates the human mind from God and Christ and heaven, thou art an insidious, murderous foe! A delusion, false and cruel! And such is the infatuation of sin that men will hear their worst enemy rather than their best friend. How much need for the petition, 'Lord, abandon us not to temptation!'

"We are all homesick enough, but as much as I desire to see my dear Selina and my children and friends—and I never more longed to see them all—I must, like the soldier enlisted in the war of his country and king, faithfully serve my term and get an honorable discharge. I have undertaken a certain mission and I must perform it all.

"We had a very pleasant passage from Mobile to New Orleans. We unfortunately lost much of the pleasure of the voyage through the Gulf of Mexico, having passed through the most of it during the night. I always sleep sound by land and by sea, and although we almost ran aground on a shoal in the night, and had a good deal of backing out and noise, I did not hear anything of it, but slept sweetly for seven hours, from nine to four.

"On Monday we shall leave here for Jackson, Louisiana, where Brother Shannon and the University of this State are located. I know not what stay I will make in these two States of Mississippi and Louisiana, but presume I cannot leave before the end of February, and then I shall pass through Kentucky from Louisville to Maysville, and thence to Bethany, Virginia, if the Lord will.

"Our times are in *His* hand who rides upon the whirlwind and directs the storm. The will of the Lord alone shall

stand for ever. May we, my dear wife, all be submissive to his holy and righteous will. To understand and practice the Christian religion is heaven begun and anticipated on earth, and to make others happy in the same way is to promote our own peace and joy and bliss; for while the sons of the flesh are hated and hating, deluded and deluding, sinned against and sinning, the Christian is beloved and loving, enlightened and enlightening, blessed and blessing in all his Christian efforts to do good.

"I am announced in the city papers as about to deliver an address on the 'Christian System' this evening, and shall arrange my thoughts in the following order:

"PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.—1. If the Christian religion be divine, it must be a *system*. For God works systematically, hence nature is a system of systems. But Christianity is divine because it is *good* and *true*, and like all God's systems it is *positive*, *simple*, *natural*, authoritative and adapted to the happiness of its subjects. 2. Man is the subject of the Christian system—not man as he *was*, but man as he *is*. Man may be contemplated as he *was*, as he *is* and as he *shall be*. The Christian religion, while it alludes to man as he *was* and as he *shall be*, treats man as he *is*. 3. But man as he *is* is the subject of many systems and sciences, physical, political, legal. Christianity treats man as he is *morally*, or in his relations to an intellectual and moral system, and treats with him as he *is*, that it may make him what he *ought to be*.

"Then we shall consider THE CHRISTIAN SYSTEM: 1. The *Author* of it. 2. The *subject* of it. 3. The *end* of it. 4. Its elements. 5. The acceptability it effects for man with God. Something like this seems to press upon my mind this evening.

"My dear Selina, I need not enjoin upon you the religious and moral training of our dear children. I am aware that you love me, and love them on my account as well as or your own. They are dear pledges of our mutual love and esteem, and therefore I have all confidence in your maternal as well as conjugal affection. I only say that while I see the sad moral evils of the present time in the training of children,

and the sad course of this generation, I am, like Joshua, more and more resolved that as for me and my house we shall serve the Lord. Remember me affectionately to my father, to all my children, to all my brethren who ask for me, and to all my household. Yours ever, A. CAMPBELL."

At New Orleans, Mr. Campbell received many polite attentions from Mr. Clapp, pastor of the First Congregational Church there, who granted him freely the use of his meeting-house. After delivering five lectures, which were heard with great interest by large audiences, he ascended the Mississippi and spoke in the Episcopal church at St. Francisville, and thence proceeded to Jackson, the seat of one of the State colleges, whose president was James Shannon, a fine scholar and an earnest disciple, who had already established a church there. From this point he thus wrote:

"JACKSON, LOUISIANA, February 8, 1839.

"MY DEAR SELINA: I am now safely lodged at the residence of our good brother Shannon, president of the Louisiana College. We have been bound to the house by a four days' rain and snow. Through the continual goodness of our heavenly Father we are thus far preserved from all evil.

"'Oh how great is his goodness which he has laid up for them that love him, for them that trust in him before the sons of men! He shall hide them in the secret of his presence from the pride of man. He shall keep them secretly in a pavilion from the strife of tongues.'

"We are now about one hundred and fifty miles above New Orleans, and had expected, but for the rain, to have been to-night with Mrs. Johnson, concerning whom you heard so good a report from Dr. McCall. We met with many acquaintances in New Orleans, amongst whom were Brother Hurlbut, of Pittsburg, and Sister Nancy Owen, from Tennessee, Mr. Richard Talbot, and others of equal interest and reputation. I found and left them all well. I expect to be

in Natchez in about a week, and in Vicksburg in some two or three weeks.

"I have spoken here to very large and attentive audiences several times, and expect to leave to-morrow, if it does not rain, for Woodville, Mississippi. I think much good has resulted from my labors here, as well as in other places that I have visited. We are slaying the prejudices of the people and propitiating the ears of thousands to the truth. In all places we have disarmed prejudice and awed opposition into silence, or made it do homage to the truth. We are, however, rather grubbing and pioneering than planting, and sowing rather than reaping.

"I only want the consolations of your presence, my dear Selina, to fill up the measure of my earthly happiness, and to see my dear family partaking with me in the good things of the heavenly religion of our Saviour and benefactor. Amidst all the company which I have around me—and it is most acceptable and often greatly interesting—there is none that can fill the place of the mother of my dear children and the partner of all my fortunes, good or evil. Strange relation! Wonderful union! Certainly it is a divine institution! God said it is not *good* for man to be alone. Alone in the midst of society I often am, merely because I am not all here. For the man is not without the woman, and the woman is not without the man in the Lord!

"God in the midst of a deep sleep—a type of death—created out of man's side a woman. The devil in the disguise of a serpent deceived and seduced her. The woman's son and Lord in the guise and covering of a son of man caught the enemy in his own craftiness, and being killed, killed him; by being captured, captivated captivity! Well now, the heavenly Father during the deep sleep of the second Adam created out of his opened side, whence blood to atone and water to cleanse issued, a bride for his son. So that Jesus is the Husband of the Church, and she, the bride, is bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. So that he loved her and gave himself for her, that he might have a pure, chaste, virtuous bride

as his companion and his delight for ever. May we, my dear sister-wife, bring forth meet fruits, that when he appears we may appear at his marriage supper, and that we may be in full dress, without speck or wrinkle or any such thing.

"My most affectionate regards to all at Bethany, as if named one by one; while I remain, as ever, your loving and beloved husband, A. CAMPBELL.

"The Lord bless you all!"

After speaking eight times at Jackson, Mr. Campbell visited Woodville and Consolation, and then went on to Natchez and other points in Mississippi, scattering with a liberal hand the seeds of righteousness and piety everywhere along his route. From Natchez he passed up the river to Louisville, having become exceedingly desirous to reach again his loved ones at Bethany, from whom he had been now absent more than five months. However firm his will, and however exacting his own sense of obligation to spread abroad the knowledge of the truth, no one felt more deeply the privations of absence or held in more constant or affectionate remembrance those who were dear to him. Their names seemed to be ever upon his heart, and the special incidents or circumstances which were associated with their memories seemed to be indissolubly linked with all his private musings. He forgot no family anniversaries, he omitted no opportunity of recurring to events fitted to deepen family affection or enliven social intercourse. Hence it was that, upon his tours, his letters to his family and friends were numerous and often of considerable length. From his remarkable talent for the despatch of business he availed himself of every spare moment for such communings, on steamboats, in hotels and other stopping-places, while at the same time he constantly kept up his regular series of essays and com-

munications in the "Harbinger," averaging, with its extras, more than fifty printed pages per month. It was thus, in harmony with his constant practice and his desire to impart happiness to all connected with him, that, on the anniversary of his first marriage, which occurred while he was in Louisville, he addressed the following letter to Mrs. Campbell:

"LOUISVILLE, March 12, 1839.

"MY DEAR SELINA: This day, twenty-eight years ago, I gave my hand, and my heart accompanied it, to your amiable and excellent predecessor in the holy bonds of matrimony. Heaven lent me that precious gift more than sixteen years, of the value of which I never did form an over-estimate. But more than eleven years since He called her to himself from this land of cares and fears and griefs and woes unnumbered, and more than ten years ago appointed you to fill her place in my affections, and to be her successor in all the endearments and trials of the conjugal and maternal relations.

"I have, my dear Selina, found you worthy of all the affection and esteem which were due to her who desired to bless both you and me by nominating you to be her successor. I have, from ten years' intimacy, superadded to an acquaintance of ten years more, found you to be in understanding and in feeling, in piety and in social excellence, all that is desirable in woman; and, permit me to add, though I have seen many an amiable and excellent woman since I gave you my heart and my hand for life, I have never thought that I saw one more deserving of my affection and esteem than yourself.

"Now, my dear, you may be assured that if either by my long absence from you or any apparent neglect that at any time I may, in my absent, studious hours or seasons, have exhibited toward you, it would seem as if I did not truly and worthily appreciate your society and your excellences, I would have you know that it was the offspring of the frailties of human nature—which, you know, in its best estate, is always vanity—or the imperious calls of duty, to which, you know, I

am not altogether deaf or inattentive. You are my fellow-soldier, my true yoke-fellow, my partner in all my labors in the cause of religion and humanity, and therefore, as you share in my toils and self-denials, I pray that we may equally partake in the eternal rewards and enjoyments.

"I do not intend ever to leave you so long again, as I do not think that it will be my duty. Meanwhile, I trust, as the Lord has kindly borne with all my frailties—and I am aware they are neither few nor little—and has led me by his right hand in the times and places of danger, that he will still send his angel before me and keep me in all my ways, and restore me to your bosom and that of my beloved family in due time.

"Meanwhile, my beloved Selina, constantly, as I know you do, pray to the Lord for me that I may be humble, spiritually-minded, wholly devoted to the Lord, and that my labors may be accepted by him and blessed. . . .

"Farewell, my dear, and remember me affectionately to all. Yours ever, in nature and in the Lord, A. CAMPBELL."

From Louisville, accompanied by William Morton, he went on to Shelbyville, where he spoke three times, and was happy to meet again with J. Taffe, his former agreeable traveling companion, who, along with a Brother Gates, of Louisville, highly esteemed by Mr. Campbell, accompanied him to Frankfort, where he was met by his esteemed fellow-laborer, P. S. Fall, whom he styles in his journal "the first Reformer in Kentucky." Leaving Frankfort, he visited, in company with Messrs. Taffe and Gates, many other points between that city and Maysville, renewing his intercourse with many warm friends. Spending in all fourteen days in this State, during which he spoke fifteen times, he closed with an address, on March 25th, to the Maysville Lyceum on "Supernatural Facts," which was afterward published at the request of the society. In less than an hour after this address he embarked on board a steamer for

Wellsburg, and arrived at Bethany on the 28th of March, having spent about six months on this tour, speaking about once for every day and baptizing some forty persons.

While he was absent his sister Alicia died of consumption, January 16, 1839, at Matthew McKeever's near West Middletown, and was buried near her mother in the cemetery at Bethany. She had been for some years the wife of M. S. Clapp, and cheerfully yielded her gentle spirit into the hands of her Redeemer. In the very same year, on the 9th of July, Mr. Campbell was called to suffer the loss of his second daughter, Eliza Ann, who had been some time before married to Dr. John C. Campbell, a lawyer and a gentleman of high intelligence and standing in Wellsburg. She had become a member of the church at fourteen years of age, and met the approach of death with the utmost calmness and resignation.

In concluding the notes of his late extended tour, Mr. Campbell remarked in regard to the general condition of society:

"On a survey of all we saw and heard on the whole subject of religion and morality—both theory and practice—we must say that much is wanting, very much is wanting, in order to correct and scriptural views of the gospel and its institutions; and still more, in order to moral and Christian excellence of character before God and man. This is truly a degenerate age as respects Christian purity and Christian enjoyment. There is, too, everywhere more of a readiness to reform the creed than the heart, to rectify the understanding rather than the affections, and to exhibit sound tenets rather than godly lives; good works are much more wanting than good notions; devotion to God more than submission to a party; personal and family religion more than plans and benevolent operations on paper for the Asiatics and Africans.

. . . Millions are consumed upon the lusts of men for thousands that are laid up on deposit in the Bank of Heaven. But time fails. I must speak of this hereafter. 'O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make known; in wrath remember mercy!'"

These reflections were connected with an important purpose. During Mr. Campbell's entire course there was no subject which more deeply interested him than that of education. But at no former period of his life had he been so deeply impressed with the great want of an educated and efficient ministry to supply the demands of the Reformation, now so widely spread. It was not possible, however, that education or any other subject could undergo his scrutiny without being expanded in harmony with the massive proportions of his own intellectual nature; and having for some time longed to present to the public the result of his reflections upon this topic, he, after his return, began to develop in a series of essays a grand system of education, designed to embrace all ages and to develop man in all the attributes of his complex being. This plan was to begin at the nursery, and to have family, school, college and church education adapted to the entire physical, intellectual, moral and religious constitution of man.

He proposed, therefore, 1st, a FAMILY INSTITUTION for the purpose of furnishing accommodations for those in attendance at the primary school, and especially for the development of the domestic character, as well as for furnishing a model of family government and economy. This was to be under the control of two persons, a *patron* and a *matron*, and to be a home for lads under fourteen, where these could be subjected to a system of kind parental discipline, carefully instructed in the facts, precepts and promises of the Bible, and trained

up in the paths of morality and religion. Knowing that all the powers of human nature were to be strengthened and improved by exercise, the muscles, the perceptive and the reflective powers, the moral sentiments, the feelings and the affections were to be every day employed and exercised on objects and in actions suitable to their nature and functions. For these ends he contemplated a very extensive course of instruction adapted to children, connected in a good measure with their amusements, and embracing the elements of natural history, agriculture, etc.

In the second place, education in the SCHOOL was to be conducted on the same general principles, and to embrace a complete course of preparation for college, it being constantly kept in view that the *formation of moral character, the culture of the heart, was to be made the supreme end*, all other purposes being held subordinate.

In the third place, in the COLLEGE, he proposed a liberal course of studies, giving somewhat more prominence than usual to the physical sciences, and contemplating the most liberal provisions for thorough instruction, so as to prepare young men to enter upon the study of the learned professions. In this department, however, as in the others, moral and religious training was to form a principal feature and the Bible was to be made one of the regular text-books, so that no one could receive the honors of the institution without being thoroughly acquainted with the Sacred Oracles, which were to be taught regularly every day—not with the design of evolving from them any system of doctrines, but for the purpose of familiarizing the mind with Bible facts and institutions.

In the fourth and last place, the CHURCH with which

the institution was to be connected, embracing all who were really members, would present to the entire institution and to the world a practical conformity to the requirements of religion, and thus exemplify the truths and excellences of the gospel of Christ.

This grand scheme of education was no sooner presented than it was hailed with delight by well-wishers to humanity and by eminent educators of various creeds, who were struck with its completeness and its novelty, and who had learned to anticipate the success of every enterprise undertaken by Mr. Campbell. History could refer to the genius of Prince Talleyrand alone for conceptions so grand and a scheme so exhaustive. It was at the period of the French Revolution, and on the evening of the day when the destruction of the Bastile had filled the palace with terror and the Assembly with surprise, that Talleyrand was appointed one of eight members to draft a constitution. It was at this singular juncture in human affairs, when popular frenzy, as it were with volcanic power, upturned the very foundations of society, and amidst frightful desolations threw up from the depths of human nature many precious gems of original and unrecognized political and social truth, that the Constituent Assembly, considering that the best means of giving stability to its reforms was to cultivate the understanding of the people, committed to Talleyrand the most extraordinary task ever undertaken by an individual, in charging him to produce a plan of public instruction which should prepare the coming generations for the lofty destiny supposed to await them.

The report which he presented in consequence to the Assembly has deservedly attached to his memory the highest renown. Previously, education had been en-

tirely in the hands of the clergy, but the author, breaking away at once from all conventionalities, established usages and narrow systems, proceeded boldly to consider the whole subject of education in its origin, its object, its organization and its methods. The subject was thus treated, for the first time, with an immediate view to *national* ends. Education was contemplated as required not only for all ages, but as addressed to the understanding, the powers of which were to be developed; to the soul, whose moral instincts were to be awakened; and to the body, whose activities and strength were to be improved. For these purposes he proposed to establish primary schools in every canton for elementary instruction. From these, pupils were to be transferred to secondary schools in the chief towns of every district, where a thorough common school education was to be imparted to fit all for the ordinary business of life. Special schools were then projected for each department, in which instruction was to be given in the useful arts and professions. Finally, a great National Institute was to be established in the capital for the purpose of the most profound researches in science and literature, in order to advance human knowledge and to centralize the national mind as the legislature centralized the national will. This magnificent scheme, which embraced the development of man's physical, intellectual and moral nature, and which even gave to moral culture a special prominence with a view to render all good and useful citizens, was, nevertheless, strikingly defective in assigning to moral principle no other origin than the understanding and no other sanction than mere utility. According to the spirit of the times, morality was based entirely on temporal motives, and no reference to any religious sentiment was ad-

mitted. The plan, however, was not carried into execution, owing to the convulsions of the succeeding period, and remained a barren project until revived by Guizot, to some extent, after the Revolution of 1830.

The system projected by Mr. Campbell, who depended entirely upon the resources of his own capacious mind and enlarged experience and observation, presented the same great objects and the same comprehensive classification, but it differed radically from all preceding measures in making the Bible the basis of all moral culture. The relations of the great principles taught in the Bible to human rights and political and social freedom had for some time been partially recognized, but no one had assigned to it its proper position in respect to moral science, which had, as yet, found no better foundation than philosophy, and the study of which even was postponed to the latest period. Mr. Campbell was convinced that a very great chasm was suffered to exist in the ordinary course of education between the primary school and the college. The almost total neglect of moral culture during this period left, he thought, pupils quite unprepared to engage in the studies and encounter the temptations of college life. He argued that there could not be any proper preparations for college without such a development of the moral faculties and such instruction as would enable students to take correct views of life and of society, and justly to recognize the obligations and responsibilities resting upon them. This preparation, imparted only in exceptional cases in home education, he thought should be assiduously communicated to *all*, and that a proper foundation should thus be laid for all subsequent attainments. This moral education, in his view, could be derived from no other source than the Bible, whose

lessons alone furnished the proper basis for such an attainment, which he did not conceive to consist in mere instruction in the principles or in the philosophy of morality, but in the *formation of character*. This, which had heretofore formed no part of the purpose for which schools were established, he thought should be made the chief object, believing it quite possible to form the human character by early discipline and instruction, to implant proper motives, direct the feelings in a proper course, and fix in the mind moral and religious principles. His conceptions, indeed, in regard to these points, corresponded closely with those of the eminent De Fellenberg, who for many years had been endeavoring, under many difficulties, to put his ideas into practice at Hotwyl, but of whose views Mr. Campbell does not appear to have known anything until after he had published his own.

Impressed with the great deficiency of competent teachers for schools and for the churches, Mr. Campbell had many years before conceived the plan which he now submitted, but he had delayed making it public, as a literary institution called Bacon College had been somewhat unexpectedly started by the brethren at Georgetown, Kentucky, and he did not wish to divert the resources of the friends of education there from the enterprise in which they were engaged, until its success was assured. Bacon College being at length removed to Harrodsburg, under favorable conditions, and his observations during his late extensive tours having awakened him more fully to the pressing wants of the community and the churches, he thought the time had fully arrived for the execution of his designs. In his earnest desire, therefore, to promote the highest interests of society, and to appropriate his own time and abilities

to the most beneficent ends, he resolved to consecrate much of what remained to him of life in preparing for the coming generation better-instructed teachers than had been formed by the old methods.

"Having now," said he, "completed fifty years, and on my way to sixty, the greater part of which time I have been engaged in literary labors and pursuits, and imagining that I possess some views and attainments which I can in this way render permanently useful to this community and posterity, I feel in duty bound to offer this project to the consideration of all the friends of literature, morality and unsectarian Bible Christianity. I am willing to bestow much personal labor without any charge in getting up this institution, and also to invest a few thousand dollars in it; provided only our brethren—the rich and opulent especially—and those who have children to educate, will take a strong hold of it, and determine to build up an establishment that may be made to themselves, their children and many others a lasting and a comprehensive blessing."

During the winter of 1840, a charter having been obtained for Bethany College through the attentions of John C. Campbell, Esq., who had formerly been a member of the Legislature, Mr. Campbell announced his determination to proceed at once with the arrangements necessary for the institution, and invited donations from those disposed to assist. The first donation, $1000, was made by Philip B. Pendleton, of Virginia, as a legacy. On the 11th of May, 1840, the trustees held their first meeting. At the second meeting, September 18th, Mr. Campbell was elected president of the college, and requested to prepare a scheme of the course of education to be adopted. On this occasion he presented to the Board a bond for a deed of land for the use of the institution, and the trustees, after appointing a building committee, and making some other arrange-

ments, adjourned to the next year. Meanwhile, Mr. Campbell, with his usual promptitude, proceeded on his own responsibility to erect a large brick building for the accommodation of students. At the second annual meeting of the Board of Trustees, May 10, 1841, four professors were appointed, viz.: W. K. Pendleton, who had married Mr. Campbell's daughter, Lavinia, during the previous month of October, Andrew F. Ross, Charles Stewart and Robert Richardson. Notice was also ordered to be given that the collegiate department would be open for the reception of students on the 21st of October following.

CHAPTER XV.

Reformation in South-west Virginia—The atonement—Bethany College—Converting influence—Church organization—Tours.

ON the 13th of June, 1840, Mr. Campbell attended an interesting general meeting held at Charlottesville, Virginia. Fifty-six churches were heard from or represented, and the principal preachers of Virginia were present. The object was to consider the state of the cause and the means of spreading the gospel and promoting education. During the meeting, which lasted seven days, there was much good preaching, great harmony and warm Christian feeling, and much interest and hospitality were shown by the citizens of Charlottesville. The Baptists too were particularly friendly, and several of their preachers, together with the chaplain of the University, came to hear Mr. Campbell. While there, he delivered a written address to the "Charlottesville Lyceum" on the question, "Is moral philosophy an inductive science?" which was published by the "Lyceum." He also, by request, addressed the "Jeffersonian Society" of the University.

At this meeting he became first personally acquainted with Chester Bullard, who among the mountains of South-west Virginia, had been for some years laboring in the cause of religious reformation, without any particular knowledge of the movement conducted by Mr. Campbell. His parents were Baptists, and his mother

a remarkably pious woman. His early childhood was spent in Montgomery county, near the source of the Roanoke river, three miles from Christiansburg. Remarkable even then for his religious and devotional tendencies, he experienced much mental distress as he grew up in vain endeavors to obtain that assurance of acceptance which he had been taught to look for, and which he supposed himself to receive at length at a Methodist meeting when about seventeen years of age. The Methodists at this time had just begun to make their appearance in the country, which was filled with irreligion, there being then in Christiansburg no meeting-house, and out of a population of four hundred persons but *two women* and *one man* who were professors of religion. In the midst of this society it was to constant family prayer and reading of the Scriptures that young Bullard owed the maintenance of his religious life, for preaching was very seldom heard in the vicinity. After his supposed conversion, finding himself unable to subscribe to the doctrines of the Methodist discipline, he remained disconnected from any party. Deeply anxious, however, on the subject of religion, devoted to the Bible and possessing much independence of mind, he learned that true religion consisted in the knowledge and love of God, and that after faith and repentance baptism was required. About this time his eldest brother happened to be traveling in Pennsylvania, and after supper, at a public house, found, upon retiring early to his room from the ungenial company at the inn, a number of the "Christian Baptist" lying on the table. This he read before going to rest, and was so much pleased that he advised his brother-in-law, upon his return to Montgomery county, Virginia, to subscribe for it, telling him that the editor was a half

century ahead of the age. This was done, and the last volume of the "Christian Baptist" and first of the "Harbinger" were duly received, but for want of interest in the matters treated, most of the numbers were thrown aside unread.

In the same year (1831), Mr. Bullard concluded to study medicine with Dr. D. J. Chapman, near the Sulphur Springs, in Giles county. Here, amid some of the most picturesque and romantic scenery of the American continent, near where Sinking Creek, passing four miles under Thomas' Hill, empties itself into New River, and where the latter, more than a hundred feet deep, washes the lofty and magnificent cliffs of "Thomas' Hill," Mr. Bullard pursued his medical studies, whilst religious thoughts still predominated. Earnestly desiring baptism, but unable to obtain it at the hands of the Baptists, as he did not sufficiently approve of their tenets to unite with them, he felt himself quite isolated. That year, Landon Duncan, the assessor of the county, a man of grave and thoughtful aspect, nearly six feet in height, with dark complexion, black hair and eyes, and a firm, decided manner, happened to call in the discharge of his official duties. Falling into a religious conversation with him, Mr. Bullard freely communicated to him his feelings and his wishes, and though he frankly expressed his dissent from some of the views held by Mr. Duncan, the latter agreed to baptize him.

Landon Duncan had, when young, united with the Baptists, and was ordained August, 1813. After some time, however, he adopted the sentiments of the "Christian Connection," chiefly through the influence of Joseph Thomas.

This Joseph Thomas was a somewhat remarkable man, born in North Carolina, from whence he removed

with his father to the summit of the lofty hill in Giles county, where he became deeply imbued with religious feeling, and began while yet a young man to recommend religion to his neighbors. Associating with O'Kelly and the southern branch of the Association in North Carolina, he desired to be immersed, when O'Kelly persuaded him that pouring was more scriptural, to which he submitted after stipulating that a tubful of water should be poured upon him. Becoming afterward fully satisfied that immersion alone was baptism, he was immersed by Elder Plumer in Philadelphia. This brought him into communication with Abner Jones, Elias Smith and others of the Eastern branch of the Christian Connection. He now devoted himself wholly to preaching and became noted for the extent of his travels through the United States, making from his home, then at Winchester, Virginia, frequent tours through the Northern, all the Middle and most of the Southern and Western States. In person he was tall, straight as an Indian, with fair skin and gray eyes, beautiful nose and mouth, a lofty forehead, long chestnut locks parted over the middle of the head and falling upon his shoulders. He often traveled on foot dressed in a long white robe, from whence he was called the "White Pilgrim," and frequently, in imitation of Christ, retired to lonely places for fasting and prayer. Sanguine and ardent in his temperament, full of enthusiasm and of poetic feeling, he made a strong impression upon the people, few being able to forget the wild beauty and sublimity of his eloquence. He had a daughter married to John O'Kane of Indiana, formerly mentioned, and was not ignorant of the reformatory views urged by Mr. Campbell, but he declined to adopt them, being greatly absorbed in religious frames and feelings,

and continued the mourning-bench system, remaining in connection with the Eastern branch of the "Christian Connection," and dying finally of the small-pox amidst his itinerant labors in New Jersey, about the year 1850.

Chester Bullard, after his baptism by Landon Duncan, at once engaged in public labors, delivering his first discourse on the evening of the day on which he was baptized. Avoiding those speculative points with which Landon Duncan and those with him were much occupied, he presented simple views of the gospel and the freeness of Christ's salvation, and showed that faith came by hearing the word of God, and that he that believed and was baptized should be saved. It was a considerable time, however, before he succeeded in making enough converts to form a church, which was finally organized near the source of the Catawba River in 1833. By degrees, most of those in connection with Landon Duncan gave in their adhesion, and James Redpath and others beginning to aid in the public ministry, a number of churches were organized in that part of Virginia. About that time (1839) Dr. Bullard happened to take up and read Mr. Campbell's Extra on Remission, which he met with at the house of his brother-in-law. Surprised and delighted with the new views it gave of the gospel, he immediately sought out all the numbers of the "Christian Baptist" and "Harbinger," and was overjoyed to find how clear and consistent were Mr. Campbell's views, and how different from the slanderous misrepresentations which had been so industriously circulated throughout the country from the press and the pulpit. He immediately began to circulate his writings, preaching with great success the reformatory principles, and happy in finding himself

unexpectedly associated with a host of fellow-laborers in the same cause. Hearing that Mr. Campbell was to visit Charlottesville, he determined to meet him, and after his happy interview with him there, kept up with him afterward constant Christian fellowship and communication, pursuing his earnest labors most successfully through South-west Virginia, where he continued to be the chief support of the cause.

In closing his notice of the meeting at Charlottesville, Mr. Campbell made an allusion to the "Dover Decrees," and a friendly reference to Andrew Broaddus, which elicited from the latter a kind letter, in some sense justifying the action of the Association as seemingly necessary at the time.

"This, however," he went on to say, "furnishes no reason for an everlasting separation. If we have erroneously construed your views, and in our zeal for the great truths of the gospel have wrongfully put you under the 'ban of the empire,' or if you in your zeal for exploding long-cherished errors have unconsciously struck at important truths, or if there should have been on both sides something erroneous—something of misconstruction on the one hand and rashness on the other—why, for aught I can see, there might yet be hope of reconciliation and union; and a union on a firm scriptural basis none would greet more cordially than myself.

"Of late I am free to say (I mean for several years past) while I have seen in the 'Harbinger' much to approve, I have met with nothing for which my fellowship in the gospel would be forfeited. I cannot say the same for some things which you have put forth in former times, and a retraction of such things would, I think, be proper and necessary. I regret, my dear sir, that you should be separated from us, and much would I rejoice in seeing your talents enlisted in the one great cause. That the Church needs a progressive reformation I have no doubt, and to all efforts for this object on a scriptural basis I would say, 'God speed.'

"Before I conclude I have another remark to offer. There must be some truths which are vital and fundamental. Among these you and I both reckon that great truth, *atonement or expiation by the blood of Christ.* Now, I find in your discussion with a venerable correspondent you have to remind him that he has forgotten to state this among the designs of Christ! How could we recognize members, not to say *ministers*, who leave out of their building this corner-stone? *Verbum sat.* Yours in the blessed hope,

"ANDREW BROADDUS."

To this Mr. Campbell replied as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: I thankfully and cordially reciprocate every good feeling expressed in your letter before me, and shall endeavor with similar frankness, candor and courtesy to respond to it. Charged, as I have sometimes been, with the desire of making a new party, I am glad, on every retrospection of my course and of the opposition offered to it, that neither friend nor foe has yet been able to adduce a single fact indicative of such a wish on my part. On the contrary, when the history of this effort at reformation shall have been faithfully written, it will appear, we think, bright as the sun, that our career has been marked with a spirit of forbearance, moderation and love of union, with an unequivocal desire for preserving the integrity, harmony and co-operation of all who teach one faith, one Lord and one immersion. . . .

"But our views and objects have been mistaken by many of our Baptist brethren and friends; and among the melancholy monuments of it are the Dover Decrees and similar acts of exclusion from other quarters. That our brethren have been to blame for some indiscretions, as well as some unguarded expressions in giving rise to these acts of exclusion and proscription, I am frank to admit. Indeed, the first of these anathemas, the Beaver Decrees, in 1829, I have always believed were occasioned by some violent movements on the part of our brethren in the Western Reserve, Ohio, in the height of a great excitement. Extremes beget extremes, and when the ball of ultraism is put in motion, there is no fore-

telling its place of resting. . . . Our views and aims are now fully developed, and the consequence is, that the Baptist people and others wonder at themselves, and *say* that we have changed and are not so heterodox as formerly. They have heard with more candor, and, like the passengers approaching the shore, they regard us as nearing their prow and fast approximating to their views. Well, this gives us pleasure, as it proves that had they understood us at first as at last, they would not have given us to the enemy."

He then adds: "That the Baptist society needs a 'progressive reformation,' I must, with you, candidly and cordially avow as my opinion, and that we all ought to be up and doing, I as firmly believe. As to our views of reformation, wherein they are founded in truth your people cannot resist them. They cannot keep them out of their churches. They will pervade all Christendom in this age of reading and discussion. If any of our views of reformation are not founded in truth, we wish to see them exploded, refuted and put down. In no supposable event have we anything to fear from intimacy with your churches or pastors. Our errors we desire to lose, and our truth no man will take from us.

"Could the friends of truth and union agree to meet on the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, acknowledge one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one body of Christ and one Spirit—could they leave the conscience free where God has left it free, and not bind their private opinions upon one another, and could they open their pulpits, their ears and their hearts to a free intercommunion of preachers and people, and occasionally celebrate the Christian festival together, and devote themselves more to the study of the Bible and to Christian holiness of life—what a blissful time we should soon have! What a prelude and pledge of a better state of things! They might gladly suffer the world to call them Christians, Disciples, Baptists, Reformers, as they pleased; they would have the peace, the joy, the feast within, and would advance on the bulwarks of Satan, conquering and to conquer."

He remarks further: "Your reference to vital and fundamental principles I approve. But with regard to that 'venerable correspondent' we must not judge too soon. I view it as an oversight rather than an intentional omission, that he left out the expiatory designs of the Messiah's death. Men long addicted to speculative controversy on Trinitarian and Unitarian hypotheses are sometimes scared past Mount Zion, Mount Calvary and the Mount of Olives. Some good men shudder with such horror at the idea of 'placating an offended Deity,' or 'satisfying dishonored justice,' or 'reconciling an angry God,' that they are afraid to use the words 'expiation,' 'sin-offering,' 'atonement,' lest they should resemble the children of Ashdod. For my part, I am not so timid. I believe that that venerable correspondent will come out with a full declaration of faith *that Christ died for our sins*, according to the Scriptures, and that 'without the shedding of his blood' God could not, in honor or in truth, have forgiven one transgression. But let him have his own time and his own manner of communicating his conceptions."

The "venerable correspondent" referred to here was B. W. Stone, with whom Mr. Campbell was then discussing the subject of the atonement. Mr. Campbell had proposed to him to furnish four pages per month for the "Harbinger" in discussing, in a friendly way, the terms "sin," "sin-offering," "atonement," "reconciliation," etc. Anxious to promote sound scriptural knowledge, and fearing that in the minds of some there still lingered speculative and defective conceptions upon these subjects, he thought benefit would result from such an examination scripturally conducted.

Without entering into the details of this discussion, much of which is devoted to sin-offering under the law and criticisms upon Hebrew terms, it may be remarked that there seemed to be an entire agreement as to the effect of the atonement upon the believing sinner. Elder

Stone, after expatiating at length on the designs of the death of Christ, says:

"It has been proved that his blood purges, cleanses, sanctifies, washes and purifies from sin—that by it sin is put away, borne away—that by it we are justified, pardoned, redeemed, ransomed, bought, purchased from sin—by it we are propitiated or saved from enmity, and *at-one-ed* to God. By it—I need not repeat all I have written in this and the former numbers—all these effects are the work of God in and for us by the means of the sacrifice of Christ, and obedient believers alone are the subjects of them."

As it respects, however, the effects of the atonement upon God in relation to his divine justice or government, Elder Stone was not so clear. He seemed to think there was a want of Scripture evidence for much that was affirmed on that subject. "I do not wish to be understood," said he, "to deny that such effects are produced on God, his law and government by sin-offering, but that I cannot believe them for want of divine evidence." "I deny not," said he again, "that something might have been done to produce this effect on God, as just mentioned, yet that something I find not recorded, and I dare not be wise above what is written. There has been and yet is a great deal of conjecture and speculation afloat on this unrevealed something, which I do consider repugnant to the plain Scriptures of divine inspiration. Yet he that believes the declaration of God from his mercy-seat Jesus Christ, that he can be just in justifying the ungodly that believe in Jesus, and acts according to divine direction, that person will not be condemned, though he may not understand how God can be just when he justifies the believer."

Freely accepting the full revelation of Scripture upon the effects of the death of Christ in respect to man, Mr. Stone was cautious of dogmatizing in reference to its effects upon the *divine* government; a point in relation to which so little is really said in the Bible, and which is involved in the incomprehensible mysteries of

the divine nature. He seemed afraid to make any positive advance in this direction, and Mr. Campbell accordingly labored at considerable length to show that the Scriptures were sufficiently explicit upon that part of the subject also if examined with candor; and after a clear presentation of it in various aspects he thus sums up some of his conclusions:

"The death of Christ was for the redemption of transgressions, and although he died as the Lamb of God to take away the sin of the world, yet only that portion of mankind who have faith in his blood do actually derive pardon and life through his death. But it was as much for the redemption of transgression passed under the law as for the redemption of transgressions under the gospel that Christ died; consequently there was no real pardon of any real sins in the Jewish sacrificial system. 'The law made nothing perfect.'

"The redemption that is through the death and blood of Jesus is necessary—that is, it is of right demanded; for to exact death unless justice demanded it would be to do unjustly. It was necessary that God might be just in forgiving sin. Thus Paul to the Romans and to the Hebrews represents redemption from sin through the blood or death of Christ. This redemption or deliverance is what is usually, though improperly, called '*the merits*' or 'worth' of his death. Certainly it is the efficacy of his death; for on this redemption justice rests its plea while consenting with mercy in forgiving sin. God has then set forth the person and blood of his Son as the mercy-seat, that he might be truly just and appear so before the universe, in forgiving sins committed against him as the Lawgiver of all lawful and moral intelligences.

"If I am tedious here, Brother Stone," he continues, "it is because I delight to be tedious upon this basis of the basis of the whole remedial system. I pretend not to fathom the ocean, nor do I aim at comprehending the wonderful ways of the infinite Intelligence, but when God speaks I must

listen, and when he explains himself it is a sin not to endeavor to understand him. He has spoken often and through various persons on this transcendent theme. If it be orthodoxy or heterodoxy, I care not; but I believe that man is fallen; *that the wages of sin is death;* that death has passed through all generations of man because all have sinned; that sacrifice has its origin here; that God sent man out of Eden not clothed with silk or cotton or in the bark of trees, but in the skins of slain beasts; that all the blood of all slain animals never took away the deep stain of the least human sin against God's law; that the Jewish sacrifices and all divinely-ordained sacrifices were but the types of the sin-offering of my Lord and King; that the new covenant has in it a real remission of all sins, because mediated by Emmanuel and sealed by his own blood; that God as King cannot now be just in forgiving sin, having as *Lawgiver* said, *The soul that sinneth shall die*, but through the death of his Son. I moreover believe that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses us from all sin—not our tears and our penitence, but his blood; and that blood must be seen, believed and acquiesced in according to God's own appointed way. Hence the command, 'Believe, repent, and be baptized *for the remission of sins.*'

"I admire your scrupulosity about Bible terms and Bible ideas. I venerate the man that venerates the word of God. God himself honors with special tokens of his love the man that trembles at his word. You know I have never been solicitous of reputation at the hands of a downy and stall-fed orthodoxy. I never have courted such popular applause. Well, then, I am not to be suspected of any leaning that way. But after placing myself in every attitude favorable to an impartial consideration of all these great points, I do, while deprecating much of the unauthorized though consecrated jargon on trinity, unity, atonement, sacrifice, etc., etc., and lamenting the fragmentary caricatures, rather than expositions of the true doctrine by weak and conceited expositors of that school; nevertheless, the true and proper divinity or godhead of my Lord Messiah and the real sin-expiating value and effi-

cacy of his death, and of his death alone, based upon his peerless worth and divine majesty, are the rock of my salvation—the basis of all my hopes of immortality—the very anchor of my soul amidst the shaking of the earth, the upheaving of the ocean and all the tumults and debates of the people.

"A religion not honoring God the Father of all—not relying upon the person, mission and death of the Word incarnate—not inspired, cherished, animated and inflamed by the Holy Spirit dwelling in my soul, is a cheat, a base counterfeit, and not that athletic, strong and invincible thing which armed the martyr's soul against all the terrors that earth and hell could throw around the Redeemer, his cause and people."

The article to which the above passage is a part of the reply closed the discussion, B. W. Stone deeming it unnecessary to continue it. Mr. Campbell greatly desired to pursue the subject farther, hoping to bring Elder Stone to a more clear and definite statement of views. He acquiesced, however, in Elder Stone's wish to close the discussion, in reference to which he remarks:

"I am persuaded it will not be without advantage to the cause of Reformation that so much has been written on the subject in the way of discussion—with one, too, who has spent so many years in debates and discussions on that or some kindred branch of the same subject.

"All admit the excellency of the character of Elder Stone, however they may regard him as muddy and confused on some aspects of that all-important question. For my own part, I much desired that, as he had ceased from all teaching and preaching of his former speculations on this and other subjects, for which the commencement of his career, some forty years ago, was distinguished, he would also in writing have given a permanent and full exposition of those points more in harmony with the developments and objects of the current reformation. Some of our readers have thought he has done so, while others are of a contrary opinion. For my part, I can and do make great allowance for early and long-

established habits of thinking and speaking on all religious questions, and therefore regard Brother Stone as confiding in the sacrifice and death of Christ as indispensable to salvation, and though by no means acquiescing in some of his interpretations of the meaning and designs of the Messiah's death, I can bear with a difference of opinion on a subject so vital, which many would regard as an insuperable obstacle to Christian communion.

"Men may and do hold the *Head*, Christ, and his death and mediation indispensable to salvation, who, nevertheless, have very inadequate conceptions of some of the aspects of these transcendent subjects. And as we are not saved by the strength and comprehension of our views, but from obeying from the heart the apostolic mould of doctrine, more stress ought to be laid upon moral excellence than upon abstract orthodoxy, especially when all the facts and documents of Christianity are cordially believed and cherished. Our bond of union is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one body, one spirit, one hope, one God and Father of all. And as many as walk by this rule, peace be on them and mercy, and upon the whole Israel of God!"

This friendly discussion of the atonement with B. W. Stone proved, as Mr. Campbell expected, highly beneficial, and served to clear up the subject in the minds of many who had belonged to the "Christian Connection," some of whom candidly admitted that they had never before so fully understood it. Scarcely had the discussion closed when B. W. Stone was stricken with paralysis. From this, however, he afterward to some degree recovered, and, maintaining still much of his mental vigor, continued to labor on with his usual earnestness for the cause of the Bible.

On the 12th of October, 1840, another addition was made to Mr. Campbell's family, and as this was the tenth daughter he named her Decima. At the stated

time Bethany College opened, with about one hundred students in attendance. As professors and students of various grades in all the departments were incommodiously crowded together in the boarding-house called the "Steward's Inn," the only building yet erected, a good deal of confusion marked the early period of the session. The circumstances, indeed, were very unpropitious for a fair experiment, especially as the students were strangers to each other and to the faculty, and had not been subjected to the moral training and discipline of the family department which, according to Mr. Campbell's scheme, was an important preparation for college. With his usual activity and energy, however, he addressed himself to the work of moulding the minds of the youths present in conformity with the great principles developed in the Bible. The sacred volume was at once made the text-book for the whole college, and he proceeded to develop every morning to the entire class, as he alone could do it, the great facts which it presented. His wonderful power of presenting these facts in their most extended relations, his simple yet comprehensive generalizations, opening up new fields of thought and enlarging the horizon of knowledge, enchained the attention of even the youngest members of the class, and Sacred History became at once the favorite study. Mr. Campbell taught also the classes in Intellectual Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity, Moral Science and Political Economy, and in the church upon the Lord's day all had the opportunity of hearing those grand developments of the Divine teachings and institutions which he presented and of witnessing the simple forms of primitive order and discipline. His urbanity and kindness and his genial manner gave him great personal influence with the students, and, with

the earnest co-operation of the faculty, the affairs of the college prospered, so that in the month of May a very favorable report was made of a growing and decided improvement in all the departments of the institution.

"A good moral influence," said he, "seems to be now in the ascendant, and a general determination on the part of the students to maintain a high standard of moral excellence and decorum in all the details of social intercourse." . . . "If there be any one point in the science of morals more than any other universally accredited and enforced, it is that the fear and reverence of the Lord, sometimes called piety, constitute the only infallible foundation of morality and good manners."

In the beginning of the following session an influx of new students, unruly and untrained, led to a renewal of disturbances. The prompt exercise of discipline, however, on the part of the faculty at once restored order, and from this time forward the labors of the institution proceeded most successfully in the new college building erected during the summer.

It was thought expedient, in April of this year (1841), by some of the disciples in Kentucky to hold a public meeting at Lexington, to which all religious parties were invited in order to discuss the question of Christian union: 1st, As to its desirability; 2d, As to its practicability. The meeting, at which Mr. Campbell was present, was largely attended, though but few of other denominations were there, Dr. Fishback being the only Baptist minister who took an active part in the meeting. The discussion of the important subject was continued for several days, and the following resolution was at last passed unanimously:

"*Resolved*, That the Bible, and the Bible alone, is a sufficient foundation on which all Christians may unite and build

together, and that we most affectionately invite all the religious parties to an investigation of this truth."

On the 11th of September of this year, Mr. Campbell was bereaved of another beloved daughter, Maria, the wife of R. Y. Henley, who from childhood had been noted for her seriousness, piety and amiability. Inheriting a delicate constitution, she was snatched away from her affectionate husband and several small children in her twenty-sixth year, but with patient resignation and well-founded trust yielded her meek spirit into the hands of her Saviour.

About this time Mr. Campbell held a brief correspondence with Elder J. M. Peck on the subject of spiritual influence. At the close of the discussion of this subject with S. W. Lynd, he had expressed his willingness to discuss the question with any Baptist doctor, and publish the controversy in a volume of one hundred and fifty or two hundred pages for general circulation, as an end of the matter. This proposition was accepted by J. M. Peck of the "Baptist Banner," but after a few communications the disputants seemed to come unexpectedly to so close an agreement that the discussion was closed. Mr. Campbell had said:

"The truth is the instrument, the *means*, and the Spirit of God is the cause or agent of regeneration. Such are my views on this great subject. And, my dear sir, if you always make the word the instrument of regeneration, you may always expect me to concur with you in saying that it is but the instrument, and not the first cause of a great spiritual change."

Mr. Peck expressed his high gratification with these distinct statements, regretting that Mr. Campbell had been so long misunderstood on this topic for want of such a declaration. Mr. Campbell then called his atten-

tion to the fact that the proposition which he had from the very beginning labored to sustain was precisely what he had now expressed—viz.: that "in conversion the Holy Spirit operated through the truth, and not without it," as the Baptists had taught. As Elder Peck declined to affirm this dogma of the Baptists, and endeavored to show that Mr. Campbell had misunderstood them on this subject, there appeared to be no longer any question in dispute, and Mr. Campbell thus closed his last letter:

"I believe and teach now, as I did thirty years ago, that the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit are three divine names, indicative of perfect equality in all that is represented by the term God in its highest, holiest and supreme import, and that this same divine nature is severally and personally ascribed to them by all in heaven and all the intelligent on earth, in all the great works of creation, providence and redemption.

"Without this distinction in the divine nature, without the mystery of divinity exhibited in the personal relations of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the mystery of redemption had been impossible in conception, design and execution. God the Father so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son for its ransom; 'The Son so loved the world as to give himself up to the death for us all;' and the Spirit has so loved us as to make his abode in our hearts as the children of God; and thus the whole '*Godhead*" is fully revealed, admired, adored in the mystery of man's redemption.

"With regard to the operation of the Spirit through the Word on sinners and on saints, while we strongly affirm the fact of his sanctifying, reviving, cheering and saving efficacy through the word of prophets and apostles, we ought to teach no new terms, phrases or dogmata—preach good news to sinners and teach holiness to the converted—teach the Christians to pray for the Spirit in all its holy influences, and to lift up their voices to the Lord for all his promised aids. Thus the love of God will be poured out into their souls by

his Holy Spirit that dwelleth in them, and they will learn to love his children and to rejoice in hope of the coming glory. To learn that such are your views, designs and practices will greatly add to the esteem I entertain for you, and will greatly encourage me in pleading for the sincere and perfect union of our Father's dear children in order to the conversion of the world.

"Sincerely and affectionately yours, A. CAMPBELL."

In regard to this vexed subject of "spiritual influence" there had really never been any just cause of controversy. The dogmatic popular affirmation that the Holy Spirit was "poured out" upon unbelievers to work in them regeneration and faith, which in Mr. Campbell's view rendered the word of God of no effect, had led him to assert the claims of the latter as God's power to salvation. He did not deny that "influences" of various kinds might accompany that word, but on these he declined to enlarge, and was careful to distinguish them from converting *power*, which he conceived to reside exclusively in the word or gospel itself, just as the vegetative power or life resides in the seed sown in the earth, and not in any of the circumstances, such as the sowing, the heat or the moisture, which attend its development. As the healing *power* of the physician is in his medicine, so Mr. Campbell regarded God's healing power as contained in the gospel, and forbore to confound with it those influences by which sinners are induced to receive it, just as he distinguished the healing power of the physican from any of the influences which might induce the patient to take the medicine he prescribed. He believed in spiritual ministries of various kinds, and that invisible beings, as he had said in his discussion with Mr. Waterman, "by an acquaintance with our associations of ideas, our modes of

reasoning, our passions, our appetites, our propensities and, by approaching us through these avenues, could lead us backward or forward, to the right or to the left, as their designs might require. This is possible and compatible with our views of spiritual influence. It is more than possible—it is probable. I might advance farther and say it is certain; for it has been done." These "accompanying influences," however, of whatever nature they might be, material or spiritual, human or divine, Mr. Campbell regarded as no part of the gospel, and as adding to it no power.

It was shown by Dr. Richardson about this time, in a series of essays upon "Converting Influence," signed by some one of the letters of the word *Luke*, that while the agencies which induced men to receive the gospel added no power to it *absolutely*, they certainly did so in a *relative* point of view, so that *practically* the same effect was produced. He argued that there were many different obstacles which prevented the gospel from reaching the heart of the sinner, such as ignorance, love of the world, etc., and that the instrumentality in each case must be adapted to the nature of the obstacle to be removed. Paul said (2 Cor. iv. 3, 4), "If our gospel be hid, it is hid by the perishing things by which the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." Adopting the apostle's figure, it was shown that while opening the shutters and thus permitting the sun to shine upon a person in a dark room certainly added no additional power to the sun's rays, it had *practically* the same effect as if these had become so increased in power as to penetrate the shutters. There was thus no need of supposing any *absolute* increase

of power to be imparted to the gospel, since all that was required for the proper exercise of its power was, that the obstacles which hindered it should be removed. In order to the accomplishment of this, there was abundant room for both divine and human agency, as well as for prayer and persevering effort in behalf of the unconverted. Ignorant as men necessarily are of the mysteries of spiritual being, there was no occasion to question that spiritual ministries of various kinds might be employed in guiding men's minds to a saving appreciation of the gospel, and that such ministries, though *superhuman*, might not be necessarily *supernatural* or miraculous, but, on the contrary, perfectly in accordance with the *nature* of the spiritual agent, as well as with that of the mind itself. As these varied instrumentalities, however, added absolutely no new power to the gospel itself, Mr. Campbell was evidently correct in continuing to affirm, with Paul, that the gospel was "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." It was also evident that he acted wisely and in harmony with the reformatory principles in declining to discuss the nature of the influences which might accompany the word, as this evidently belonged to the class of untaught questions.

The establishment of the college had greatly increased Mr. Campbell's labors, since, in addition to his former engagements, he had now the regular instruction of classes to attend to, as well as the affairs of many of the students, who were constantly applying for counsel and assistance. His promptitude, however, and wonderfully active temperament, seemed to render everything easy to him, and he never appeared to lose his buoyancy of spirits or to be unable to render his usual hospitable and personal attentions to his numerous friends and visitors.

His hope, however, of being released from the pain of protracted absences from home, and of being allowed to devote his remaining years to a constant supervision of the college, was not destined to be realized. The need of means to erect the necessary buildings and to establish the institution permanently, demanded the active services of a soliciting agent, and such was the desire of the churches and the public abroad to see and hear Mr. Campbell that they soon learned to make it a condition of their donations that he would visit them in person.

During one of these trips in the summer of 1842 he again visited Kentucky and a portion of Ohio. At Lexington he found the church erecting the largest meeting-house in the State, and in a very prosperous condition under the care of Dr. L. L. Pinkerton. He found, also, that Dr. Fishback, who had previously been but partially connected with the cause of the Reformation, had now given himself and his influence wholly to it.

"The anxiety to hear," said Mr. Campbell in his notes of the tour, "and the interest taken in the cause of Reformation, never were greater than at present. The crowds that in all places overfilled the most spacious buildings, and the profound attention shown in the city and in the country amongst all ranks and classes of society, show that the cause of Reformation has not been preached or heard in vain amongst this intelligent and magnanimous community. Within forty miles of Lexington, during two months immediately preceding my arrival, not less than one thousand persons had been immersed. In Madison, Lincoln and Garrard, they were obeying the gospel by hundreds. Even in Danville, the metropolis of Presbyterian influence, while I was laboring in Woodford and Fayette a few days, some forty or fifty persons obeyed the Lord. In the Green River country, too, the march

of the gospel is onward. One brother informed me that he has within a few months, in the south-western portion of that district, immersed some three hundred and fifty. The success of Brothers Johnson, Rice and Elley in another portion of that district is, as usual, rapid and irresistible. People of all creeds and no creeds, of all manner of prejudices and antipathies, fraternize and amalgamate under the broad banner of apostolic Christianity."

Deeply impressed, however, with the importance of a full exhibition of a Christian character, he adds: "But ah! how much is wanting to bring the churches up to the standard of Christian piety and morality! In personal, domestic and congregational piety, in the discharge of all the relative duties in the practice of the moral and social excellences of our religion, how far yet behind the models which the apostolic records deliver to us!"

The rapid increase of the churches generally, but especially in Kentucky, where the membership was already estimated at forty thousand, impressed Mr. Campbell more and more with the responsibilities of his position, and with the vast importance of a clear understanding on the part of the churches in regard to the whole subject of organization and co-operation. He continued, therefore, his able series of essays on this topic, in which, with his usual freedom of thought and earnest desire for truth, he proposed to determine by a careful induction the true plan of scriptural organization. The spirit in which he ever sought for higher attainments in divine knowledge is well indicated in the following passage from these essays:

"It is always more or less detrimental to the ascertainment of truth to allow our previous conclusions to assume the position of fixed and fundamental truths, to which nothing is to be at any time added, either in the way of correction or enlargement. On the contrary, we ought rather to act under

the conviction that we may be wiser to-day than yesterday, and that whatever is true can suffer no hazard from a careful and candid consideration. In this view of the subject I am accustomed to examine all questions—literary, moral or religious; because I am, from much reflection and long observation, constrained to regard it as the only safe and prudential course."

Candidly admitting the many evils connected with a want of proper government on the part of the churches, the irresponsibility of preachers to the Church and of churches to the Christian community at large, he endeavored to show that in the beginning all ministers were called either by the Lord in person, by his people or by his providences, and that it was essential to the dignity and efficiency of the ministerial office that those only should be authorized and sent out by the churches who had given full proof of their qualifications.

While these essays were in progress of publication, he received a series of short, courteous and extremely well-written articles, reviewing them and insisting upon the importance of a wise, comprehensive and efficient church organization. These articles were signed A C——n, and proposed that the field from which the facts required for a just induction were to be gathered, should embrace not merely the statements of Scripture, but the well-attested practice of the age immediately subsequent to the apostolic. It was urged in them that only the *germs* of the proper organization could be found in the Scripture, and that this alone did not furnish sufficient *data* for a complete system of church organization. In his very interesting and able reply Mr. Campbell demands the authentic documents by which the assumed deficiency of Scripture is to be supplied and the question settled, declaring that he had searched antiquity in vain for them.

"The Bible alone," said he, "must always decide every question involving the nature, the character or the designs of the Christian institution. Outside of the apostolic canon, there is not, as it appears to me, one solid foot of terra firma on which to raise the superstructure ecclesiastic. The foundation of apostles and prophets is that projected and ordained by the Lawgiver of the universe. On this, and on this only, can we safely found the Church of Jesus Christ, whether we contemplate its doctrine, its discipline or its government. Nothing less authoritative and divine can fully satisfy the conscientious of all parties, or withstand the assaults of the adversaries of our most holy faith. Whenever we close the apostolic records and open the volumes of the "primitive Fathers," the converts and successors of the apostles, as they are reverentially designated, we find ourselves on a sea of uncertainties, without a single haven in our horizon or in our chart."

Mr. Campbell's view, then, was that the "germs" of church organization, as his correspondent termed them, furnished by the Scriptures were entirely sufficient, and that the facts and principles developed in the Scriptures needed only to be applied according to the exigencies of time and circumstances. He thought, therefore, it would be best to stop where and when the Bible stops, and to regard everything beyond its teachings as matters left to human prudence or mere questions of expediency.

It was doubtless the benevolent intention of Mr. Campbell's correspondent (who was readily recognized as one of the most pious prelates of the Episcopal Church in the West), in laying before the readers of the "Harbinger" the claims of diocesan episcopacy, to win over to his system of church organization this large and rapidly-increasing body of Reformers, who, as they themselves admitted, were suffering from many of the

evils connected with a want of proper systematic arrangement and co-operation. Such an overture could not have proceeded more appropriately or with better prospect of success from any other individual than the amiable prelate referred to, for whom Mr. Campbell had himself the highest personal respect, and who commanded largely the sympathy of the Reformers from his having expressed openly his conscientious conviction that immersion alone was baptism, and who was known to cherish moreover an earnest wish for a Christian union of all parties, which he seriously thought could be most happily consummated by combining the immersion of the Baptists, the zeal of the Methodists and the apostolic succession of the Church of England. Mr. Campbell, however, preferring to this fanciful ecclesiastic patchwork, the baptism, the zeal, the truth and love of the primitive disciples and the real and true apostles of Christ, showed clearly that in the nature of the case the latter could have no successors, and that it was long after the apostolic age before one bishop presided over more than one church. The effect of this interesting discussion confirmed the view previously held by the Reformers, that bishops and deacons were the only regular officers of the Christian Church. Mr. Campbell admitted, indeed, that, especially where the elders were numerous, there was formerly, and should still be, one who acted as president of the eldership—not, indeed, as being superior in rank, but merely as *primus inter pares*.

He, at this period, in common with many other intelligent Reformers, was fearful of a tendency in the Church to extreme views of independency, and was much alive to the great need of proper co-operation.

"The New Testament," says he, "teaches itself, both by

precept and example, the necessity of connected and concentrated action in the advancement of the kingdom. It lays down some great principles and applies them to the emergencies that arose in the primitive times:

"1st. It inculcates the necessity of co-operation, and specifies instances. 2d. It inculcates the necessity of two distinct classes of officers in every particular community. 3d. It indicates the necessity of a third class of public functionaries, and gives examples of diverse ministries. 4th. It exemplifies the utility and the need for special deliberations and of conventions in peculiar emergencies. 5th. It allows not persons to send themselves or to ordain themselves to office, but everywhere intimates the necessity of choice, selection, mission and ordination. 6th. It inculcates a general superintendency of districts and cities by those who preside over the churches in those districts; that is, it makes it the duty of a Christian ministry, by whatever name it may be called, to take care of the common interests of the kingdom in those places and districts in which it is located and resident. 7th. It claims for every functionary the concurrence of those portions of the community in which he labors, and holds him responsible to those who send, appoint, or ordain him to office."

In harmony with his views of duty, as there was no organization among the Reformers for the circulation of the Bible, Mr. Campbell had contributed to both of the American Bible societies, in each of which he was a member and life-director, and he urged the churches to send liberal contributions to William Colgate of New York, treasurer of the American and Foreign Bible Society, which had now undertaken to provide pure versions of the Scriptures for the world.

In the fall of 1842, Mr. Campbell visited the cities of Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York in the interests of the college, and obtained important additions to its philosophical and chemical apparatus,

bought a thousand volumes for its library and received donations and subscriptions to the amount of $5000. Upon this tour he attended the annual meeting of the churches in Lower Virginia at Richmond in the latter part of October, and that of the upper portion at Charlottesville in the first week of November. He found the cause of the Reformation making much better progress than formerly, owing to the faithful labors of the evangelists and elders of the churches and the good influence of the "Christian Publisher," conducted at a considerable sacrifice by R. L. Coleman, aided by the eloquent but retiring J. W. Goss. A number of additions were made at these meetings, at the close of which Mr. Campbell traveled eastward with R. L. Coleman, who agreed to accompany him as far as Philadelphia. Sojourning with the intelligent G. Austin and his amiable family at Baltimore, he delivered several addresses there, and was much pleased with the earnestness, gravity and Christian affection which were manifested by the Church in the worship on the Lord's day. Mr. Coleman remaining for a few days at the request of the brethren to continue the meetings, Mr. Campbell proceeded to his appointment at Philadelphia, where he was rejoined by Mr. Coleman on the following Monday. Here he greatly embarrassed the latter by announcing, at the close of his discourse in the evening, that Mr. Coleman had arrived and would speak alternately with him during the evenings of the week. Mr. Coleman, accordingly, spoke the next evening, but having a very modest estimate of his own ability, and feeling that the people would desire to hear Mr. Campbell, he took the cars for home, and left Mr. Campbell, as he said, "to alternate with himself."

In Philadelphia the church, now numbering about

one hundred and fifty, was meeting in a comfortable house at the corner of Fifth and Gaskill streets. Another church of some seventy or eighty members had also been organized on Race street, where Mr. Campbell delivered one discourse.

At New York he spoke twice in Washington Hall, Broadway, to the citizens, and once to the brethren. He spent also a pleasant evening with Mr. Buchanan, the British Consul, and his excellent family. Mr. Buchanan was noted for his general benevolence and his faithful discharge of his office, which he was about to resign, in order to remove to Canada, near the Falls of Niagara. He was much attached also to the ancient order of things, and, though somewhat precise in some of his views, remained through life a steadfast friend of religious reformation. While in New York, Mr. Campbell called at the Bible-rooms to visit Elder Babcock, and took great delight in examining the various versions of the Old and New Testaments, and especially the celebrated version of the whole Bible into the Burmese, made by the eminent missionary, Elder Judson. Of this he says:

"What a mercy, thought I, on glancing over its picturesque pages, God has vouchsafed to these fifteen or twenty millions of benighted souls in whose vernacular the WORD OF LIFE is sent abroad! The gospel is thus preached, *being read*, to that ancient people. How many, through that infinite future yet before us, may have reason to bless God that Judson was sent to their shores and permitted to learn their language, that he might make known to them the ways of salvation!"

On his return from New York he spent several days at Baltimore and Philadelphia, and then, taking the cars to Cumberland, and the stage from thence to Wheeling, reached home in safety, and continued

punctually to fulfill his college duties during the remainder of the session. Near its close (May 11, 1843) his family was increased by the birth of another son, named William, who was the last of his own immediate family of fourteen children, of whom only seven were at this time living.

CHAPTER XVI.

Overtures for a discussion with the Presbyterians—N. L. Rice—Incidents of the debate—Its character and results—Mr. Campbell's labors.

WHILE on his visit to Kentucky in the fall of 1842, Mr. Campbell received intimations that the Presbyterians there had become quite favorable to a public discussion of the points of difference between them and the Reformers. While at Richmond, in Madison county, he was assured by the Rev. J. H. Brown that arrangements would be made for such a discussion, and in September, after his return home, he received a letter from Mr. Brown informing him that a committee would be appointed for the purpose at the Synod which was to convene at Maysville on the 13th of the following month. At this meeting, accordingly, John C. Young, R. J. Breckinridge, N. L. Rice, J. F. Price and J. H. Brown were selected, Messrs. Brown and Rice being a subcommittee of arrangements. Subsequently, Rev. J. K. Burch, who had been Mr. McCalla's moderator twenty years before, was substituted for R. J. Breckinridge. Mr. Campbell chose as his committee President James Shannon, Dr. J. Fishback, A. Raines and John Smith. A long correspondence ensued touching the affair, and it was not till the month of August in the next year (1843) that the matter was finally arranged. Mr. Campbell had hoped to have for his opponent President Young, of Centre College, a gentleman distinguished

for his urbanity and amiability, as well as for his literary and theological attainments, and whose position would, he thought, give more weight to the discussion. President Young's health, however, having failed, Mr. Brown informed Mr. Campbell in July that Rev. N. L. Rice, of Paris, in Bourbon county, had been chosen instead of him. This selection was not very agreeable to Mr. Campbell, as in several discussions in which Mr. Rice had already engaged with the Reformers he had manifested a prejudiced and hostile spirit, which Mr. Campbell thought quite unfavorable to a calm, Christian-like and satisfactory investigation of the questions at issue. As he was chosen, however, on the part of the Presbyterians, he was constrained to acquiesce. The propositions to be discussed were the following:

"I. The immersion in water of a proper subject into the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is the one only apostolic or Christian baptism: *Mr. C. affirms.*—II. The infant of a believing parent is a scriptural subject of baptism: *Mr. R. affirms.*—III. Christian baptism is for the remission of past sins: *Mr. C. affirms.*—IV. Baptism is to be administered only by a bishop or ordained presbyter: *Mr. R. affirms.*—V. In conversion and sanctification the Spirit of God operates on persons only through the Word of truth: *Mr. C. affirms.*—VI. Human creeds, as bonds of union and communion, are necessarily heretical and schismatical: *Mr. C. affirms.*"

The debate commenced on Wednesday, the 15th of November (1843), in the Reform church at Lexington. Judge Robertson was selected by Mr. Rice as moderator—Colonel Speed Smith by Mr. Campbell. These selected as president Honorable H. Clay, who kindly consented to act. No question was to be discussed more than three days unless by agreement. Each de

bater was to furnish a stenographer and to have the privilege of making verbal or grammatical changes in his report. The net available amount resulting from the publication of the debate, it was agreed, should be equally divided between the two Bible societies.

This public debate, the last in which Mr. Campbell was ever engaged, continued during sixteen days, and excited extraordinary interest. The well-known ability of Mr. Campbell, the reputation which Mr. Rice had already acquired for readiness in debate, and the fact that both disputants seemed to have the endorsement of the religious communities to which they respectively belonged, naturally gave to the discussion a high degree of importance. At first it was contemplated that several on each side should take part in it. Mr. Campbell, however, preferring single combat, it was simply stipulated that the discussion should be conducted in the presence of Dr. Fishback, President Shannon, John Smith and A. Raines on the part of the Reformation; and President Young, J. K. Burch, J. F. Price and J. H. Brown on the part of the Presbyterians.

It would be out of place to attempt to furnish here even an epitome of the facts and arguments adduced in a debate which, when published with the preliminary correspondence, made a volume of nine hundred and twelve closely-printed octavo pages. Of its general character, it may be safely affirmed that it fully met public expectation, presenting a vast amount of interesting information, and as clear an exposition of the errors as well as of the truths involved as had ever been presented. The difference in the intellectual character, and, consequently, in the method, of the two disputants became quite evident from the very beginning. In the discussion of the very first proposition, Mr. Campbell's

tendency to comprehensive views, and his skill in disengaging the grand fundamental principles of things, became manifest in his endeavor to establish the general law that "where words denote *specific* actions their derivatives through all their various flexions and modifications retain the specific meaning of the root." This law he then applied to the word βαπτω (*bapto*), showing that its two thousand flexions and modifications in retaining the radical syllable *bap* retained also the radical idea *dip* connected with it.

"The same," said he, "holds good of its distant neighbor ραίνω (*raino*), I sprinkle. It has as many flexions and nearly as many derivatives as bapto." . . . "These all exhibit the radical syllable *rain* or *ran*, and with it the radical meaning *sprinkle*. Now, as it is philologically impossible to find *bap* in *rain* or *rain* in *bap*, so impossible is it to find *dip* in *sprinkle* or *sprinkle* in *dip*. Hence the utter impossibility of either of these words representing both actions. It is difficult to conceive how any man of letters and proper reflection can, for a moment, suppose that *bapto* can ever mean '*sprinkle*' or *raino* '*dip*.'"

Nor was his ready perception of the resemblance of relations less marked in the illustration he used in order to render the point evident to the apprehension of his hearers. Referring to the custom of the ancient grammarians to represent verbs and their derivatives by a tree with its root, stem and branches, he said,

"Agriculturists, horticulturists, botanists will fully comprehend me when I say that in all the dominions of vegetable nature, untouched by human art, as the root so is the stem, and so are all the branches. If the root be oak, the stem cannot be ash nor the branches cedar. What would you think, Mr. President, of the sanity or veracity of a backwoodsman who would affirm that he found in the state of nature a tree whose root was oak, whose stem was cherry, whose boughs

were pear and whose leaves were chestnut? If these grammarians and philologists have been happy in their analogies drawn from the root and branches of trees to illustrate the derivation of words, how singularly fantastic the genius that creates a philological tree whose root is *bapto*, whose stem is *cheo*, whose branches are *rantizo* and whose fruit is *katharizo!*—or, if not too ludicrous and preposterous for English ears, whose root is *dip*, whose trunk is *pour*, whose branches are *sprinkle* and whose fruit is *purification!*"

Mr. Campbell's opponent, on the other hand, manifested throughout that he moved in a very different sphere of thought, and was disposed to look at subjects in their details, rather than in their general features. Hence, while Mr. Campbell dealt in comprehensive rules, Mr. Rice occupied himself with exceptions. While the former sought to establish principles, the latter tried to overthrow them by burrowing beneath the basis on which they were erected. While the one enlarged the comprehension of his hearers and illuminated every subject that he touched, the efforts of the other served only to contract their understandings and to involve the subject in darkness and confusion. Thus his reply to the above argument of Mr. Campbell was to deny the general rule asserted, and to adduce the words "*prevent*" and "*conversation*" as having changed their original meaning while retaining the radical syllables. Mr. Campbell stated, however, that these were words of *generic* and not of *specific* import, and therefore not legitimately within the rule, though even in these the radical syllable still retained its specific meaning. Mr. Rice affected also to rely greatly upon the fact that βαπτω (*bapto*) and βαπτιζω (*baptidzo*) were sometimes translated *wash*, and labored to make it appear that this was their *primary* meaning. But Mr. Campbell showed

them to be so used by a metonymy of the effect for the cause, according to the well-known general principles applying to all words. Mr. Rice affirming that the most reliable New Testament lexicons gave *wash* as the primary meaning, this Mr. Campbell refuted, but upon its being again and again reiterated, brought forward the celebrated New Testament lexicon of Stokius, who says of the word: "1. Generally it obtains the sense of dipping or immersing, without respect to water or any liquid whatever. 2. Specially, and in its proper signification, it signifies to dip or immerse in water. This is the New Testament sense. 3. Tropically, and by a *metalepsis*, it means to wash, to cleanse, because a thing is usually dipped or immersed that it may be washed, that it may be cleansed. Its general sense is to dip. Its proper sense, to dip in water. Its figurative sense, to wash, to cleanse." Mr. Rice's confusion was such upon this exposure that he was quite unable to conceal it from the audience, and he in vain endeavored to escape from the dilemma by some evasive assertions in regard to tropes.

He also endeavored to place Mr. Campbell in a similar dilemma in reference to an assertion he had made that no translator, ancient or modern, ever rendered *βαπτω* (*bapto*), or any of that family of words, *to sprinkle*. Mr. Rice, in reply, brought up a passage (Rev. xix. 13) which reads, in the common version, "He was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood," the Greek word for "dipped" in every early manuscript known being in this place *βεβαμμενον* (*bebammenon*). Mr. Rice showed that in the ancient Syriac version the passage was rendered so as to read in English, "He was clothed with a vesture *sprinkled* with blood." He adduced also the Vulgate, which rendered the passage

in the same manner. In addition he adduced Origen, who, in quoting the passage almost verbatim, used ραντιζω (*rantizo*) instead of βαπτω (*bapto*). He further confirmed the correctness of the rendering *sprinkle* by referring to the sixty-third chapter of Isaiah, to which the passage in question evidently has relation, and where the conqueror says, "Their blood shall be *sprinkled* upon my garments." This, it must be confessed, seemed quite a strong case, but so firmly was Mr. Campbell persuaded that neither *bapto* nor its derivatives could justly, in any case, be rendered sprinkle, that he ventured to assert, what indeed had been formerly conjectured by Dr. Gale that, in this place, there must have been in the manuscript from which Origen quoted, and from which the Syriac version was made, *a different reading* (*errantismenon*, instead of *bebammenon*), which Jerome, the author of the Vulgate, had adopted. Although no manuscript then known gave this reading, Mr. Campbell inferred that there must have been such a reading from the fact that, in all the three translations adduced, it occurred in the same passage, the last occurrence of the word in the book. The corresponding passage in Isaiah also confirmed him in the opinion that the idea of sprinkling had been derived from the language of the prophet by Origen and the version from which he quoted. He insisted, therefore, that, with so much probability of a different reading, Mr. Rice was logically bound to show that the word *bebammenon* was actually in the manuscript quoted by Origen, as well as in the one from which the Syriac version was made. This being impossible, Mr. Rice's argument was shown to be logically inconclusive.

It was not, however, merely to rebut his opponent's reasoning that Mr. Campbell took this ground. In all

his writings and discussions he failed not to manifest that spirit of truthful investigation which had guided him from the beginning. Mr. Rice, seemingly incapable of appreciating either Mr. Campbell's position on the disputed passage, or of imitating the truth-loving spirit of investigation which it implied, continued for some time to make the most of his supposed discovery of an exception to Mr. Campbell's universal rule, and to bring up the matter again and again.

"Although Mr. Campbell has said and published," said he, "that no translator, ancient or modern, ever rendered any of this family of words *to sprinkle*, I have proved that the translators of the venerable Syriac, the old Ethiopic and the Vulgate (all of whom, according to him, were immersionists) did so translate *bapto*. But he says, 'There must have been a different reading.' Where is the evidence? Is there any one copy of the New Testament found in all the searching for old manuscripts which presents a different reading? *There is not one!* Why, then, contend for a different reading? Simply because the claims of immersion demand it."

Such was Mr. Rice's *charitable* estimate of his opponent's integrity that he supposed him capable of contending for a different reading not in the interest of truth, but merely "because the claims of immersion demanded it." Providence, however, has already singularly verified the postulate assumed by Mr. Campbell, and exposed the fallacy through which "sprinkle" was sought to be interpolated as a proper or possible rendering of *bapto*. On the 4th day of February, 1859, the learned Tischendorf, who was engaged in Oriental researches, happened to be sojourning at the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. Returning from a walk in company with the steward, the latter, upon reaching his chamber, placed before the traveler, for

his examination, a basket of ancient manuscripts. Among these, to his surprise and delight, he found a complete copy of the New Testament on vellum, which proved to be one of the very oldest and most authentic manuscripts in the world, rivaling even the famous *Codex Vaticanus*. This precious apograph, published in 1865 by Tischendorf, gives in Rev. xix. 13, *περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον περιρεραμμένον αἵματι, clothed with a vesture sprinkled over with blood*—PERIRERAMMENON being here used instead of *bebammenon*, the word found in other MSS. Thus, Mr. Campbell's position that there was a different reading was shown to be entirely correct, the word *perirerammenon*, from *raino*, to sprinkle, and *peri*, over, signifying "sprinkled over," being employed, thus proving the accuracy of the Syriac version, and rescuing *bebammenon* from the hands of those who sought to impose upon it a false rendering to suit their purposes.*

* This interesting fact serves to show how consistent truth is ever with itself, and it illustrates also the principle so often acted on in scientific and legal investigations, that *by means of known facts unknown facts may be discovered.* From the fact that various readings of Scripture existed, that the word "sprinkled" was used in the related passage of Isaiah, and especially because it would have been a singular anomaly if *bapto* could in any case be rendered *sprinkle*, it was truly inferred that in the original manuscript the word used, Rev. xix. 13, was not *bebammenon*, but one that really signified to sprinkle. In like manner, Leverrier, from certain disturbances in the movements of the planets, conjectured that there must exist, at a certain distance beyond the most distant planet known, another heavenly body of a certain magnitude, whose attractions could alone explain these perturbations; and this conclusion was no sooner reached than a German astronomer, directing his telescope to the quarter of the heavens indicated, found there the planet NEPTUNE, previously unknown, but precisely answering all the conditions of the problem. It should be remarked also that, in all such cases, while the verification of the conjecture adds to the sum of human knowledge, it possesses also the reflex power of imparting an *absolute confirmation* to the *data* from which the fact had previously been deduced. Hence, while the result, in the case of Rev. xix. 13, exposes the falsity of the assumption upon which

It cannot be justly denied that throughout the discussion Mr. Rice manifested acuteness and ingenuity in bringing forward whatever could yield the slightest support to his cause, or that his efforts produced occasionally a marked impression on the audience. Having a musical voice and a pleasant countenance, with brilliant black eyes and hair, a confident and positive manner and an agonistic style of gesticulation, he was well fitted to command attention. Having also a large portion of the audience in favor of his propositions, he received from them numerous manifestations of sympathy and approval, which were supposed by many to have been even preconcerted for the purpose of manufacturing public opinion. If such were the purpose of the actors in the case, there is not the slightest evidence that Mr. Rice instigated such proceedings, though his manner and language during the discussion were plainly calculated to encourage manifestations of applause and merriment, which it was his duty to repress as especially unbecoming in the discussion of serious subjects. His remarkable fluency of speech, superior talent for managing minute details, his consummate art in presenting false issues and evading the true ones, gave him great influence over the minds of those unskilled in the detection of fallacious reasoning. He seldom indeed appeared to rise to the dignity of the subject, and both his arguments and his expressions were often of an *ad captandum* character. The characteristic and worst features of his speeches were, however, the *personal* bearing and the hostile spirit which he imparted to them. He had gathered upon his table many volumes

Mr. Rice insisted that sprinkle was one of the meanings of *bapto*, it also demonstrates the truth of the premises from which Mr. Campbell argued, showing that *in no case* can *bapto* or any of its derivatives be so rendered.

of Mr. Campbell's works, and seemed to take an especial pleasure in quoting and referring to his writings, so as to make him appear inconsistent or place him in an unfavorable light before the audience, rather than in discussing the propositions upon their own merits. This course gave to the entire discussion a certain degree of asperity and acrimony, and fostered on the part of the audience those personal and denominational feelings and prejudices which should rather have been allayed.

These feelings indeed ran very high at times, and gave rise to amusing incidents. Two ladies in the gallery were earnestly engaged in maintaining the merits of their respective disputants. "Ah," said one of them to the other as a closing and convincing argument, "you can easily see that Mr. Rice is by far the most learned man. Just see how many books he has upon his table, while Mr. Campbell has hardly any." "But you don't appear to know," retorted the other, "that the books on Mr. Rice's table were *written* by Mr. Campbell." On another occasion, after dismission, a Mr. Irwin of Madison county, a warm friend of Mr. Campbell, was complaining of poor health, and remarked that he had not eaten anything for a number of days. "Ah," said Colonel Speed Smith, jocularly, "you have been feeding on camel" (Campbell). "Not so," said the Presbyterian preacher, Mr. Brown, who was also from Madison, "I believe he has been living on rice (Rice) during these days." "If so," rejoined Colonel Smith, "he has been living on *extremely light diet*."

The disputants indeed, throughout, presented quite a contrast as to their weight of metal and modes of warfare. The one was like the light-armed Saracen

circling round and round his opponent upon his fleet courser, and stealthily endeavoring to wound him with his arrows. The other was the mailed Crusader upon his powerful charger, calmly receiving the missiles upon his shield or seeking to prostrate his enemy with a blow of his battle-axe. Or, as was pictured at the time in an Episcopal paper, the "Protestant Churchman," "Mr. Campbell was like a heavy Dutch-built man-of-war, carrying many guns of very large calibre; whilst Mr. Rice resembled a daring and active Yankee privateer, who contrived, by the liveliness of his movements and the ease with with which he could take up his position for a raking fire, to leave his more cumbrous adversary in a very crippled condition at the close of the fight." This "crippled condition," however, was merely a slight damage in the sails and rigging, if we may continue a figure which most incorrectly represents Mr. Campbell as deficient in alertness or mobility of mind, a quality in which he excelled. Mr. Rice, who had rummaged Mr. Campbell's writings, in order to cull from thence whatever could serve his purpose, did not fail to make good use of those philosophical distinctions and disquisitions in relation to "moral, spiritual and physical power," etc., which Mr. Campbell had employed in some of his discussions, and which had opened a door to speculation and misrepresentation in the discussion of the proposition relating to the influence of the Holy Spirit. Mr. Rice therefore adduced these expressions and reasonings for the purpose of involving Mr. Campbell in inconsistency and proving his doctrine to be erroneous. His effort, however, only caused Mr. Campbell to appear to greater advantage, since it elicited from him the following noble acknowledgment:

"I do not shrink from the discussion of anything I have ever written on this subject. Yet it would be more than human, more than mortal man has yet achieved, if in twenty years' writing, and in issuing one magazine of forty-eight octavo pages every month, written both at home and abroad, in steamboats, hotels and in the houses of my private friends and brethren, I should have so carefully, definitely and congruously expressed myself on every occasion on these much controverted subjects as to furnish no occasion to our adversaries to extract a sentence or a passage which, when put into their crucible and mixed with other ingredients, might not be made to appear somewhat different from itself and myself and my other writings. To seal the lips of caviling sectarians and captious priests is a natural impossibility. The Great Teacher himself could not, at least he did not, do it."*

Mr. Campbell's opening address of an hour in the debate on the influence of the Holy Spirit, has been greatly and deservedly admired for its beauty of diction, its clearness of statement and its power of argument. It was remarked that Henry Clay, who had been very careful to avoid, previously, the slightest appearance of favoring either disputant, was so captivated by it as, for a time, to forget himself. A gentleman well acquainted with him noticed that, soon after Mr. Campbell began,

* Somewhat similar was the language of Luther when, before the emperor and princes, he was called upon to say whether he would recant or defend the doctrine he had taught. After refusing to retract anything he had written on faith and good works and against popery, he added: "In the third and last place, I have written some books against private individuals who have undertaken to defend the tyranny of Rome by destroying the faith. I freely confess I may have attacked such persons with more violence than was consistent with my profession as an ecclesiastic. I do not think of myself as a saint, but neither can I retract those books, because I should by so doing sanction the impieties of my opponents. . . . As I am a mere man and not God, I will defend myself after the manner of Jesus Christ, who said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness against me.' John xviii. 23. How much more should I, who am but dust and ashes and so prone to error, desire that every one should bring forward what he can against my doctrine!"

he became unusually attentive, and that, as the subject became unfolded and successive arguments were presented, he leaned forward and began to bow assent, waving his hand at the same time in that graceful, approving manner peculiar to him. While the gentleman was observing this with some surprise, as he had never before, except upon one occasion, found Mr. Clay to be so carried away by a public speaker, the latter, suddenly recollecting himself, drew himself back and looked around to see if any one had noticed him thus off his guard. The address, as it appears in the printed debate, affords abundant evidence of its power. A high dignitary in the Episcopal Church, writing soon after in the "Protestant Churchman," thus spoke of it and of the disputants:

"With the exception of a few unguarded expressions, and that he affirms a *universal* where only a *general* can be proved, Mr. Campbell's affirmative argument on the point that 'the Holy Spirit in conversion and sanctification operates only through the Word' is one of the most splendid specimens of eloquent reasoning I ever remember to have read. So, also, apply to over-expanded creeds—the Westminster Confession, for instance—what he recklessly charges upon all creeds, and more thrilling or magnificent declamation can hardly anywhere be found than that interwoven in the closing debate." After referring to other specimens of Mr. Campbell's lofty and powerful argumentation, he adds, "Mr. Rice is wholly incapable of this sort of thing. His imagination is as barren as the surface of granite."

In the affirmative of the proposition that "the infant of believing parents is a scriptural subject for baptism," Mr. Rice assumed the usual position of the identity of the Jewish and Christian institutions or churches, and, forbearing to insist upon the argument that baptism came in room of circumcision, dwelt upon the com-

mission to the apostles as requiring them to disciple the nations by teaching and baptizing, asserting that teaching did not necessarily precede baptism, and that the commission was fulfilled if children were baptized first and taught afterward! With all his arts of sophistry, however, he could not succeed in making even a plausible defence of a proposition which, as Mr. Campbell showed, had not a particle of scriptural evidence to sustain it. Nor was he at all more successful in the attempt to prove the fourth proposition, that "baptism is to be administered only by a bishop or ordained presbyter," for which, indeed, he did not pretend to produce a single scriptural authority. It was in the discussion of the last proposition in reference to "human creeds as bonds of union and communion" that he labored with the greatest assiduity, and, it must be admitted, with the greatest temporary effect. Ingeniously availing himself of the cases in which considerable difference of sentiment had been tolerated amongst the Reformers, and of Mr. Campbell's candor in acknowledging occasionally in his writings the existing deficiencies amongst his brethren, he managed, by exaggerating these and by means of incorrect statements, imaginary cases and feigned issues, to create, for a time, the impression upon some even who had been opposed to creeds that they were by no means so injurious or unnecessary as had been supposed.* In his attempt to excite religious fears

* Mr. Rice descanted largely upon the case of Dr. Thomas as an evidence of the looseness of belief among the disciples, and of the necessity for a creed in order to the detection of errorists, although the repudiation of Dr. Thomas and his speculations by the Reformers was in reality a clear proof of the sufficiency of the Scriptures for "reproof" and for "correction," as well as for "instruction" in "righteousness." He magnified also certain differences in opinion between Mr. Raines and Dr. Fishback with regard to the degrees of human depravity. He seemed particularly desirous, however, of attaching

and prejudices upon this subject he was greatly aided by the circumstance that Mr. Campbell's view of the true grounds of Christian union was so far in advance of the age as not to be yet really and fully understood by the community in general. In repelling, therefore, the false imputations and consequences upon which Mr.

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the stigma of Unitarianism to B. W. Stone and those with him who had engaged in the reformatory movement.

B. W. Stone, now near the close of his life, having been informed by A. Kendrick that Mr. Rice had publicly charged him with being a "Unitarian who made the Saviour a mere man—a created being," and who "openly denied the divinity of Christ," answered Mr. Kendrick as follows in reference to the matter: "Now I reply for the last time (so I now think) that at no time in my long life did I ever believe these doctrines; I never taught them either publicly or privately, from the pulpit or the press. I am bold to say no man ever heard them from me, or read them in any of the essays I have written and published on the doctrine of Christ. . . . It is well known to all that know me that I differed from the Presbyterians on the speculations in their Confession of Faith on the Trinity when I was a Presbyterian. Yet was I unanimously ordained by the Presbytery and held in communion by them. I was never charged with these things until I withdrew from them."

After recapitulating briefly his belief in the distinction between the Father and the Son in the words in which the Scripture reveals it, he goes on as follows: "Just before he ascended, the Son prayed to the Father to glorify him with himself with the glory he had with him before the world was. This with many other texts proves that the Son, or Logos, existed in glory with the Father before the world was—before all created things in the universe; without him was not one thing made that is made.

"This glorious being is the Son of God, the only begotten Son of God, and therefore divine: the children of men are human, because begotten and born of human parents; so is the Son of God divine, because begotten of the divine Father. . . . I believe the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life. I believe that all power and authority in heaven and earth are given unto him, and that he is able to save to the uttermost all that come to God by him; that in him are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; that it pleased the Father that in him should all fullness dwell—the fullness of the Godhead, the fullness of the Spirit, the fullness of grace and salvation. When we see him we see the Father—his image, his character, his glory and perfection. Let me lose life before I would detract from my Lord one ray of his glory. To him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb be everlasting praise! Amen!

B. W. STONE."

Rice was pleased to descant, Mr. Campbell took occasion to state again, in various forms, the real principles of the Reformation and to maintain their correctness and their necessity for Christian union.

"We all see," said he, "that Christendom is at present in an agitated, dislocated condition—cut up or frittered down into sects and parties innumerable, wholly unwarranted by right reason, pure religion, the Bible, the God of the Bible. Before the high and holy and puissant intelligences of the earth and heaven this state of things is most intolerable. I have for some five-and-twenty years regarded creeds as both the cause and effect of partyism and the main perpetuating cause of schism, and have remonstrated and inveighed against them. Not like many who oppose creeds because they first oppose their peculiar tenets, we opposed them on their own demerits, and not because they opposed us. In this particular at least, if on no other account, we differ from the great majority of those who oppose them: because old parties were sustained by them, because they made new parties, and because they were roots of bitterness and apples of discord, we opposed them.

"In lieu of them all we tendered the book that God gave us. We regard the Lord Jesus Christ as King, Lord, Lawgiver and Prophet of the Church, and well qualified by the power of the Holy Spirit to give us all a perfect volume—one in substance and form exactly adapted as he would have it for just such a family as the great family of man, if we believe the Lord Jesus was wiser and more benevolent than all his followers in their united wisdom and benevolence, and that he could and would give them such a book as they needed. It is both the light of salvation and the bond of union amongst the saved. We abjure creeds simply as substitutes—directly or indirectly substitutes—for the book of inspiration. In other respects we have no objection whatever to any people publishing their tenets or views or practices to the world. I have no more objection to writing my opinions

than to speaking them. But, mark it well, it is the making of such compends of views, in the ecclesiastic sense, *creeds* (that is, *terms of communion* or *bonds of union*)—I say again, as ecclesiastic documents, as terms of exclusion and reception of members, we abjure them. . . . Our sin, in the eyes of all devoted to them, is, that we substitute for them the new covenant as our church covenant, and the apostolic writings as our *Christian creed*, believing all things in the law and in the prophets.

"We preach in the words of that book the gospel as promulgated by the apostles in Jerusalem. We use in all important matters the exact words of inspiration. We command all men to believe, repent and bring forth fruits worthy of reformation. We enjoin the same good works commanded by the Lord and by his apostles. We receive men of all denominations under heaven, of all sects and parties, who will make the good confession on which Jesus Christ builded his Church. We propound that confession of the faith in the identical words of inspiration, so that they who avow it express a divine faith and build upon a consecrated foundation—a well-tried corner-stone. On a sincere confession of this faith we immerse all persons, and then present them with God's own book as their book of faith, piety and morality. This is our most obnoxious offence against the partyism of this age.

"On this ground many of us have stood for many years. We have fully tested this principle. Men, formerly of all persuasions and of all denominations and prejudices, have been baptized on this good confession and have united in one community. Amongst them are found those who have been Romanists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Restorationists, Quakers, Arians, Unitarians, etc., etc. We have one faith, one Lord, one baptism, but various opinions. These, when left to vegetate without annoyance, if erroneous, wither and die. We find much philosophy in one of Paul's precepts, somewhat mistranslated: 'Receive one another without regard to difference of opinion.' We indeed

receive in our communion persons of other denominations who will take upon them the responsibility of their partici pating with us. We do indeed in our affections and in our practice receive all Christians, all who give evidence of their faith in the Messiah, and of their attachment to his person, character and will."—*Debate*, p. 783.

Of the philosophy of this basis of union he thus remarks: "We long since learned the lesson that to draw a well-defined boundary between faith and opinion, and, while we earnestly contend for the faith, to allow perfect freedom of opinion and of the expression of opinion, is the true philosophy of church union and the sovereign antidote against heresy. Hence in our communion at this moment we have as strong Calvinists and as strong Arminians as any, I presume, in this house—certainly many that have been such. Yet we go hand in hand in one faith, one hope, and in all Christian union and co-operation in the great cause of personal sanctification and human redemption. It is a pleasure to see such persons holding in abeyance their former opinions—conclusions and opinions the results of an early education and the effects of youthful associations—sacrificing all their predilections and partialities for the sake of the pure and holy principles of a religion that was fully and perfectly taught before the age of Luther, of Calvin or of any of the Reformers of popery or any other superstition, living or dead. They see not those specks while Heaven's bright sun of righteousness and truth shines into their souls in all its glorious effulgence.

"It is not the object of our efforts to make men think alike on a thousand themes. Let them think as they like on any matters of human opinion and upon 'doctrines of religion,' provided only they hold THE HEAD Christ and keep his commandments. I have learned not only the theory, but the fact, that if you wish opinionism to cease or subside you must not call up and debate everything that men think or say. You may debate anything into consequence, or you may, by a dignified silence, waste it into oblivion."—*Debate*, p. 797.

Mr. Rice, wholly unable, from his point of view, to

admit such results, continued to complain of the latitudinarianism of such principles. Mr. Campbell replied:

"The gentleman complains that our foundation is too broad, too liberal. It is indeed broad, liberal and strong. If it were not so, it would not be a Christian foundation. Christianity is a liberal institution. It was conceived in view of the ruin of the world. God looked upon not the thousand millions of one age, but the untold millions of all ages. And he looked with the inconceivable compassion of a divine Father, rich in mercy and plenteous in redemption. He laid help for us on the shoulders of a divine Man, 'who meted out the heavens with a span, comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance;' the great Philanthropist whose wide charities and tender compassions embrace all ages, all races, all generations of men. He knows no differences of castes, ranks, dignities. Before him kings and their subjects, the nobles of the earth and their slaves, the tyrants and their vassals, lose all differences. Their circumstantial grandeur and their circumstantial meanness are as nothing. He looks upon them all as men—fallen, ruined men. He made one splendid sacrifice for all, and has commanded his gospel to be preached from pole to pole and from Jerusalem to the uttermost parts of the earth. He bids all nations, languages and tribes of men a hearty welcome to the rich provisions of his bounteous table, made large enough and well supplied with the richest provisions of his unwasting fullness. Surely, then, that ought to be a large house on a broad foundation that has in it a table for saved men from every nation under heaven.

"He has commanded a simple story to be told, leveled to the apprehension of all. It is expressed in plain, clear and forcible terms. The great cardinal principles upon which the kingdom rests are made intelligible to all, and every one who sincerely believes these and is baptized is, without any other instrument, creed, covenant or bond, entitled to the rank and immunities of the city of God, the spiritual Jerusalem, the residence of the great King. This is precisely our foundation.

Strong or weak, broad or narrow, it is commensurate with the Christian charter. It embraces all that believe in Jesus as the Christ of all nations, sects and parties, and makes them all one in Christ Jesus."—*Debate*, p. 808.

Having thus shown the Bible to be the true and only guide in religion, and vindicated the sufficiency of the simple gospel which it reveals as the basis of Christian union apart from all mere human opinions, he subsequently developed, in a still more comprehensive view, the grand fundamental resting-point of the entire structure:

"The strength of the whole edifice is in its foundation, and the still more interior secret of the strength of our system is that IT IS DIVINE. It is the foundation which God has laid in Zion. It is not both divine and human. It is wholly divine. Does any one ask me what it is? I wish I had a summer's day and my wonted strength to develop its glorious features to your view. A full revelation of it would disarm our opponents and take from them more than half their arguments. I tell you, my Christian friends, the Christian faith is quite a simple but most comprehensive and potent document. The five books of Moses, together with the prophets, compose the Jews' religion. The Christian believes all these too, and studies them well; but Christianity was born after Christ. There were Jews and Gentiles innumerable before Christ was born. But we speak not of the Jewish nor of the patriarchal ages. The Harbinger has done his work. He prepared a people for the Lord and introduced the sublime and glorious age of Messiah the Prince; but Christianity is more than John preached. The principles of Christianity, like the grand laws of nature, are simple and few, but omnipotent to all the ends of its Author. What sublime and awful wonders are revealed in heaven to the eye of the philosopher by the operations of the centrifugal and centripetal forces! Silently and unobtrusively these laws, for ages, have swayed creation's ample bounds, kept the universe to its place and guided all the mighty

masses, in their unmeasured circuit of miles unmeasured, through all the fields of occupied space. That regularity, harmony, beauty and beneficence spread over those empyreal regions where the march of revolving worlds overwhelms the adoring saint and fills his soul with admiration of the divine Author of the universe, all spring from and are the mysterious result of a happy combination of these two stupendous principles.

"So is it in our most holy faith. There are but two grand principles in Christianity—two laws revealed and developed, whose combination produces similar harmony, beauty and loveliness in the world of mind as in the world of matter. But, leaving the development of these for the present, I must at once declare the simplicity of this divine constitution of remedial mercy. It has but three grand ideas peculiar to itself, and these all concern the King. I am sorry that this sublime and mysterious simplicity does not appear to those who set about making constitutions for Christ's kingdom. This confession of omnipotent moral power, because the offspring of infinite wisdom and benevolence, must be learned from one passage, Matt. xvi.: 'Who am I, do men say?' We must advance one step farther: 'Who am I, do *you* say?' Peter in one momentous period expressed the whole affair—THOU ART THE MESSIAH, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD. The *two* ideas expressed concern the *person* of the Messiah and his *office*. The one implied concerns his *character*, for it was through his character, as developed, that Peter recognized his person and his Messiahship. Now let us take the shoes from off our feet, for we stand on holy ground; and let us hear him unfold unto Peter his intentions: 'Blessed art thou, Simon, son of Jonas! Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. But I say unto thee, Thou art Peter (or stone), and on THIS ROCK I will build MY *Church*, and the gates of hell (hades) shall not prevail against it.' It will stand forever. 'I will give unto thee (thyself alone, Peter) the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whose sins soever you remit,

they are remitted, and whose sins soever you retain, they shall be retained.' Here, then, is the whole mystery of the Christian institution—the full confession of the Christian faith. All that is peculiar to Christianity is found in these words; not merely in embryo, but in a clearly-expressed out line. A cordial belief and clear conception of these two facts will make any man a Christian. He may carry them out in their vast dimensions and glorious developments to all eternity. He may ponder upon them till his spirit is transformed into the image of God—until he shines in more than angelic brightness in all the purity and beauty of heavenly love. Man glorified in heaven, gifted with immortality and rapt in the ecstasies of infinite and eternal blessedness, is but the mere result of a proper apprehension of and conformity to this confession. I am always overwhelmed in astonishment in observing how this document has been disparaged and set at naught by our builders of churches. It seems still to be 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.' Yet Jesus calls it the *rock*. It is in the figure of a church or a temple, the foundation, a *rock*. When all societies build on this one foundation, and on it only, then shall there be unity of faith, of affection and of co-operation; but never, never till then. Every other foundation is sand. Hence, they have all wasted away. Innumerable parties have perished from the earth; and so will all the present built on any other foundation than this rock."—*Debate*, p. 821.

Amidst the sad divisions of religious society, produced and perpetuated by substituting a *doctrinal* for a *personal* faith, and the orthodoxy of the head for that of the heart, when men relied upon nice philosophical distinctions, metaphysical theories and theological or ecclesiastical systems rather than upon gospel facts, there needed a mind like that of Alexander Campbell, of expansive generalizing power and wide reach of thought, capable of seizing upon the grand principles of things and disengaging from the rubbish of partyism

the truth on which the Church of Christ was founded. Nor was it surprising that a discovery at once so simple and so grand should fail to be comprehended and appreciated at once by those who were accustomed, like Mr. Rice, to justify sectarianism and find abundant space for all their religious thought within the narrow limits of a party. Time had to be allowed, that men might be schooled to larger views and learn by degrees the important lesson that "God's ways are not as man's ways, nor his thoughts as man's thoughts." Even now, after the lapse of more than half a century, the thoughtful among religious communities are only beginning to perceive and to admit that if Christian union is ever to be established, it must be based upon the simple primitive and personal faith advocated and first publicly acknowledged by Mr. Campbell in 1812.

Whatever was the judgment of the discerning and impartial with regard to the discussion and the disputants, it is certain that the Presbyterians, as Mr. Rice himself had done throughout the debate, boasted of a complete victory on their side.* Carried away by Mr. Rice's confident and assuming manner, and the present effect which it seemed to have upon the unthinking and

* A similar course of boasting had been pursued by the Presbyterians in the case of the Jenning's Debate, and gave rise to the following incident: While Nashville was ringing with Presbyterian acclamations, an aged citizen accosted one of the boasters in the following style: "You Presbyterians have gained, you say, a glorious victory. I do not understand how you ascertain a victory. Do tell me how you know when you beat. I will tell you how in old times we judged of victories when I was in the Indian wars. After the battle was over we counted the scalps, and those who could show the largest number of them were said to have conquered. Now, then, since Mr. Campbell had been here, he has immersed some thirty, among whom were some of the most intelligent citizens of Nashville. How many have you added to your church by this debate?" "I have not heard of any," said his Presbyterian friend. "Pray, then, my dear sir, tell me how you know when you have gained a great victory."

prejudiced, they overlooked the fact that a boastful and supercilious *manner* was incapable of being transferred to print, like the argumentative speeches which Mr. Campbell had wisely designed for the future readers of the discussion. They seemed also to have failed to notice the ominous fact that when Mr. Campbell preached during the period of the discussion quite a number came forward for baptism, and among them a very intelligent Lutheran preacher.* The assurance of triumph, however, felt by the Presbyterians cannot justly be attributed entirely to Mr. Rice's confident manner and bold assertions. He certainly acquitted himself much better than his friends expected, and showed a readiness in reply and an ingenuity and a plausibility in the arguments he employed quite beyond public expectation—a circumstance which naturally tended to create an exaggerated notion of his ability. The sincerity of the Presbyterians in their convictions of success was well shown in the eagerness with which the Rev. J. H. Brown purchased for $2000 the copyright of the printed debate, and in the efforts which for a time were made by them to circulate it.

It was soon found, however, that the effect of the

* This gentleman, Mr. William McChesney, who possessed undoubted testimonials of his standing with the Lutherans, gave afterward to Mr. Campbell the following account: "I could have sprinkled a child the day before the debate commenced with a good conscience. All my early education and associations were placed on a scale with Pædobaptism during the debate. I went there willing to ascertain the truth. I was a little prejudiced against you, and more than a little against the Reformation. I listened with candor and attention. After the whole ground had been gone over, I was satisfied that nothing but immersion would do, and that infant baptism could not be maintained from the Scriptures. I felt deeply interested in the whole matter. If Mr. Rice could have met all your arguments satisfactorily to my mind, and have sustained his own propositions, he would have received my warmest thanks. He failed, however, in my estimation—completely failed in both."

printed discussion upon the public mind was quite different from what the party expected, and they were mortified to perceive that it was making many converts to Mr. Campbell's views, but none to Presbyterianism.*

*Amongst numerous cases of the kind, the following may be given as illustrating the effect produced by the printed debate: Mrs. Postlethwaite, of Greensburg, Pa., the relict of Dr. Postlethwaite, an elder of high standing in the Presbyterian Church, and who had herself been a sincere and exemplary member of that Church for full fifty-four years, after carefully reading the debate three times, came forward and demanded immersion on her own confession of the faith, and was accordingly immersed. What made this case more striking was, that this venerable lady was spending the time with her son-in-law, a Presbyterian clergymen, during the time she was examining this discussion. After her first reading she thought Mr. Rice had sustained himself pretty well, although she could not see that he had exactly *answered Mr. Campbell's arguments.* She read again and again, and at last expressed herself thoroughly ashamed of the disingenuousness and the unfairness of Mr. Rice's speeches, and thought she could plainly discover this important difference—that one side was contending for all-important truths, and the other for contracted human institutions and traditions.

Another case was that of a devoted and influential member in the Methodist Church, who thus wrote to Mr. Campbell from Nashville, in November, 1846: "I commenced to read the debate between you and Rev. N. L. Rice some twelve months ago, with prejudices decidedly, for the most part, in favor of the views entertained by the latter; but by the time I had finished I was fully convinced that Mr. Rice had utterly failed to sustain his positions. Yet I was not fully satisfied that the doctrine for which you contended was true. It was a clear case to my mind that your arguments, for the most part, were conclusive—that you had gained a complete triumph over Mr. Rice; but yet I was fearful that your *premises* might somewhere be defective, and, to be honest, I had a kind of a secret wish that it might be so! I did not, *somehow or other*, like, after living in the Methodist Episcopal Church for some fourteen years, sustaining, too, as I did, an official relation to that Church, to give up my long-cherished opinions. Still, I determined, after making a fair test of your views, to fall upon the side of the truth, should it even be what I was pleased, in common with many others, to call 'Campbellism.' I therefore, with earnest inquiry after God's revealed truth, fled to the Bible, and read it with greater care and solicitude, if possible, than I had ever done before. The result of this was a confirmation of my already partial conviction of the truth of your position. I found that what I had supposed to be Campbellism was God's own revealed truth. Under this conviction, about the 24th of last May, in Franklin county, Ky., I was immersed, after which I became a member of the Christian Church. Is not my case, with many others similar.

Upon this, Mr. Brown gladly disposed of his copyright for a small sum to a member of the Christian Church at Jacksonville, Illinois, C. D. Roberts, who immediately printed a large edition of the work, which has been since patronized and circulated by the Reformers. Results have shown that whatever personal distinction or notoriety the debate may have given to Mr. Rice, it certainly added nothing to the cause of Presbyterianism, which in Kentucky continued still to decline, while that of the Reformation steadily prospered. The following just estimate of Mr. Rice's performance, from the "Christian Messenger," published in London, Oc-

a demonstration of the (shall I say?) omnipotence of truth? When I commenced reading the debate to which I have alluded, my prejudices were unreasonable against *yourself* and what I then considered exclusively *your* doctrine; but the truth—the unsophisticated truth, as contended for by yourself and confirmed by the Bible—proved sufficiently strong to conquer that monster Prejudice. Accept, my dear brother, my assurances of high esteem and Christian regard. P. O. JENKINS."

None of these cases, however, gave Mr. Campbell greater pleasure than that of his uncle Archibald, of Newry, Ireland, several of whose children had emigrated to the United States and adopted the reformatory views. Among these may be mentioned Enos Campbell, who has distinguished himself both as a teacher and as an able public advocate of the Reformation. The father, Archibald Campbell, continued, nevertheless, to maintain his Presbyterian sentiments and to act as an elder of the Presbyterian Secession church at Newry, an office which he had filled for more than half a century. At length, in May, 1846, he thus wrote to Mr. Campbell: "I read your debate with Mr. Rice, through the medium of your Dungannon friends. I consider him a much more wily antagonist than either McCalla or Walker. I would not be surprised if the *popular* cry would be in his favor. He seems to have the tact of making the most of everything that might appear in his favor. . . . But, notwithstanding his ingenuity and wiles, I am constrained to give up infant baptism as being apostolical." "This," said Mr. Campbell, commenting on this letter, "coming from such a source—from one who has often, during twenty years, objected to my views on this subject and corresponded with me in defence not only of infant baptism, but of the differential peculiarities of Presbyterianism, and one of the most learned and influential elders of that Church in the North of Ireland—I regard as a very great triumph. Such a man's testimony, with me, weighs more than that of many thousand."

tober, 1844, gives a fair illustration of the effect of the printed discussion upon truth-loving minds:

"It is to be regretted that such a man as Mr. Rice should be the chosen champion of any religious party. From a body so respectable as the Presbyterians are, in talent and learning, an advocate talented and learned was to be expected—one worthy to appear for a great people. Mr. Rice is not this. His qualifications, if he were a lawyer, would fit him well to manage a *nisi prius* case, but he should not plead in a higher court. Bishop Purcell, Mr. Campbell's quondam opponent, though we thought him an adept in sophistical argumentation, in the manœuvre of evasion and in some other things too *little* for special notice, has been outdone in these respects by a Presbyterian polemic. The bishop, indeed, was apparently averse to argue in this way when he could do anything else. Not so, Mr. Rice; he prefers the obliquities of argument and the quibbles of the schools to the more agreeable course chosen by the bishop, who, when argument was scarce, entertained the audience with a mixture of philosophy and poetry, and enlivened his speeches with an eloquence rendered earnest by an abundant faith. Mr. Rice will at least escape the reproach of making digressions of this kind; but had he done so—had he been competent to do so—his part of the book would not be altogether so *barren* as it is for those who care not for gathering the fruit of *mere* controversial ingenuity. In fine, persons who are acquainted with the whole subject of this controversy will not rise from the perusal of Mr. Rice's speeches with one *new* idea, while the ignorant are likely to be misled by the strange aberrations from truth in his statements, as well of matters of fact as of matters of criticism."

Mr. Rice nevertheless received various honors from the Presbyterians, among which was the title of D. D., which had been conferred in turn upon Mr. Campbell's former opponents, Ralston, McCalla and Jennings. As Dr. Priestley used to say wnen he found his Episcopal

opponents immediately raised to the rank of bishops, that "it was HE who made the bishops of England," Mr. Campbell with equal propriety could say that it was HE who made, in his time, the Presbyterian doctors of divinity. "We are always pleased," said he, "and feel ourselves honored by the theological promotion of our opponents. The Rev. McCalla was dubbed D. D. after his debate with me, and even Dr. Purcell is a bishop much nearer the papal throne since than before his victory at Cincinnati."

The era of the Rice debate was one of the busiest periods of Mr. Campbell's life. In addition to his duties at the college, he continued the "Harbinger," and had likewise to prepare for the press his portion of the debate. During this year he published also his Extra on "Life and Death," as well as an Address which he delivered before the "Union Literary Society" of Miami University, on "The Responsibilities of Men of Genius." Although he was now about fifty-five years of age, his physical and intellectual vigor seemed unabated. He complained often, it is true, during his tours of the fatigue he experienced, but it was surprising to see how quickly a little rest restored him, and how fresh he seemed even after his sixteen days' debate with Mr. Rice, and its attendant labors. Incessant occupation, indeed, seemed to be a necessity of his being, no less than a result of the earnestness with which he sought to benefit society. He had been fitted for his work, as well by the grandeur of his moral and intellectual nature, as by the restless activity of his entire mental and physical constitution, and seemed impelled by an irresistible impulse to employ his energies in behalf of the noble purposes for which alone he seemed to live.

CHAPTER XVII.

View of slavery—Bethany College—Tour to the South—Tour to the Far West—"Evangelical alliance"—Tour in England, France and Scotland—Persecutions.

THE power of great men to control public sentiment and to direct human progress is immense, and imposes on them peculiar responsibilities. Such of them as are *good* as well as great will hence be careful that their influence is not employed for purposes of selfish aggrandizement, and that they seek neither to float idly upon the favoring current of popular opinion nor to direct it into improper channels. Amidst the conflicting movements of human affairs it is also most important that they should make their real position clearly understood, so that in matters affecting human welfare their authority may not be unjustly claimed for false principles or injurious measures. From the beginning, Mr. Campbell had fully shown his sense of duty in these respects, and was far from disregarding it now when his reputation and influence were so widely extended. No personal aims or sectional prejudices could narrow the largeness of his mind, or induce him to swerve in any degree from the interests of truth and right for which he was ever ready to sacrifice human applause and suffer unjust reproach.

Of this he gave fresh evidence about this period in relation to several important questions, and particularly

to that of slavery, which now engrossed a very large share of public attention, and was producing important revolutions both in political and in religious society. It had already divided the *Methodists* into two parties, and was now threatening to produce a similar result in the case of the Reformers, many of whom, carried away by the excitement of the period, had come to regard slaveholding in itself as a sin, and were disposed to refuse religious fellowship to those who in any wise sanctioned it. Mr. Campbell had, indeed, on various occasions condemned the institution of slavery as existing in the United States, and had used his influence on all proper occasions in favor of emancipation. But when extremists under the pretended sanction of the Bible began to deny the lawfulness of the *relation* of master and servant, and to pervert the Scriptures in order to support their assumptions, he felt it his duty to oppose their errors and to withhold his sanction from their proceedings. He accordingly at this period thought it necessary to define, in a series of articles in the "Harbinger," his position in relation to the institution.

At the close of these articles he expressed his views summarily as follows:

"1. That the relation of master and servant is not in itself sinful or immoral. 2. That, nevertheless, slavery as practiced in any part of the civilized world is *inexpedient;* because not in harmony with the spirit of the age nor the moral advancement of society; because in itself, as fully demonstrated, not favorable to individual and national prosperity; and because it imposes on Christian masters and their families burdens and responsibilities not easily discharged in existing circumstances; and which, when not discharged, prevent that refined and elevated personal and domestic happiness so desirable to any Christian household. 3. That no Christian community governed by the Bible, Old Testament and New,

can constitutionally and rightfully make the simple relation of master and slave a term of Christian fellowship or a subject of discipline, while in duty bound in this case, as in all others, to take cognizance of any neglect or violation of the relative duties obligatory on the parties."—"Mill. Harb." for 1845, p. 263.

In maintaining the above positions, Mr. Campbell looked at the subject entirely from a *scriptural* point of view:

"Our position," said he, "is not that of a politician, an economist, a mere moralist, but that of a Christian. . . . I stand or fall by supernatural religion or revelation. Hence, my position, and the reasons of it, can be clearly stated and satisfactorily sustained by the New Testament, and to those who admit its divine authority. I know some men, and have heard of others, who candidly aver the resolution to *abandon the Bible as soon as it is made evident that it sanctions the relation of master and slave.* Such is their faith in their own reason, and such their preference for natural law, conscience and religion, that, if any sacrifice is to be made, they will sacrifice the Bible to their theory rather than their theory to the Bible. I have nothing to say at this time to such *Christians* as these.

"When I affirm that the New Testament *without censure* recognizes the relation of master and servant, I do not say that it sanctions the *legalized* treatment of either master or slave, according to the American or any other code. I do not say that the New Testament authorizes a man to treat his servants as he treats his mules or his oxen; that if he feed, clothe and house them well, find them abundance of wholesome food in health, medicine and medical attendance in sickness, that he has 'rendered unto them that which is *just* and *equal*.' They have souls as well as bodies; they have powers of reason; they have consciences, moral feelings, moral instincts, and are susceptible of spiritual enjoyments, of immortality and eternal life. They have the rights of husbands and of wives, of parents and of children; and any

code which takes these away from them is not of God, but of man. Moral training, religious and moral instruction, they must have among their inalienable rights and privileges. These cannot be withheld by Christian masters without the forfeiture of Christian character and Christian privilege, no matter under what code of laws such injustice be perpetuated.

"When, then, I strongly affirm my long-cherished and deeply-impressed conviction that the New Testament sanctions the relation of master and slave, when such relation is providentially existing in any community, I do not maintain that it sanctions any man in 'man-stealing' in taking away the liberty of any man born free, or in withholding from those 'born in his house or bought with his money' any of these specified rights, immunities and privileges above enumerated."—Mil. Harb. for 1845, p. 236.

Defining an abolitionist as one who denied the lawfulness of the *relation* of master and servant and insisted on its immediate abrogation, he says elsewhere (Id. p. 358):

"I have always been anti-slavery, but never an abolitionist, if I may illustrate a definition in my own case. There are many men owning slaves quite anti-slavery in all their views and feelings, while yet reprobating the doctrines and movements of abolitionists. All men of humanity and good sense contemplate an end of slavery in all its obnoxious attributes, but no one anticipates a sudden or immediate termination of it, except at the point of the bayonet. *Christians can never be reformers in any system which uses violence, or recommends or expects it.* I have already suggested political, economical and moral reasons why this institution should ultimately yield to the genius of the age and the spirit of our institutions. But as members of Christ's Church, our duties have already and repeatedly been pointed out; and to these now must all conform if we expect or desire the plaudits of the great Master and Judge of all.

"My object in writing on this subject is already in a great

measure gained. I have from all parties—abolition and anti-abolition—such approval of the grounds proposed as to believe that on calm and deliberate reflection they will command the acquiescence of all whose approbation and co-operation are desirable in the great work of reformation. The true partisan, the political aspirant, with all those desirous of political revolution for the sake of a new order of things, will never approve my views. I do not expect such a thing. I neither desire nor covet their approbation. I have the exquisite satisfaction to know that I am countenanced and encouraged in this course by the unanimous voices of patriarchs, prophets and apostles—by the whole genius and spirit of the Christian institution—by the doctrine and example of the Author and Founder of the Christian faith. This is enough for me."

Mr. Campbell's conservative course in regard to this disturbing question, while it preserved the reforming churches from division, excited against him the animosity of many individuals who had hoped that he would declare himself in favor of their particular views, and who now refused to take his periodical any longer. Such tokens of displeasure, however, did not deter him from hazarding similar consequences in speaking out boldly against Christians becoming members of *secret societies*, and thereby compromising, as he thought, the character and influence of the Church of Christ. Nor did he hesitate to denounce also *war* as utterly abhorrent to the gospel and incompatible with the Christian character. He occupied also a considerable space in a special exposure of the evils and errors of Methodism, which excited no little commotion in certain quarters, and in which he endeavored to fulfill a duty which he conceived himself to owe to that large and highly respectable community.

At this period the affairs of Bethany College de-

manded unusual attention. The difficulties and disappointments incident to the establishment of such institutions had not been wanting, but these were met with wisdom and firmness, and a respectable number of students were constantly in attendance, while there were the most favorable indications of the accomplishment of great good. The want of adequate support, however, compelled the faculty of the institution to make great sacrifices, and Mr. Campbell, earnestly desiring to procure a sufficient endowment, found it necessary to exert his personal influence to the utmost, and to make frequent and extensive tours for this purpose. He wished also to put into operation as soon as practicable the primary department, in which he had great hopes of being able to secure that early moral training and instruction in which he was most deeply interested, and upon which in his general plan he had placed great reliance as the most important preparation for the college course. He had already erected at his own expense a large building for the purpose at some distance from the college, and sought diligently to obtain persons fitted to carry out his designs. Failing in this, however, and finding after some time that this department was not sufficiently patronized to justify the continuance of the experiment, it was reluctantly abandoned. It was seen indeed in its progress that young boys away from the influence of home and watchful parental guardianship were peculiarly exposed, and especially as brought more or less into necessary communication with the older college students. Mr. Campbell, however, still cherished the belief that could he have obtained a patron and a matron with teachers possessed of the peculiar qualifications necessary for such a charge, his highest hopes would have been attained. The labors

of all concerned were accordingly now concentrated upon the college and the church, from which there soon began to be developed beneficial results to the cause of the Reformation, which fully equaled Mr. Campbell's highest expectations. Many talented and well-educated young men were annually sent forth, who at once began to distinguish themselves by their enlarged views, their knowledge of the Bible, and the practical skill and energy which they displayed on their various fields of operation. The churches, which in many places had long suffered for want of an efficient ministry and competent teachers, began to be supplied, and a new impulse was given to the cause of the primitive gospel.

In March, 1845, Mr. Campbell, in company with R. L. Coleman, made another tour to the South, speaking at various points in Virginia and visiting many old friends, and among others the excellent T. M. Henley, who was gradually failing in health, but whose spiritual enjoyment and religious fervor seemed to be renewed day by day. At Richmond, where he met with Brethren Bullard and Shelburne, he found the church still prospering under the labors of James Henshall. Passing from thence to Wilmington, North Carolina, and thence to Charleston, he proceeded to Augusta, Georgia, still accompanied by Mr. Coleman, where they delivered addresses to increasing congregations, and succeeded in removing much of the religious prejudice which existed. Here they were kindly entertained by a wealthy and pious sister, Mrs. Tubman, who sent at her own expense a number of students to Bethany College, and contributed largely of her means to its endowment. Here they met also the excellent Dr. Hooke, who had been mayor of the city, and who distinguished himself for many years by his faithful advocacy of the

Reformation in Georgia and South Carolina. Here, also, he formed a pleasant acquaintance with many distinguished persons, as ex-Governor Schley, of Georgia, and Mr. Hammond, of South Carolina.

Upon visiting Governor Hammond by special invitation at his residence, sixteen miles from Augusta, he found him to be a gentleman of superior taste in literature and the fine arts, which he had improved by a long residence in Europe, and while with him held various interesting conversations upon the evidences and great themes of the gospel. Upon his return he spoke in Charleston, and passing from thence to Petersburg, he held profitable meetings in Lunenburg, Amelia, and various other points south of James River, and after visiting Louisa county, delivered some discourses at Charlottesville, from whence, on the 5th of May, he returned home, having traveled twenty-five hundred miles in two months, during which he delivered more than fifty addresses, and was almost incessantly occupied with company and conversation.

On the last day of September of this year he again set out from home upon a trip to the "Far West." Unable in consequence to attend the meeting of the College of Teachers in Cincinnati, to which he was especially invited, he prepared while passing down the Ohio an interesting address upon education, to be read at their meeting. Visiting St. Louis, where Jacob Creath, Jr., was then laboring, he set out in company with him by stage for Columbia, one hundred and forty miles distant, where the annual State meeting was to be held, at which about one hundred and fifty churches were heard from, the membership in this State being estimated as considerably upward of fifteen thousand. While here, Mr. Campbell enjoyed the kind hospitali-

ties of Mr. Barr in Columbia, and of Thomas M. Allen at his pleasant residence eight miles from the city. Passing thence to various other parts of the State, as Lexington, Booneville, Liberty, etc., the distances being great and his appointments numerous, he was compelled to travel post-haste from point to point; and after these fatiguing journeys and labors by day and night, finally on his return reached Fayette, forty miles from Columbia, where he again met with T. M. Allen, who accompanied him to Paris. Parting at this place, Mr. Campbell went on to Palmyra, and thence to Hannibal.

Here he visited Mr. Bowen, son-in-law of B. W. Stone, and entered with deep feeling the apartment in which a few months before (November, 1844) the latter had closed his useful life. He was at the time on a visit to Missouri, and after holding several meetings was taken ill upon his way back to Illinois. His faith and hope and patience never shone more brightly than amidst the sufferings of his last hours. Calling his friends and such of his children as were present around him, he admonished and exhorted them to live to the glory of God, giving to each one individually the most affectionate counsels. When asked by his physician, Dr. D. Morton, what he now thought of the doctrine he had preached, he promptly replied that he believed it to be true. "I may indeed," said he, "have held some erroneous opinions on minor points, but in the main I conscientiously believe I have taught the truth, and have tried to live what I have preached to others. But it is not by works of righteousness that I have done, but according to his mercy, He saved me by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Spirit, which he shed on me abundantly through Jesus Christ.

It is of grace—it is all of grace." When asked by Jacob Creath if he had any fear at the approach of death, he said: "Oh no, Brother Creath; I know in whom I have believed and in whom I have trusted, and I am persuaded he is able to keep what I have committed to him. I know that my Redeemer lives. All my dependence is on God and in his Son Jesus Christ." Quoting and commenting on some passages of Scripture, he said: "My strength fails, but God is my strength and my portion for ever." Then requesting to be placed in an arm-chair, and conversing on the love of God, he reclined his head on the shoulder of his son Barton, and fell asleep in the Lord. Mr. Campbell, with his strong personal attachments, greatly regretted the death of one who had been, as he said, "the honored instrument of bringing many out of the ranks of human traditions, and putting into their hands the Book of books as their only confession of faith and rule of life;" and was happy in being able to procure an oil portrait of him, which he conveyed to Bethany; and in after years often gazed with emotions of affectionate remembrance upon the benignant features of his departed fellow-laborer as portrayed in this excellent likeness, which he placed, with those of his own venerated father and his children, upon the wall of the apartment in which he was wont to assemble his family for morning and evening worship.

From Hannibal he passed into Illinois, where, at Winchester, he met with J. T. Jones, who accompanied him to Jacksonsville and various other points in the State—as Springfield, Bloomington, etc. Again reaching St. Louis, he took passage on a boat for Wheeling; but the navigation being closed by ice in the Upper Ohio, he was compelled to make his way to

Bethany in sleighs over the rough roads and mountains of Western Virginia. In less than nine months of this year, Mr. Campbell passed over at least seven thousand miles, speaking in villages and hamlets scattered from Georgia to the Far West of Missouri.

With the beginning of the year 1846 he enlarged the "Harbinger" to sixty pages per month, and took as co-editor Professor W. K. Pendleton, who had already efficiently aided in the work and signalized his ability as a writer. In March of this year, Mr. Campbell published his address, delivered before the Washington Literary Institute, upon "Capital Punishment," in reference to which, with his accustomed fealty to Bible teaching, he showed that it is alike an oracle of reason, of justice and of mercy that "whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," and that, therefore, no substitute should be taken for the life of the murderer, inasmuch as by the eternal and immutable law of God "the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it." The above address he published as one of his tracts for the people. Of these he had already published several, of twelve pages each, upon important religious subjects, and continued them occasionally for several years. The above tract on capital punishment was widely circulated in America and republished in England, copies being sent to Lord John Russell and other eminent statesmen. On the eleventh of March of this year the devoted Thomas M. Henley, who had suffered so much for the cause of the Reformation in Virginia, died in the triumphs of faith, in his sixty-fourth year. Shortly before, he wrote his last communication to Mr. Campbell, in which he remarked: "After a correspondence of nearly twenty-one years, I am the more

persuaded of the great work you are engaged in, and that no man or set of men can ever publish a more solid basis of union than that you and your venerable father have published to the world some thirty-five years ago." On the 29th of May of the same year, Mr. Campbell's daughter Lavinia, wife of Professor W. K. Pendleton, died of pulmonary disease, having, with great patience and resignation, waited for the hour of her release, and leaving behind her an only daughter, named Campbellina.

About this period the "Evangelical Alliance," designed to promote the union of Christians, attracted much of Mr. Campbell's attention, and was hailed by him with great satisfaction as an indication of the approach of a better era. As to the basis of union which it proposed, he expressed a substantial agreement, though objecting to some of the expressions employed as unscriptural. He pointed out the resemblance of the movement to that of the "Christian Association" in Washington in 1809, which, like the Evangelical Alliance, assumed not the character of a church, but of a society to promote union among Christians, and remarked, at the close of his article:

"I said at the beginning, I say at the close, of my notice of the Evangelical Alliance, that I thank God and take courage at every effort, however imperfect it may be, to open the eyes of the community to the impotency and wickedness of schism, and to impress upon the conscientious and benevolent portion of the Christian profession the excellency, the beauty and the necessity of co-operation in the cause of Christ as prerequisite to the diffusion of Christianity throughout the nations of the earth.

"The Reformation for which we plead grew out of a conviction of the enormous evils of schism and partyism, and the first article ever printed by any of the co-operants in the pres-

ent effort was upon the subject of the necessity, practicability and excellency of Christian union and communion, in order to the purification and extension of the Christian profession. The abjuration of human creeds as roots of bitterness and apples of discord, as the permanent causes of all sectarianism, was set forth as a preliminary step to the purification of the Church and the conversion of the world. The restoration of a pure speech, or the giving of Bible names to Bible ideas, followed in its train, and from these standing-points we have been led step by step to our present position, each one of the prime movers adding to the common stock something of importance, until matters have issued in one of the most extensive moral and ecclesiastical movements and revolutions of the present age."

As an evidence of the extent to which the reformatory principles had been circulated, it may be here added that he had just before received a letter from New Zealand, dated March 21, 1845, informing him of the organization of a church there in the town of Nelson, and desiring an additional supply of his writings to be forwarded. This letter, in its transit by way of New South Wales and the Cape of Good Hope to Great Britain and thence to America, had been carried about twenty thousand miles, and was one year and six weeks in reaching its destination at Bethany.

Mr. Campbell, who had been long desirous of revisiting his native land, was about this time induced by pressing invitations from the churches in Great Britain and Ireland to undertake the journey. Arranging the time of his departure so as to include the college vacation of two and a half months in his period of absence, he set out on the 2d of April, 1847, Professor Pendleton supplying his place meanwhile by virtue of his appointment as vice-president. At Baltimore he met with James Henshall, who had agreed to accompany him,

and received there certain donations for the poor in Ireland. After speaking several times in Baltimore, he passed through Philadelphia to New York, where in company with D. S. Burnet, he sojourned at the hospitable abode of E. Parmley. While here he had several pleasant interviews with Dr. Giustiniani, an eminent Roman Catholic clergyman, who with a number of adherents had lately seceded from Rome. He enjoyed also much of the society of James Buchannan, late British Consul, who happened to be in the city, and whom he highly esteemed for his piety and devotion to the cause of religious reformation. He was especially gratified, too, by a call from Robert Owen, who with the most perfect courtesy and kind feeling inquired after Mr. Campbell's family, and particularly after his father, for whom he had a peculiar regard. In speaking of the interview, Mr. Campbell remarked, as he had been wont to do on many occasions, that "of all his opponents in debate the infidel Robert Owen was the most candid, fair and gentlemanly disputant he had ever met." As this was the last time he ever saw Mr. Owen, it may be here stated that the latter afterward finally returned to England, and, as related in a biographical sketch published after his death, continued to be noted for his amiability, being still

"The same placid, happy being in his old age, believing and expecting whatever he wished; always gentlemanly and courteous in his manners; always on the most endearing terms with his children, who loved to make him, as they said, 'the very happiest old man in the world;' always a gentle bore in regard to his dogmas and his expectations; always palpably right in his descriptions of human misery; always thinking he had proved a thing when he had asserted it in the force of his own conviction; and always meaning some-

thing more rational than he had actually expressed. It was said by way of mockery, that 'he might live in parallelograms, but he argued in circles,' but this is too favorable a description of one who did not argue at all, nor know what argument meant. His mind never fairly met any other, though at the close of his life he had a strange idea that it did by means of spirit-rapping. He published sundry conversations held in that way with Benjamin Franklin and other people, and in the very same breath in which he insisted on the reality of these conversations he insisted that the new-found power was 'all electricity.' He lived until his eighty-ninth year, and died in November, 1857, at Newtown, in Wales, the place of his birth, to which he had gone on a visit."

Mr. Campbell, after spending some days in New York, set out with his companion, James Henshall, on the 4th of May on board the Siddons, Captain Cobb, a sailing vessel, which he preferred to a steamer, in order that he might enjoy a longer sea voyage. He found on board a pleasant company of some twelve cabin passengers, with kind attentions on the part of the captain and very agreeable quarters, where, with his fellow-voyager, he maintained regularly his morning and evening devotions with special reference to the success of the present mission in which they were engaged.

"After an exchange of views on the plan of operations," remarks Mr. Henshall in his notes of the tour, "we agreed to make it a constant subject of prayer, and that we commend ourselves daily to the Lord, praying him to impress our own hearts with the importance of the work to be done; calling on him for his guidance and protection, so that in all our labors God may be glorified and the saints comforted and edified and poor sinners turned from the error of their ways. Brother Campbell then laid the whole before the throne of grace in a very impressive manner, and we felt the good influence of the sweet Spirit of God. Oh that the traducers of

this Reformation and the revilers of this good man could have felt what we enjoyed upon the broad face of the mighty waters!"

Mr. Campbell, having been invited by the captain to preach on every Lord's day, was heard with great attention. He had also pleasant conversations on religious topics with many of the passengers, especially with a young Englishman, a Mr. Thornhill, who had been a great traveler and belonged to the school of Robert Owen, whose views he often attempted to sustain, but was soon confounded by Mr. Campbell's arguments. These discussions and conversations, often renewed, and conducted always with the utmost good feeling, were very agreeable to all, and tended to diminish the tiresomeness of the voyage, which extended to twenty-five days, and was much of the time rough and unpleasant. Upon landing at Liverpool, Mr. Campbell was met at the docks by Mr. J. Davies of Mollington, a worthy and zealous member of the Church, with whom he had had a correspondence, and who had been largely instrumental in introducing Mr. Campbell's writings into England. At the custom-house he met with Brethren Woodnorth and Tickle of Liverpool, and was then conveyed by Brother Davies to his delightful residence in the valley of the Dee, seventeen miles from the city, while Mr. Henshall set out to visit his parents and other relatives living not far from Stockport. Notice of Mr. Campbell's arrival being given, he spoke several times in a public hall in the neighboring city of Chester to large audiences, and delivered two discourses in the church building formerly occupied by Matthew Henry the commentator, now in possession of the Unitarians, who, although they were aware that Mr. Campbell was opposed to their views,

kindly tendered him the use of their house. Rejoined by Brother Henshall, he went down with him and Brother Davies to Wrexham in Wales, fourteen miles distant, where several meetings were held, and where he was received with the utmost kindness by the Baptists and Disciples. On the 7th and 8th of June they visited Liverpool, and delivered addresses in Concert Hall, which had been erected by the Owenites for the promotion of infidelity, but was now used for various public purposes and for the defence and advancement of that Christianity which it had been built to overthrow. Leaving Mr. Henshall to continue meetings in Liverpool and Chester, he visited Shrewsbury, an ancient walled town beautifully located on the delightful banks of the Severn, and the birth-place of Mrs. Bakewell, where he sojourned with Mrs. Cooke, an amiable Baptist lady, sister of Mr. Hawley of Detroit. Here he spoke three times, and formed an agreeable acquaintance with some of the Plymouth brethren, of whom he formed a high opinion as a spiritually-minded and intelligent people. From thence he went to Nottingham, where he sojourned with the devoted James Wallis, and spoke to crowded audiences in the Mechanics' Institute, the largest hall in the city. Here he was again succeeded by Mr. Henshall, and some twenty persons in all were added to the church.

Having visited Eaton Hall, the magnificent palace of the Marquis of Westminster, four miles from Chester, he concluded, before leaving Nottingham, to see Newstead Abbey, to which, with a pleasant company of Disciples, he drove through Sherwood Forest, the scene of many of the famed exploits of Robin Hood. On the following day, 22d of June, he went to Leicester, accompanied by his wife's cousin, Henrietta Bakewell,

of Stafford. Here he spoke twice to large audiences, and visited the famous ancient abbey to which Wolsey retired to die in 1530. Here he was particularly interested in the fact that Leicester was the city of the illustrious missionary Carey, and of Robert Hall, who after Dr. Carey's departure occupied his pulpit for eighteen years. Here also he was shown the guard-house, yet standing on the wall, where John Bunyan kept guard, while a soldier in the wars of Cromwell. From thence he passed to London, a hundred miles distant, and was met at the depôt by Brethren Wallis and Davies, who had preceded him, and by a zealous and intelligent Disciple, a Sister Whalley, who in London had charge of the household of the Duke of Norfolk, and by whom he was conveyed to Surrey street, on the Strand, to a suite of rooms prepared for him. In London he delivered addresses at the Disciples' meeting-house in Elstree street, also in the Alvetian Rooms near the University, and in the Mechanics' Institute, as well as in a meeting-house tendered by the Unitarians, and in another portion of the city in a house of the General Baptists. He also delivered a discourse in the pulpit of the eminent Dr. Cox, who gave Mr. Campbell a very kind invitation to preach for him, and was much pleased with his discourse upon the mystery of godliness (1 Tim. iii. 16), seeming to be entirely disabused of some unfavorable impressions he had received from his Baptist friends on a former tour in the United States with Dr. Hobey. On Friday evening, 9th of July, he addressed the skeptics in their hall of debate on the question, "Has God ever spoken to man?" for which he afterward received a vote of thanks. On Lord's day, the 11th, the church met in the Alvetian Rooms, when both he and Mr. Henshall addressed highly-interested audiences, Mr.

Campbell delivering his last discourse in London in the evening. In this vast city of three millions there was but a small, inefficient church of about seventy members, and as little effort had been made to direct public attention to Mr. Campbell's brief visit, the attendance at his meetings had not at any time been very large.

Having received highly commendatory letters of introduction from Henry Clay * and others, and being highly favored by the American Minister, Mr. Bancroft, and other persons of influence, he enjoyed unusual facilities, and everything he wished to see was opened to him in the city and in the country. He accordingly attended the meetings of Parliament, where he had the pleasure of hearing Lord Brougham and the Duke of

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* The following is Mr. Clay's letter, which he kindly forwarded to Mr. Campbell when he learned that he was going abroad. Like many others, he was under the impression that Mr. Campbell was a doctor of divinity, and misconceived his true position also in other respects:

"The Rev. Dr. A. Campbell, the bearer hereof, a citizen of the United States of America, residing in the Commonwealth of Virginia, being about to make a voyage to Europe and to travel particularly in Great Britain, Ireland and France, I take great satisfaction in strongly recommending him to the kind offices and friendly reception and treatment of all persons with whom he may meet and wherever he may go. Dr. Campbell is among the most eminent citizens of the United States, distinguished for his great learning and ability, for his successful devotion to the education of youth, for his piety and as the head and founder of one of the most important and respectable religious communities in the United States. Nor have his great talents been exclusively confined to the religious and literary walks in which he has principally moved; he was a distinguished member, about twenty years ago, of the convention called in the State of Virginia to remodel its civil constitution, in which, besides other eminent men, were ex-Presidents Madison and Monroe, and John Marshall, the late Chief-Justice of the United States.

"Dr. Campbell, whom I have the honor to regard personally as my friend, carries with him my wishes and my prayers for his health and happiness whilst abroad, and for his safe return to his country, which justly appreciates him so highly. H. CLAY.

"ASHLAND, Kentucky, May, 1847."

Wellington deliver speeches. He saw, also, the principal public buildings and places of celebrity in and about London, as he did also in other parts of the kingdom, and gave particular accounts of them and of his entire tour in his "Letters from Europe," published in the "Harbinger" and addressed to his daughter Clarinda, the only one remaining of his first family, and who had herself, the preceding year, visited England in company with Prof. W. K. Pendleton. It would be unnecessary, therefore, if space even permitted, to repeat familiar descriptions of things which were not particularly related to his mission, and of which he himself became weary, since at the close of his visit to London he says to his daughter,

"Meantime I sigh for repose, and often think of the hills around Bethany and of the enviable lot of those I left behind me, compared to that of the millions through which I am passing in this Old World of palaces and hovels, of princes and beggars, of exuberant wealth and cheerless poverty. May the Lord in his mercy watch over your native country, and long preserve it from the vices and follies which have entailed on France, on England and on Europe an inheritance of miseries and misfortunes from which the wisdom of politicians and the benevolence of Christians cannot rescue them for generations to come!"

By way of a little recreation after his labors in London, he resolved on a flying trip to the metropolis of France. During his hasty visit, he was impressed with the inferiority of the agriculture and domestic animals of France compared with those of England. He was astonished, however, with the magnificence of Paris and with the superiority of its public gardens and walks to those of London. He visited the Louvre, the Tuileries and other places of interest, and was amazed at the taste and beauty everywhere displayed. He rode

along the Seine and admired its twenty-one elegant bridges. He also visited some of the churches, among which he noted particularly the splendid architecture and internal decorations of *La Madeleine*, which he briefly describes, and remarks, in passing to matters more consonant with his trains of thought:

"While gazing on all the grandeur above and around me, I saw the priest standing before the altar with his back to half a dozen devotees kneeling in different parts of the church, performing various genuflections and grimaces. A large cross was inwrought on his coat, after the manner of Indian beads, of various colors, so that while his back was to the people, a gorgeous cross from head to heel was visible. What a splendid device! How easy to carry such a rich and beautiful cross, kneeling on a velvet cushion under a golden canopy, with a few august worshipers in his rear! What an ingenious commentary upon the words, 'Take up your cross and follow me!' I turned away from this disgusting mummery and left the cathedral."

While in France he was greatly annoyed by the passport system, which marked so striking a contrast between the freedom enjoyed by strangers there, compared with what he had found in England and enjoyed in the United States, which, he remarks, had risen a hundred per cent. in his estimation above any country he had seen. Upon his return to England he visited Banbury, where he delivered three discourses, and made a brief call at Cambridge and Oxford, where it was now the period of vacation. He also spoke twice in Manchester and thence repaired to Wigan, where he delivered one discourse and enjoyed the hospitalities of the zealous and intelligent Brother Coop. He visited also Huddersfield and the old city of York, passing on to Sunderland, where he was kindly received, sojourning with a Brother Douglass, a ship-owner, who had

given the name of "Alexander Campbell" to one of his vessels, and was then building another to be called "Clarinda." Here he spoke three times, and Mr. Henshall twice, having a very fine hearing and producing a very favorable impression. From thence he went to Newcastle, where he spoke thrice to immense audiences, and then proceeded to Berwick-upon-Tweed on his way to Scotland, which he greatly desired to revisit, as well from the ties of ancient lineage as from his cherished remembrance of his former checkered experience in that portion of the island, which, by a singular coincidence, he entered on the fifth day of August, the very same day on which, thirty-eight years before, he had embarked from it for the United States.

Upon his arrival at Edinburgh he was kindly received by the brethren, many of whom had come to meet him from various parts of Scotland, and among whom he found also John Tener, of Ireland. Next day being Lord's day, he spoke to the church in Nickleson street, and in the evening at the Waterloo Rooms. He had declined making any appointment for the afternoon, in order to visit James Haldane's church, having promised himself, as he said, much pleasure from seeing and hearing this distinguished and excellent man. He found, however, that the churches established by the Haldanes were greatly reduced, and upon entering what was formerly the "Great Tabernacle," found it also so contracted in its dimensions as to seat only some seven or eight hundred, and only partially filled with an audience of some two hundred persons. Disappointed in not seeing James Haldane, who was absent some twenty miles in the country, he listened to a discourse by a Mr. McKenzie, a missionary from the Highlands, which, as he remarked, seemed to him as

quaint, formal and familiar as the doctrinal disquisitions to which he had been accustomed to listen forty years before. Next morning he and Mr. Henshall breakfasted, by invitation, with John Tener, at the Nelson Monument on Calton Hill, and enjoyed a magnificent view of Arthur's Seat and of the New City, which George IV., from the same spot, called the "City of Palaces." Subsequently, he visited the Castle and some other places as time permitted, being considerably interested in seeing the house of the celebrated John Knox and the room in which Spurzheim had taught phrenology.

Appointments having been made at the Waterloo Rooms for lectures during the week, a considerable interest was beginning to be created when unlooked-for occurrences gave a new turn to affairs. It appears that prior to Mr. Campbell's arrival considerable excitement existed amongst some of the Congregational churches in Edinburgh and its vicinity in reference to his religious views. Two influential male members had recently left the Morrisonian church at Leith, near Edinburgh, under the care of the Rev. S. M. Kennedy, and united with the Disciples in the city. Another church in the city, under the Rev. Mr. Kirk, as well as some of the preachers of the denomination, were at this time disturbed upon the subject of Reformation. As few acquainted with Mr. Campbell's previous history and ability as a disputant cared to engage with him in an open discussion of his religious views, it seems to have been thought advisable by his prejudiced opponents to find some ground upon which public odium could be excited against him and the people be kept from hearing him. As Mr. Campbell was known to be from Virginia, and the anti-slavery excitement at this time ran high in

Scotland, nothing seemed to be so well suited to the purpose as the slavery question, of which the managers in the affair at once availed themselves, and the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, with a Rev. James Robertson and a Mr. Hunter, were soon deputed by the "Scotch Anti-slavery Society" to ascertain Mr. Campbell's opinions upon the subject. This committee accordingly visited Mr. Campbell, and, without informing him of their character or their errand, sought, as it were, to take him off his guard and to obtain from him some expression of sentiment which they could employ against him. Regarding them merely as friendly visitors, Mr. Campbell made no concealment of his disapproval of the course pursued by the abolitionists in Britain and America as not tending to the removal of the institution, adding that the people in Britain did not understand the subject as well as the Americans, and that their interference could be attended by no beneficial results. The gentlemen then, after bidding him an apparently friendly adieu, departed, and in a few hours had posted, in the public places of Edinburgh, placards having printed upon them, in immense capitals, "Citizens of Edinburgh —Beware! beware! The Rev. Alexander Campbell of Virginia, United States of America, has been a slaveholder himself and is still a defender of man-stealers!" At his next meeting, as there was a considerable excitement and a large audience in attendance, Mr. Campbell, before proceeding with his address, adverted to the placard, informing the people that it was grossly false and calumnious, and that he would presume so far upon their candor as to proceed with his lecture for the evening, promising to give, on Friday evening, a full view of his position on the subject of American slavery. This he accordingly did at con-

siderable length and amidst much noise and tumult, promoted by Mr. Robertson, Kennedy and others who were present. He also read a letter which he had received from Mr. Robertson, challenging him to debate his position in regard to slavery, and his reply, informing Mr. Robertson that his published appointments left him little or no time for an oral debate, but that he would engage, if desired, in a written discussion in defence of his position.

Leaving Edinburgh next morning, Saturday, 14th of August, for the city of Aberdeen by steamer, he enjoyed a pleasant voyage along the northern coast of Scotland, and was kindly received upon his arrival by Brother Dunn, of the Baptist church. Being comfortably lodged in this kind and hospitable family, he was much refreshed, and spoke thrice on the following day, and after visiting and preaching at Banff, and taking several baths in the Northern Sea, returned to Aberdeen much invigorated. Here he visited the university premises, and the churchyard where the remains of Professor George Campbell and Doctor Beattie repose, for whose memory he entertained the highest regard. Leaving Aberdeen on the 19th, he visited Montrose, where he held one meeting, and departed next morning for Dundee. Finding himself pursued or anticipated at all his appointments by the placards forwarded from Edinburgh, and having heard something unfavorable to the character of Mr. Robertson, he addressed from Dundee a letter to the editor of the "Edinburgh Journal," in which he said that he would consent to devote the time from the 24th to the 27th of September to an oral discussion on his position in regard to American slavery with any one whom the Anti-slavery Society might appoint, or engage in a written discussion for which any time or

place could be made acceptable. "I will in either way," said he, "meet any gentleman whom you may select—even Mr. Robertson himself—provided only that he be not that *Reverend James Robertson* who was publicly censured and excluded from the Baptist Church for violating the fifth commandment in reference to his mother, of which I have heard something in Dundee." After leaving Dundee he spoke at Cupar, and passed thence to the village of Auchtermuchty, where at "Bethany Cottage," the residence of an amiable Christian family by the name of Dron, he was received with great kindness, and delivered one discourse. From thence, passing by Loch Leven, he had a pleasant meeting at Dumfermline, and on the following day at Falchor, from whence he went on to Glasgow, and found himself quite at home in the pleasant abode of Brother Alexander Paton.

Here he commenced his course of lectures in a capacious Presbyterian meeting-house on the 27th of August, and had a large audience, which was at first somewhat tumultuous, but soon became quiet and attentive. Next day he visited Paisley, where he had a very agreeable meeting with the brethren, and where he was introduced to a wealthy disciple, Ivie Campbell, of Dalzig, in Ayrshire, who had been educated in the University of Glasgow for a Presbyterian minister, and had been classmate, friend and companion of Pollock, author of "The Course of Time." Though wholly Presbyterian in education and feeling, he possessed so much independence of mind and candor that upon reading the Rice Debate he became fully satisfied of the truth of Mr. Campbell's positions, renounced Presbyterianism and was immersed into the primitive faith. After preaching at Kilmarnock, Mr. Campbell went to

the town of Ayr, where he contemplated the memorials of Burns, and then visited Irvine where he dined with a zealous Brother Rollo, uncle of Lord Rollo, by whom he was conducted to the apartment in which the poet Montgomery was born. Returning thence to Glasgow, he continued his lectures.

On the night of Saturday, 4th of September, he was affected with a peculiar sadness for which he was unable to account, and which was so entirely foreign to his nature that he could not avoid mentioning it next morning at breakfast. He felt as if some great calamity was impending, and he found it impossible to divert his mind from thoughts of home, which seemed to press upon him as never before. By the next morning, however, he had entirely regained his usual serenity and cheerfulness. It is a singular circumstance that just about the time he experienced this unaccountable depression a sad affair was indeed occurring at his home across the Atlantic. On that very Saturday, his second and most beloved son Wickliffe, then in his eleventh year, was drowned. He had, in company with two other little boys, repaired to the creek to bathe, in a deep pool below the apron of a mill-dam, above which there was but little water, as the creek was low. After bathing, the boys were amusing themselves by diving under a small boat and coming up on the other side of it. This they had frequently done with safety on former occasions, but at this time Wickliffe failed to appear after his companions had come up safely on the other side. The alarm was immediately given, but more than half an hour elapsed before he was discovered in the water under the apron of the mill-dam. The most earnest and persevering efforts at resuscitation proved under the circumstances entirely fruitless.

This event plunged the household into the deepest affliction, for he was a boy of great promise and much beloved. Especially did it fall with peculiar force in Mr. Campbell's absence upon the afflicted mother, who now experienced her first great sorrow, under which her constitutional tendency to melancholy was at once developed in all its force, so that neither the hopes and consolations of religion nor the Christian sympathies of Thomas Campbell and other cherished friends could soothe her grief.

On the morning of Monday, the 6th of September, Mr. Campbell, accompanied by a few friends, directed his steps to the cemetery at Glasgow, and, as he says, spent one of the most beautiful and happy forenoons he had enjoyed in Scotland, "in conversing with the living and yet communing with the dead." Passing over the "Bridge of Sighs" beyond the old cathedral, where the waters of Molindinar Burn dash violently over an artificial cascade into a deep ravine, he reached the city of the dead, where amidst elegant monuments and beautiful shrubbery lay the crumbling memorials of five-and-twenty generations, and where, nearly forty years before, he had occasionally rambled and spent many a moonlight hour in solitary musings. In the afternoon of this day, while he was expecting to continue his lectures in the evening and to complete his course in time to meet his appointments in Ireland, he was presented with a warrant from the sheriff of Lanark to prevent him from leaving Scotland.

This was done at the instance of Rev. James Robertson, who had received the thanks of the "Anti-slavery Society" for placarding and opposing Mr. Campbell, and who, having found his previous measures unavailing to prevent the people from hearing him, and having

become still further exasperated by Mr. Campbell's allusion to him in his letter from Dundee, had based upon the latter a suit for damages, the amount of which he placed at five thousand pounds. Representing that Mr. Campbell was about to leave the country, he had now succeeded in obtaining a warrant *in meditatione fugæ*, rarely used and designed to prevent the escape of debtors. Mr. Campbell's counsel demurred to the warrant, and the case was heard before one of the sheriffs, who with some distrust decided that it was legal. The case was then appealed to the high sheriff, who was no other than Archibald Alison the historian, who adjudged the warrant legal, but reduced the amount specified in it of five thousand pounds to the comparatively paltry sum of two hundred pounds. Mr. Campbell's counsel then appealed to the Superior Court of Scotland, to the lord ordinary, who happened then to be Lord Murray.

"Meantime," says Mr. Campbell in his account of the matter, "there must intervene no less than ten days before the case can be tried before Lord Murray. And now the question with me was, Shall I give security or go to prison? Security was kindly offered me, but that relieved me not as respects my duty to the Lord, his cause and people. I felt myself persecuted for righteousness' sake, and I could not find in my heart to buy myself off from imprisonment by tendering the required security. I thought it might be of great value to the cause of my Master if I should give myself into the hands of my persecutors, and thus give them an opportunity of showing their love of liberty, of truth and righteousness by the treatment of myself in the relations I sustain to mankind as a Christian and a Christian teacher—an advocate of the apostles' doctrine in Scotland—in her capital cities; I therefore placed myself in the hands of these superlative philanthropists, the Anti-slavery Society of the whole king-

dom. I felt the idea of imprisonment in all its horrors—of being immured in a cell or cold dark dungeon for an indefinite period; I thought of my appointments in Ireland, and of all that might be lost by not fulfilling them; I thought too of the dangers to my health, greatly impaired by one hundred days' incessant talking. But casting myself on the Lord, I said, to the astonishment of the friends around me, 'I believe that in all this I am persecuted for the truth's sake. I stand for the Bible doctrine in faith, in piety and morality, and I am resolved to give no security. I will rather go to prison.'

"Mr. Robertson's counsel, fearing the consequences, said if I would pledge my word that I would be back from Ireland within the time, he would take my word for it. Thanking the gentleman for his kindness, I said, 'Sir, I shall still be a prisoner and obliged to return; I cannot consent to return on the warrant issued. I will go to Ireland, sir, with your permission and without promise to return.' He said he could not grant that. 'Then,' said I, 'your pleasure be done.' He walked into another room. Mr. Robertson and the sheriff followed him. The sheriff asked Mr. Robertson what he should do. Mr. Robertson told him to inquire of Mr. Jameson, his counsel. Mr. Jameson sent the sheriff to Mr. Robertson for his mandate, refusing to give any. Mr. Robertson said, '*Take him to jail*'—and to jail I went."

Messrs. Henshall, Paton and Stalker accompanied Mr. Campbell to the prison, which they found to be built of stone. He was confined in a small room, where there was little light and no comforts save a stool and a small table, with a piece of carpet, two feet by four, on the cold stone floor.

The brethren in Glasgow strongly disapproved of Mr. Campbell's course in positively refusing their offers of security, and subjecting himself, as they thought, unnecessarily to confinement. They urged him to accept their offers of bail, arguing that the object of the law was merely to secure the presence of the defend-

ant. He was a foreigner and about to leave the country, and the object of the court was to secure his presence to answer to the decision of the suit. This would have been equally well attained by giving bail for his appearance, as the law provided. They furthermore urged that they did not think it was the wish of the prosecutor to imprison, but if it was, it was wrong to afford him that gratification when it could have been avoided. Nor did they fail to suggest that much good might be lost by his failure to fill the appointments falling due. Disposed as Mr. Campbell was ordinarily to weigh with care the counsels of his friends, and often to modify by them his own conclusions, on the present occasion their arguments and entreaties produced no effect. Knowing that he had done nothing to merit such treatment, that he had never been an apologist for American slavery or a defender of man-stealers, as falsely and calumniously represented in the placards, but that on the contrary he had used all his influence and opportunities for the emancipation of slaves, he felt that he was persecuted, if not for his religious views in general, at least certainly because, in opposition to the Scotch Anti-slavery Society, he maintained that the mere relation of master and servant was not in itself sinful, but was sanctioned by the Bible. Looking back over the whole series of indignities to which he had been subjected, he could not but regard the whole as simply a persecution for the truth's sake. Such, indeed, had been the character of Mr. Robertson's proceedings that the more intelligent of his own party denounced the whole affair as a matter of persecution. Thus the editor of the "Christian Record," published in Jersey, said in regard to it:

"We regret exceedingly the issue of this matter. What-

ever be Mr. Campbell's opinions in regard to slavery—and if he entertains the views attributed to him, we hold them in abhorrence—we cannot but regard him as a persecuted man. We know not the nature of the libel with which he is charged, but this we know—that his opponents have been unscrupulous in their language and most unrelenting in their persecution. Following Mr. Campbell from city to city, from town to town, they have hunted him more like a wild beast than a human being, much less a gentleman of education and a minister of the gospel. While we yield to no man in the intensity of our hatred to slavery in all its forms, we question very much if the procedure of the secretary of the 'Anti-slavery Society' in Edinburgh will raise his character in the estimation of the thinking portion of mankind, or at all promote the object of the excellent society with which he is identified. We would strongly recommend him to withdraw his action and throw himself upon the moral sense of the community. It is possible by our imprudence or the exhibition of a persecuting or vindictive spirit to 'build again the things we are endeavoring to destroy.' Let us not fail to remember that the 'wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.'"

Feeling accordingly that he was persecuted for righteousness' sake, Mr. Campbell could not for a moment think of evading in any respect the sufferings which his enemies sought to inflict. In the days of his youth, when consecrating himself to the service of God, it had been to him one of the strongest evidences of a divine call that there had been given to him a desire "to suffer hardships and reproach" for the sake of the truth. Of misrepresentations and slanders, indeed, he had already had a full share, and, like Whitefield, he seems to have thought that it was to be his lot to suffer still severer trials.

"My work," said Whitefield to one of his American coadjutors, "is scarce begun. My trials are yet to come. What

is a little scourge of the tongue? What is a thrusting out of the synagogues? The time of temptation will be when we are thrust into an inner prison and feel the iron entering even into our souls. Then, perhaps, even God's people will be permitted to forsake us for a while, and none but the Lord Jesus to stand by us."

Mr. Campbell, however, was not destined to realize the latter part of Whitefield's exultant anticipation. Far from forsaking him in the hour of suffering, the Disciples in Scotland vied with each other in their unceasing efforts to minister to his comfort. The Sisters Paton, Gilmour, Dron and others in Glasgow waited on him daily with everything needful. A Sister Davis, who had heard him preach at Paisley, and had then resolved to emigrate to America and cast in her lot with the Disciples, upon hearing of his imprisonment came at once to Glasgow and was assiduous in her attentions. From various parts of Scotland, indeed, his many friends flocked in to visit him, so that all day long they were coming and going, and he had sometimes as many as eleven in his cell at one time, through the kind indulgence of the jailer, for the law strictly allowed but two persons at a time to visit a prisoner, and that only during two hours of the day. Multitudes of letters likewise poured in upon him from all parts of England expressing the kindliest sympathy. His situation was thus rendered comparatively comfortable, and his chief regret was, that he had caused so much pain and grief to many of his brethren and sisters. Maintaining his accustomed serenity and cheerfulness, he conversed as usual upon the interesting themes of the gospel with his friendly visitors, or occupied his quiet hours in writing. Being without fire, however, and deprived of his usual exercise, he felt a severe cold constantly ac-

cumulating in his system, notwithstanding all his prudence and care, so that when, after ten days, Lord Murray heard the case, declared the warrant illegal and ordered his discharge, he found himself quite unwell.

He preached his first sermon in Paisley after his liberation, and it proved to be the last he ever preached in Scotland. The house was crowded in every part, and as he prefaced his address with a brief statement of the causes of his imprisonment, the audience was most deeply affected and listened in breathless silence to his discourse, which he delivered with difficulty, on account of his hoarseness and indisposition. He was driven in a private carriage back to Glasgow, followed by a large number, as he was to speak that evening in the largest hall in the city, where an immense concourse was assembled. Upon rising, however, to make the effort, he found himself unable, having wholly lost his voice. Dr. Watson, who had been a fellow-student with him in the University, and had kindly called upon him while in prison to renew his acquaintance, was called from the body of the hall and discovered him to be laboring under a high degree of fever and quite unfit for mental or bodily exertion. He therefore, turning to the people, informed them of Mr. Campbell's condition and dismissed the assembly, which dispersed in silence and in sadness. Resigning himself calmly into the hands of his friends, he was in a few days so much restored that he concluded to set out for Ireland, where some appointments yet remained, James Henshall having already filled some of them, as at Belfast and elsewhere, very acceptably.

Neither during nor after these proceedings was Mr. Campbell known to utter a word of complaint or censure against the law enforced in his case, nor did he

manifest the slightest disposition to inveigh against Mr. Robertson, his prosecutor. Believing it to be strictly a persecution for the truth's sake, he, on the contrary, rejoiced that he was counted worthy to suffer it, and in the same spirit he would have gone joyfully to the stake for the truths he taught. It is a curious fact that John Wesley experienced nearly the same fortune in Scotland. One day, at Edinburgh, a man by the name of G. Sutherland trumped up certain charges against him, demanding damages to the amount of £500. He deposed also, like Mr. Robertson, that the said John Wesley, to evade his pursuit, was preparing to fly the country, and upon these grounds obtained a similar warrant to search for him and incarcerate him in the Tolbooth till he should find security for his appearance. Although the sheriff had been so indiscreet as to grant this writ, when the case was tried before the magistrate the latter had sufficient wisdom to perceive that the accusation was false and calumnious; so that, instead of committing Wesley to prison, he fined the prosecutor £1000 *Scotch*, *i. e.*, a thousand shillings. Thus, as before Pilate, the Jews sought to veil their religious animosity to Jesus of Nazareth under the pretence of fealty to Cæsar, so modern religious persecutors seek to hide, under the mantle of civil suits and legal processes, the sectarian malignity which they wish to gratify.

"I was incarcerated," said Mr. Campbell, "because of mere speculative and doctrinal dissent from the opinion of a certain class of anti-slavery men. My liberty was taken away by 'liberty men.' . . I am aware it will be said I was imprisoned for a libel. But who libeled me from Edinburgh to Banff? I libeled no man—I spoke the truth. There were three Rev. James Robertsons in Edinburgh, and one was accused of insulting and abusing his mother. His

exclusion from a church for that offence is matter of record in Dundee.

"I did not specify any one of the three Rev. James Robertsons. Why did only one of them accuse himself by professing to be the man? Why did not the other two find cause for a libel? The truth is no libel in Scotland."

As to this "Rev. James Robertson," it may be stated that when judgment was given against him, as above mentioned, by Lord Murray, at the called court, he immediately appealed to all the lords in the "court of sessions," at the November term. In this court the decision of Lord Murray was confirmed, and the prosecutor, Mr. Robertson, was condemned to pay the costs on both sides, which by this time amounted to a large sum. Besides the lord justice-general, Lord Fullerton, Lord McKenzie, and the celebrated Lord Jeffreys, delivered concurring opinions. Mr. Robertson then offered to withdraw his suit for damages if Mr. Campbell or his friends would pay one-half the costs which had accrued. This was at once refused, as it was evident Mr. Robertson would be unable to prove his charges of libel.

Before leaving Scotland, Mr. Campbell rode with A. Paton, seven miles out of the city, to visit Dr. Wardlaw, with whom he had had a pleasant acquaintance while a student, but failed to see him, as he and his family were absent at a watering-place fifty miles distant. On 14th September he set out for Ireland, and after some delay at Port Patrick, on account of rough weather, arrived safely at Belfast, on the 17th. From letters afterward received he learned that his visit to Scotland had been productive of benefit.

"The good arising from your labors here," said Alexander Paton, writing from Glasgow, "is daily being made known

to us. The people are surprised to find how ignorant and prejudiced they have been, and how gratified they were with your addresses, placing the word of God in such a clear and powerful manner before them. That was totally different from what they were accustomed to. There have been nine individuals united to us since you were here, and we have a greater number of hearers who pay us a visit than formerly. The congregation, I should also state, was greatly benefited by your teaching — much more so than appearances when you were here might have indicated. This is manifested by greater attention and zeal for the truth and behavior in accordance with it. Your alms-offerings, also, left with me came very opportunely. Poverty, distress and death have been the visitants of several of the brethren's families, and it has been administered to alleviate their wants and sorrows. I may perhaps after this particularize the expenditure of it when it is all exhausted, that it may afford consolation to the givers that it had not been sent in vain."

Upon receiving similar letters touching his labors and trials in Scotland, Mr. Campbell thus closes his notice of them: "May the Lord make all these trials redound to his own glory, to the consolation of his own children and to the enlightenment and salvation of many. The great cause of original Christianity and of the general reformation in the land of our fathers is, we confidently expect, to be furthered and advanced by the singular providences through which we have been made to pass."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Visit in Ireland—In England—Return to the United States—Afflictions—Emancipation—Orphan school—Tours—Bible union—Church edification—Temperance movement.

MR. CAMPBELL found the city of Belfast greatly enlarged and changed from what it was when he visited it in his youth. After calling upon the few Disciples here, he set out next morning for Dungannon, as most of his appointments for the North had been frustrated by his detention in Glasgow. He regretted especially that this had prevented him from filling an appointment he had made at Ballymena, the place of his nativity, twelve miles from Belfast, and as he passed by railroad along the southern shore of Lough Neagh he often cast longing and anxious looks across the waters to descry, if possible, the ruins of the ancient Shane's Castle upon the northern shore, and found no little comfort in the belief that he had once or twice obtained a glimpse of this fascinating spot, which was among the most cherished memories of his childhood. Though much enfeebled, he spoke at Dungannon, Cookestown and Moree to large and attentive audiences. His strength here failing, he was again partially restored by the attention of the amiable Sister Tener; and, after parting from the Disciples who had accompanied him from Belfast, he set out on his way to Rich-Hill with young Mr. Tener and James McCrum, a

gentleman of handsome attainments and author of a volume of poems. Here he addressed a congregation in the Presbyterian meeting-house. He then went out to sojourn with one of his youthful playmates, Nathaniel Greer, where with much enjoyment he spent the greater part of a day and two nights in making inquiries and hearing details respecting former friends and acquaintances, Mr. Greer often reminding him of the amusing pranks in which they had together engaged in the days of their boyhood.

"Mr. Greer," says Mr. Campbell in his notes, "spent the whole of that day, the 23d, in carrying me in his carriage over the grounds around my father's farm and residence, the old stone meeting-house and the surrounding residences of the prominent members of his congregation. But more than forty years had carried them all away, except a few members of their families, who still reside on their patrimonial inheritances or in their immediate environs, of which class Mr. Greer himself was one, occupying the same house and grounds on which his father died fifty years ago. We had the sexton to open the meeting-house, some sixty feet by forty, and with many a melancholy though somewhat pleasing reminiscence I surveyed the pews, saying to myself, 'Here sat such a one, and there sat such a one; and where sit they now?' The pulpit and the doors were new modified; all else was in *statu quo* as it was when I heard my father in April, 1807, deliver his farewell sermon to a large and weeping concourse."

Mr. Campbell spent the evening at the pleasant residence of the Rev. Mr. Robert Morrison, minister of the Presbyterian church at Market Hill, and who had been one of his own pupils. Mr. Morrison desired to make an appointment for him to speak to his congregation, but his engagements in England not admitting any further delay, he set out on the 24th for Newry, where, though he greatly desired to spend several days, he was

able to spend but a few hours, and after an agreeable interview with one or two old acquaintances whom he met, he hastened to Warren Point, where, in the evening, after supping with Brethren McCrum and Tener, he took passage on the steamer and was safely landed next morning at Liverpool, where he found Brethren Davies and Woodnorth awaiting him. As the church there had no meeting until the afternoon, he went to hear the celebrated Dr. Raffles, and was much pleased with his discourse, while he criticised with some severity in his notes the splendid and expensive adornments of the meeting-house.

After a pleasant meeting with the church, which assembled in an upper room in the city, he returned to Mollington for a little repose before the co-operation meeting of the Disciples, which was to assemble at Chester on the 1st of October. This was a very agreeable meeting. The brethren had raised a sum much more than sufficient to defray Mr. Campbell's expenses, but as he refused to receive anything more than his expenses, they voted one hundred pounds to Bethany College. The brethren from Scotland presented also to Mr. Campbell and Mr. Henshall elegant copies of the Polyglot Bible. At this meeting arrangements were made for the support of evangelists, and Mr. Campbell immersed two Wesleyan ministers from Wales and Mr. Samuel Davies from Mollington. After adjournment he delivered his last discourse in England at Liverpool, and he and Mr. Henshall having now accomplished their mission in the British Islands, and made at various points arrangements for the judicious distribution of the donations from America for the suffering poor which, to the amount of $1326 72, had been committed to their charge, they bade a final

and a sorrowful farewell to their numerous kind friends, who had become greatly endeared to them, and many of whom accompanied them to the ship, the steamer Cambria, which immediately upon the reception of its mails, turned its prow toward the West and left the harbor.

The weather at the beginning and ending of the voyage was pleasant, but in mid-ocean a severe storm was encountered which tried the vessel to the utmost. On the first Lord's day at sea, Captain Judkins himself attended upon the Episcopal service and read a sermon, although there were five clergymen on board, one of whom on the following Lord's day was called to officiate. Among these clergymen Mr. Campbell was pleased to find his old acquaintance, Mr. Clapp of New Orleans. Upon reaching Halifax, he went ashore for a couple of hours.

"On walking up to the top of the hill," says he, "upon which its fortress stands, we met crowds of worshipers returning from their respective churches, carrying with them their household of boys and girls, with their Bibles and Psalm-books in their hands. Nothing in Halifax pleased me more. To see the houses of business closed and the citizens returning *en masse* home from their respective sanctuaries on a Lord's day, is always to me a most pleasing and acceptable sight. A city or a town without a sanctuary or a Sabbath is of all sights to me the most desolate and depressing; and I think to every one of common sense and common humanity who has read with consideration the Bible history of the origin and destiny of man."

Next morning, while passing along the American coast, he thus notes his reflections:

"On Monday morning, rising very early and enjoying an almost solitary walk on the deck, often casting my eyes to the West, I had many pleasing recollections and emotions in

retrospecting the past and anticipating the future. The goodness and merciful care of the Father of mercies in first directing my path across the vast ocean, the scenes and transactions of nearly forty years since first I approached the American coast, in turn passed and repassed before my mind with many an emotion and feeling to which I cannot give utterance. But thoughts of 'home, sweet home,' which I dare not cherish nor even entertain while so far from it, and the tens of thousands of brethren and friends dear to me from whom I had been, as it seemed to me, a long, long time separated, now found a ready admission and easy access into my heart.

"I had, when worn down with labor at different parts of my tour, almost concluded that I would never return to those whom I had left behind. But now a bright hope reassured me, and the thought that twenty-four hours from that time I would be in Boston, and once more tread the soil of the United States of America, now to me the dearest and most precious land on the face of the earth, awoke within me so many pleasing and grateful emotions that for a time I seemed lost to everything around me, and to be wholly absorbed in admiration of the divine goodness in wonder, gratitude and praise.

"The relative position of the United States, the numerous and various privileges and honors of an American citizen, now appeared to me so ineffably beyond comparison with those of any nation or people on earth, of the present or of any past age, that I would not sell my political rights and privileges of American citizenship for all the emoluments that cluster around the stateliest and most aristocratic subject of any European or Asiatic crown ever worn on earth.

"I have often given it as my opinion, and now affirm it as a stubborn and invincible fact, that few, if any, native-born American citizens who have never traveled abroad either did or do appreciate the privileges, duties and responsibilities of an American citizen. To feel one's self a lord, a prince, a potentate, clothed with a little brief authority—to feel one's self decorated with hereditary honors, titles and privileges,

with which some are possessed without any virtue, and of which others are debarred by birth without any vice of their own, may indeed minister some gratification to the pride and selfishness of fallen humanity; but to feel one's self a *man* endowed with reason, conscience and moral feeling, invested with a paramount provision of paramount human authority, with liberty of thought, liberty of speech and liberty of action, knowing no one superior in rank to a *man*—a well-educated, moral and religious man—as the noblest, best and greatest work of God on earth, is the greatest nobility to which any human being can rationally, morally or religiously aspire. And with all these honors, immunities and privileges is every American citizen invested, of which he never can be divested by any superior on earth so long as he conducts himself in harmony with reason, morality and religion.

"We can desire for ourselves no better political or temporal birth-right or inheritance than we now possess, and we can pray for no greater honors and privileges of this world for any living people greater or better than those guaranteed by our institutions to every American citizen. May we act worthily of them! May they long be the inheritance of our posterity, and may they soon be bestowed on all the kindreds, tongues and people of the earth, until there shall ascend from every dwelling on the earth one grateful song of praise to Him that hath redeemed man from the tyranny of man and invested the human race with equal laws, equal institutions and equal national and political birth-rights, leaving it to every human being under the government and providence of God to be the architect of his own fortune, the creator of his own personal rank, dignity and honor!"

The great, far-reaching principles upon which the political institutions of the United States were founded were peculiarly grateful to one of Mr. Campbell's expansive philanthropy and comprehensive intellect; and it was ever with delight that he adverted to the great truths developed in American history, and so well ex-

pressed by President Quincy, that "human happiness has no perfect security but freedom; freedom none but virtue; virtue none but knowledge; and neither freedom nor virtue has any vigor or immortal life except in the principles of the Christian faith and in the sanctions of the Christian religion."

Arriving in Boston on the morning of the 19th of October, he received, while in the custom-house, a letter from home giving him the first information of the death of his son Wickliffe. Deeply moved by the intelligence of this mournful event, "but for which," he says in his notes, his "travels abroad, as well as his travels at home, would long have been remembered with pleasure," he nevertheless failed not to apply to the only true source of consolation and to submit reverently to the will of God. "He is too wise to err," he remarked, "and too kind causelessly to afflict the children of men. May our affections never be unduly placed on anything on earth; but as those we love, both in the flesh and in the Lord, are taken to himself, may our affections be more placed on things above and less on things of earth!"

Upon his return to Bethany he appeared much worn and jaded, rather than refreshed, by his European tour. His incessant labors and his anxieties and afflictions had much more than countervailed the invigorating effects of travel, and it was a number of months before, in the pure air of his quiet home and amidst his customary pursuits, he could be said to have regained his health. Mrs. Campbell's unhappy state of mind, too, during this period pressed very heavily upon him, as he was naturally of a cheerful and even joyous temperament, delighting in the happiness of those around him, and exceedingly affectionate and sympathetic in his feelings.

It was some time before his presence and unceasing attentions seemed to have much effect upon Mrs. Campbell, whose health was visibly suffering. Overwhelmed with sorrow, and unable to take any longer her accustomed interest in the household affairs, it was beautiful to see how gentle and subdued he was in his demeanor toward her, and how tenderly and encouragingly he addressed her. Seeking her always upon his return from college, he gave her as much of his society as possible, and often, in the dusk of the evening, missing her from the family circle, and suspecting that she had stolen away to weep at the grave, he would hasten to the cemetery to find her, and, accosting her in the kindest accents, "My dear," he would say—"my dearest Selina, the loved ones are not here. They have passed beyond these earthly scenes to happier abodes;" and taking her arm with the most touching expressions of sympathy and love, would lead her gently home. His affectionate condolence and the consolations of the word of God, which he constantly sought to impress upon her mind, together with the kindest expressions of sympathy from the brotherhood, finally began to produce their appropriate effect upon Mrs. Campbell in imparting to her a greater degree of resignation. In reply to a kind letter of condolence about this time from R. L. Coleman, Mr. Campbell thus wrote:

"BETHANY, VIRGINIA, January 12, 1848.

"BROTHER COLEMAN—MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: I thankfully acknowledge two favors received from you since my return home; and for the kind Christian sympathies expressed in the former, and condolence with myself and wife in the severe affliction through which we have passed, you have our grateful and thankful acknowledgments. Our prayer to our

heavenly Father is, that the bereavement and trial which we have endured during the last year may wean us more from everything on earth, purify our hearts from every inordinate affection and passion, and make us more devoted to his honor and glory and that of our exalted Saviour. She is, however, still very much grieved and dejected. She thinks she never can cease to grieve that the Lord was constrained from anything in herself to lay his hand so heavily upon her. Being constitutionally of very strong affections and feelings, and of a very sensitive and delicate conscience, and withal being at the time very much debilitated in her health, she has been greatly dejected and afflicted in this case. I am glad, however, that she is getting round by degrees to a better health, though I fear it will be some time before she be herself again. I have suffered much in the loss of my children. Yet the last loss—so unexpected, and as such a special providence—has been more oppressive than any one case or trial through which I had passed. Many a fond hope and promise clustered around Wickliffe. But he was destined for another field of action, and the Lord has taken him to himself. And to his sovereign good pleasure I desire to bow with the most devout submission, praying only that the Lord may make it a blessing to myself and to all his relatives."

It was doubtless fortunate for Mr. Campbell during this period that the continual demands upon his time and attention on the part of the great and varied interests with which he was connected served to divert his mind from private griefs, and to enable him to retain undisturbed that moral and religious equilibrium for which he was so remarkable. Prompt in the fulfillment of all his duties to the college, and earnest in all his efforts to promote the welfare of the students, as well as to instruct the general public through the pulpit and the press, his activities were not permitted to stagnate, but flowed on steadily in their accustomed channels.

He was much gratified after his return from Europe

in receiving from time to time and from various quarters assurances of sympathy and approval in relation to his course upon the slavery question in Scotland. Especially were those connected with the abolition party forward to denounce the conduct of Mr. Robertson and the Anti-slavery Society which sustained him. However differing with Mr. Campbell as to the question of slavery itself, none could fail to admire his noble intrepidity and his conscientious and inflexible adherence to the teachings of the Bible upon the subject. His position indeed was in reality admitted by the more intelligent opponents of American slavery. Dr. Wayland, in his able and christianlike discussion of the matter with Dr. Fuller, granted that slaves were held under the Old Testament, and that Moses enacted laws with special reference to that relation. "I wonder," said he, "that any one should have had the hardihood to deny so plain a matter of record. I should almost as soon deny the delivery of the ten commandments to Moses." He also admitted that the New Testament contained no precept prohibitory of slavery, while at the same time he insisted that holding men in bondage and obliging them to labor for our benefit without their contract or consent was always a moral wrong. Mr. Campbell was much gratified with a notice condemning his persecution from the pen of Dr. Baily, the talented abolitionist editor of the "National Era," at Washington, and especially pleased with a kind letter signed by a number of his fellow-laborers on the Western Reserve who were abolitionists, in which, without entering upon any discussion as to Mr. Campbell's position, they said:

"We regret the course of Mr. Robertson. We regret the endorsement of his conduct in the affair by the 'Scotch Anti-

slavery Society." We regret that in such an age as this, in such a land as Scotland, in such cities as Edinburgh and Glasgow, men making such pretensions to philanthropy, and standing forth as advocates of righteousness, should be induced to furnish so severe a satire as is afforded in the impartial history of their course toward you—beginning with a disguised hostility under the mask of friendship, and ending in the illegal imprisonment of an unoffending man. We reprobate their whole course. We look with indignation upon their entire proceedings, so discreditable and disgraceful to the age, to the country, and to the cause to which they are professedly devoted. We approve and admire your firm and patient endurance of wrong, and offer you now, most cheerfully and heartily, this public expression of our sympathy with you and yours, and our full confidence in your manly devotion to truth."

Among various other communications of this kind was one from a committee of brethren in Missouri, from which the following is an extract:

"We exceedingly regret the course which the Anti-slavery Society thought proper to pursue toward you in Scotland, and hope that after passion and excitement have subsided they, themselves, will regret it. We regret it on their account, they being considered the most enlightened people in Europe; and we regret it because you were the bearer of our liberality to the poor, and the messenger of our churches to carry the glad tidings of great joy to the European nations. So far from feeling a spirit of anger or revenge toward them, we commiserate and forgive them. And so far from your imprisonment derogating from your merit, in our opinion it has greatly enhanced it. They have certainly mistaken the character of our American population if they imagine that such a course toward you would destroy your reputation or cure the evils of slavery. Their judges are just and upright men, and have rendered themselves noble and illustrious in the eyes of all impartial and honest men."

It was a pleasing feature of these expressions of feeling, as well as of those made by the students before Mr. Campbell's return, that while sufficiently decided they were moderate in tone and language. For all these testimonials Mr. Campbell made a grateful public acknowledgment, assuring the brethren that their sympathy had greatly strengthened and refreshed him, and encouraged him to be still more zealous in the maintenance of every item of divine truth at all risks and hazards. As to the Rev. James Robertson and his suit against Mr. Campbell, it may be here observed that after the decision against him in the full court of the Queen's Bench, it was discovered that he was not likely to continue his prosecution for libel, but was disposed to leave Mr. Campbell under the imputation of having escaped from the charge through the informality of the first proceedings. Mr. Campbell's friends there thought it therefore due to him to compel Mr. Robertson to try the case on its own merits, and accordingly brought suit against him for false imprisonment, Mr. Campbell, however, declaring beforehand that should damages be awarded him he would not accept of them, as the suit was not for purposes of revenge, but merely in order to have it legally determined that the charge against him of libel was unjust. The final issue of the case was, that Mr. Robertson was wholly unable to justify his charges, and was condemned to pay £2000 sterling damages for false imprisonment, to avoid which he thought proper to abscond; so that the "*meditation*-of-flight" warrant which he had obtained against Mr. Campbell in order to his detention led at last to his own *actual* flight from the kingdom in disgrace.

In May of this year, Mrs. Campbell was again called upon to suffer affliction in the death of her mother, who

had resided with her for some years at Bethany; and on the 22d of October of the same year her eldest daughter, Margaret, who had married John O. Ewing of Nashville, was called away, in the full assurance of faith and hope, after a decline of several months, leaving an infant child. Her strengthened faith, however, and the influence of Mr. Campbell's teaching and example, enabled her to bear these additional bereavements with Christian equanimity, and she continued gradually to regain her former cheerfulness. Mrs. Ewing, though of a cheerful and lively disposition, was also thoughtful and religious, and greatly esteemed for her many amiable qualities. Her father thus refers to her and to his bereavements in closing the "Harbinger" of that year:

"But to us, her survivors—husband, parents, children and relatives—there is no compensation for one so near and dear to us all, so gifted by nature and grace, so devoted to the happiness of the circle in which she moved, so capable of blessing and of being blessed in all the relations of life: but the clear and well-grounded hope is that she is released from sin and sorrow in the bosom of her Lord, in whose presence there is fullness of joy and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

"How strange, and yet how mournfully pleasing, the thought that of fourteen children given to me, *nine* of them are now present with the Lord! Three of them died, never having sinned in their own persons. And as by Adam the first they died, by Adam the second they shall live in the Lord. Six of them died in faith and rejoiced in the hope of a glorious immortality. This to us, their survivors, is a sovereign balm, a blest relief. Though dead to us, they live with God. May the kind Redeemer raise us up with them in his own time and reunite us in the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled and that fadeth not away!"

In the course of the next year, as the constitution of the State of Kentucky was to be remodeled, Mr. Campbell availed himself of the opportunity to employ his influence in favor of introducing a clause for the emancipation of slaves. Coinciding entirely with Mr. Clay in a letter which the latter had published on the subject, he compared the progress of Ohio with that of Kentucky, and showed how great a drawback slavery was upon the prosperity of the State. Contemplating the subject in its moral and religious bearing from a Christian point of view, he endeavored to enforce the importance of taking advantage of the present occasion to get rid of an evil which could only become more fatal by delay. "These suggestions," said he, "are dictated by an attachment which is not feigned and an admiration which is not professed for a people dear to me from many associations, and in whose political, moral and religious elevation I cannot but take the greatest interest." Mr. Campbell's influence, however, as well as that of Mr. Clay, proved, in this case, altogether unavailing.

In his editorial labors at this period, Mr. Campbell continued to discuss the great religious questions with which he had previously been engaged, and especially endeavored to promote amongst the Reformers piety and good works. A school for female orphans was about this time established at Midway, Kentucky, through the efforts of Dr. L. L. Pinkerton and the amiable and devoted James W. Parish and others. This institution, especially through the efficient aid of John T. Johnson and William Morton and other warm friends of the enterprise, soon succeeded in obtaining a considerable endowment, and proved to be a great blessing to the community. Resuming his excursions

abroad in behalf of the cause of education and of the Reformation, he visited Kentucky at the close of the year 1849, and on his way delivered, by invitation, an interesting address on the Anglo-Saxon language to the "Young Men's Mercantile Library Association" of Cincinnati. From thence he proceeded to Louisville, where he spoke several times. On two of these occasions he happened to have the Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D., and former president of Amherst College, Mass., for one of his auditors. This distinguished Presbyterian doctor, after his return to the East, published, in the "New York Observer," an account of his visit to Kentucky, in which he gave the following candid and graphic account of Mr. Campbell as a preacher:

"Though on the first evening I went half an hour before the time, I found the house and aisles densely crowded from the porch up to the pulpit stairs. Very many, I am sure, must have gone away because they could find no room even to stand within hearing of the preacher's voice.

"At length Dr. Campbell made his way up through the crowd and took his seat in the pulpit. He is somewhat above middle stature, with broad shoulders, a little stooping, and, though stoutly built, a little spare and pale. He has a high, intellectual forehead, a keen, dark eye, somewhat shaded, and a well-covered head of gray hair, fast changing into the full bloom of the almond tree. I think he must be rather over than under sixty-five years of age. He looks like a hard-working man, as he has been from his youth up. Very few could have endured so much mental and physical labor as has raised him to the commanding situation which he now occupies, and so long sustained him in it. His voice is not strong, evidently owing, in part, to the indifferent state of his health, but it is clear and firmly modulated. His enunciation is distinct, and, as he uses no notes, his language is remarkably pure and select. In his delivery he has not much action, and

out little of that fervid outpouring which characterizes Western and Southern eloquence. There is nothing vociferous or impassioned in his manner. I think he is the most perfectly self-possessed, the most perfectly at ease in the pulpit, of any preacher I ever listened to, except, perhaps, the celebrated Dr. John Mason of New York. No gentleman could be more free and unembarrassed in his own parlor. At the same time there is not the slightest apparent want of deference for his audience.

"In laying out his work his statements are simple, clear and concise, his topics are well and logically arranged, his manner is calm and deliberate, but full of assurance. His appeals are not very earnest nor indicative of deep feeling; but nevertheless winning and impressive in a high degree. There were many fine and truly eloquent passages in the two discourses I heard, but they seemed to cost him no effort, and to betray no consciousness on his part that they were fine. In listening to him you feel that you are in the presence of a great man. He speaks like a 'master of assemblies,' who has entire confidence in his mastery of his subject and his powers, and who expects to carry conviction to the minds of his hearers without any of those adventitious aids on which ordinary men find it necessary to rely. On both evenings when I heard him he held the great congregation for an hour and a half in that profound stillness which shows that his listeners are not aware of the lapse of time.

"Dr. Campbell's first discourse was an exceedingly interesting eulogy, if I may so call it, upon the Bible, glancing rapidly at some of the internal proofs of its divine origin, dwelling as much as his time would allow upon its wonderful history, biography and prophecies, and following the sacred stream down through the dispensations, or, as he expressed it, 'the starlight and moonlight ages' of the patriarchs and of the Jewish commonwealth, till the glorious Sun of Righteousness rose upon the world and introduced the Christian era.

"The text on the next evening was, 'Great is the mystery

of godliness,' etc. It was an able and orthodox discourse throughout. He dwelt chiefly upon the two clauses of the text, 'justified in the Spirit, received up into glory;' and I cannot in justice refrain from acknowledging that I never remember to have listened to or to have read a more thrilling outburst of sacred eloquence than when he came to the scene of the coronation of Christ, and quoted the sublime passage from the twenty-fourth Psalm, beginning, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may come in;' when he represented all the angels, principalities and powers of heaven as coming together to assist, as it were, in placing the crown upon the Redeemer's head."

This description of Mr. Campbell as a preacher is, in the main, just and accurate. To it may be added some remarks serving to explain still further the secret of his power to rivet the attention and control the minds of men. Nothing indeed was more striking than his singular ability to interest his hearers in the *subject* of which he treated. With this his own mind was occupied, and, being free from all thoughts of self, there was in his addresses an entire absence of egotism, and nothing in his delivery to divert the attention from the theme on which he discoursed. For the first few moments, indeed, the hearer might contemplate his commanding form, his perfect self-possession and quiet dignity of manner, or admire the clear and silvery tones of his voice, but those emphatic tones soon filled the mind with other thoughts. New revelations of truth; themes the most familiar invested with a strange importance, as unexpected and yet obvious relations were developed in a few simple sentences; unthought-of combinations; unforeseen conclusions; a range of vision that seemed to embrace the universe and to glance at pleasure into all its varied departments,—were, as by some magic power

presented to the hearer, and so as wholly to engross his perceptions and his understanding. While that voice was heard, nothing could dissolve the charm. Minutes became seconds, and hours were converted into minutes, so that the auditor became unconscious of the lapse of time, and his attention during the longest discourse was never weary. Without any gestures, either emphatic or descriptive, the speaker stood in the most natural and easy attitude, resting upon his innate powers of intellect and his complete mastery of the subject, impressing all with the sense of a superior presence and a mighty mind. His enunciation was distinct, his diction chaste and simple, his sentences clear and forcible. The intonations of his clear ringing voice were admirably adapted to the sentiment, while by his strong and bold emphasis upon important words he imparted to what he said a peculiar force and authority.

On important occasions, and when he had a great subject before him, his method was often peculiar. After reading a portion of Scripture which embraced his theme, he would take up some simple point seemingly unconnected with it, and dwelling upon this interestingly for a few moments until he had made it perfectly clear to the audience, he would then leave it and take up another apparently equally unrelated and treat it in a similar manner. Continuing thus, he would assume in like manner a third, a fourth, or even a fifth position, each one of which was in itself clearly defined and forcibly presented, yet whose relations to the subject or to each other an ordinary mind would hardly perceive. At length, however, he would introduce some other point or principle of wider range, and the hearer would now with wonder and with a consciousness of enlarged insight begin to perceive an intimate

and necessary relation between it and the previous positions, as one by one he would bring them in as proofs or illustrations of the grand or leading thought which constituted his special theme, and which in all its grandeur he designed to impress upon the minds and hearts of the audience. His power was thus derived, not from graceful gesture, nor from flowery language, nor from elaborate or glowing description, nor merely from logical argumentation, but from his singular faculty of stating and connecting *facts*—of producing novel and striking combinations of *related truths*, and of evolving the grand fundamental principles of things. Seizing upon these by an intuitive sagacity, he obtained at once the complete mastery of his subject, which he was enabled to disengage with the greatest ease from all its complications, as the experienced woodman, skillfully placing his wedge in the heart of the timber, rives it through all its knots and windings, or as some Napoleon directs at various distant points large and isolated bodies of troops, whose destination cannot be determined by ordinary minds until the unexpected concentration of the whole upon a given point reveals the comprehensive genius of the warrior.

Mr. Campbell's discourses were, however, by no means destitute of ornament. He had a correct fancy, which was rather fastidious than lively. Hence he never employed figures of a homely character or such as were calculated to lower his subject. On the contrary, his comparisons, which were not very frequent, were always such as tended to elevate it, or were at least in perfect harmony with it. These he usually drew from the Scriptures, and his familiarity with the language of the Bible enabled him to employ its glowing expressions and beautiful similes with great effect.

It was from it, indeed, that his discourses derived their convincing truths, their inspiration and their grandeur. Bible themes, Bible thoughts, Bible terms, Bible facts were his materials, and these he wrought up with consummate skill into intellectual and spiritual palaces of glorious beauty, in which every auditor desired to prolong his stay. For the embellishment of these he employed Scripture metaphors much more frequently than comparisons, but it was upon analogies that he seemed chiefly to rely for illustration as well as argument. These, constituting his chief imagery, were usually grand, far-reaching and widespreading. Scripture facts, precepts and promises seemed to be connected with them as naturally as flowers and fruits with the trees of the orchard. Uniting by their means the present with the past, one dispensation or institution of religion with another, and earth with heaven, he enlarged every one's conceptions of the plans of the infinite Creator in the remedial system, and through his varied and striking associations of thought produced the most profound and indelible impressions. And it is in this connection that a peculiar trait in Mr. Campbell's character as a man may be particularly mentioned—viz., the total absence of any disposition to self-applause. On these occasions, after holding for hours the most crowded and intelligent audiences in rapt attention, and amidst the most unequivocal indications of unbounded admiration, he retained constantly the most unassuming gentleness, and seemed ever wholly unconscious that he had accomplished anything remarkable or performed more than a simple duty. Preserving ever his humbleness of mind, he was insensible to flattery, and seemed constantly so impressed with the great truths he delivered that no compliments could extract from him more than an ex-

pression of grateful thanksgiving for having been allowed the privilege of presenting them to others.

After leaving Louisville he visited Shelbyville, New Castle and Frankfort, where he delivered discourses, as he did also at Versailles and Midway, where he was glad to find the Orphan School commencing its career under favorable auspices. Happy in the company of the devoted John T. Johnson, he came to Georgetown, where he spoke three times, and went from thence to Lexington and delivered discourses there and in the neighborhood, and thence proceeded to Danville and other points in Central Kentucky. After visiting Madison county, he returned again to Lexington and Midway, and thence to Old Union, where he spent a pleasant time with the excellent J. A. Gano, who had recently been bereaved of his beloved and only daughter, the amiable wife of Noah Spears who had been a student at Bethany College. From thence he proceeded to Paris, where he met many of his old acquaintances, among whom were the veterans John Smith and John Rodgers. Here, also, he found Aylett Raines still laboring and much beloved for his work's sake, and upon going to Mayslick had the pleasure to meet there Walter Scott, who agreed to accompany him to Bethany, for which he sailed from Maysville on the 10th of February, reaching home in less than two days. During this tour of fourteen weeks he had traveled one thousand six hundred miles, delivered fifty-five public discourses and obtained subscriptions for the endowment of the college to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars.

In the latter part of May, 1850, he made an excursion also to Baltimore, and while there received a pressing invitation from both Houses of Congress to deliver to them an address in the Capitol on the 2d of

June. Being introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Phelps of Missouri, he found it full to overflowing, and, after a hymn and prayer, addressed the assembly from John iii. 17, exhibiting the divine philanthropy in contrast with patriotism and human friendship, reasoning in a grand and masterly manner from creation, providence, divine legislation and human redemption, and holding the audience in the most fixed attention during the time of the address, which occupied an hour and a half. After examining, on the following day, various matters of interest at Washington, he returned to speak in Baltimore, which he left next morning for home.

About this time a difficulty arose in the American and Foreign Bible Society in regard to a proposition to translate *βαπτιζω* (*baptizo*) in the foreign versions. Mr. Campbell felt a great interest in this matter, and the Society having voted against it, a new Bible society was formed, which was called the "American Bible Union," for the purpose of procuring and circulating the most faithful versions of the sacred Scriptures in all tongues throughout the world. This enterprise, so consonant with Mr. Campbell's views and feelings, immediately engaged his earnest co-operation. He delivered, by request, an address, in October, 1850, to the first anniversary meeting of the "Union" in New York, showing the need of an improved English version of the Bible; and he not only contributed liberally to the funds of the "Union," but used his influence with great effect in promoting its interests.

After delivering the above-mentioned address, he paid a visit to ex-Consul Buchannan in Canada West, returning through the State of Ohio; and after spending only one week at home, again set out, in company with his

daughter Virginia, upon a tour of forty days in the West. At Cincinnati he attended the anniversary of the Missionary Society, and then visited Madison and many other points in Indiana to which appointments had been forwarded. Everywhere the people manifested the greatest anxiety to hear, and no place could be found large enough to accommodate the assemblies. At Indianapolis, the governor and the whole State convention, then assembled in order to remodel the State constitution, attended his meeting, and he was officially invited next morning to open the convention. Here, among the members, he was pleased to meet Robert Dale Owen, by whom he was very kindly received. Accompanied by Brother O'Kane, he visited Bloomington, where he was pleased to renew his acquaintance with his old friend, Dr. Andrew Wylie, and enjoyed the Christian hospitality of the excellent J. M. Mathes, then editing the "Christian Record." At Bedford he spoke in a Presbyterian meeting-house, and at Brookeville, in a Methodist chapel, after which he spent the night with the Rev. Mr. Potter, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Brookville, a graduate of Princeton and a gentleman of liberal views.

He was much gratified with this visit to Indiana. His health and spirits were by this time pretty well restored, and he was delighted to find the cause of the Reformation prospering everywhere under the labors of able preachers, such as George Campbell, Elders Goodwin, Hoshour, L. H. Jameson, O'Kane and others. He was also charmed with the kindness and hospitality of the brotherhood.

"They would not allow me," said he, "to be at any expense from the day I put myself upon the soil till the day I left it. I do not generally allow it to be so done to me; but

in this case I was anticipated at every point, and could not have the privileges of bearing either in whole or in part my traveling expenses." Fearful, however, that his early adopted practice of preaching the gospel without charge might lead to a neglect of duty on the part of the churches toward those who labored in the gospel, he adds: "I do not speak so either because it was so done to me, or because I desired it to be so done, but because it ought to be so done in many cases where it is not, and because this fruit of Christian faith is most acceptable to the Lord and all his people. Such sacrifices are indeed most honorable to the brotherhood, because most expressive of the estimate which they put upon the gospel itself, and upon those who devote their lives to its dissemination and success."

During his recent tours nothing was more striking than the change in the deportment of the religious parties toward him. Such was now the decided tone of public sentiment and the desire to hear Mr. Campbell that everywhere they freely opened their meeting-houses, which it would have been extremely unpopular, if not, in some cases, unsafe to have refused, and were compelled to pay a reluctant tribute to the transcendent abilities of one whom formerly they had maligned and feared.

About this time Mr. Campbell received earnest invitations to pay another visit to Great Britain, where, from the abiding impression left upon the minds of the people by his former labors there and the removal of prejudice, the friends of the Reformation anticipated great changes in religious society. With this invitation he felt strongly disposed to comply, but from the claims of the college and his desire to obtain a complete endowment he was compelled to postpone his visit, and to devote much of his time every season to regions nearer home. His earnest desire rightly to

appropriate his time may be seen in the following letter:

"BETHANY, December 4, 1850.

"BELOVED BROTHER COLEMAN:

"MY VERY DEAR SIR: Your kind and very acceptable letter of the 2d ulto. has been handed to me by Brother Pendleton. I have recently returned from a tour of forty days to Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana, during which I traveled some sixteen hundred miles, and delivered some thirty-eight discourses, besides as many long conversations. Fatigued, exhausted, worn-out, I feel like one that has violated the first commandment of human nature—self-preservation. Before this, after one week's stay at home, I had been to New York and the East twenty-four days, traveled fourteen hundred miles, and made some eight discourses—in all sixty-four days, three thousand miles and forty-four discourses.

"I am now endeavoring to write a little for the M. H., and to lecture daily in the college, which is now in successful operation. I feel a strong desire to visit Richmond to see my much-beloved and esteemed brethren in Eastern Virginia. But, alas! I cannot, notwithstanding their desire to see me and my desire to see them, which, in the absence of other criteria, I hold to be equal. My duties at college and to the 'Harbinger,' in my judgment, sternly veto my leaving home for a two weeks' tour to the Old Dominion. I never in my life before felt myself so embarrassed between two such rival claims. Of the two sets of arguments, pro and con., the latter preponderates, and I must forego the double pleasure of pleasing and being pleased with such a visit as I anticipate it would be. All I can say is, I desire and intend, the Lord willing, to make my first protracted visit to Richmond. But I cannot say at this moment when it may be. It will be just as soon as I can, without censure at home and abroad, make it.

"Bethany College has paramount claims on me and on all the friends of the cause to which I have consecrated my life. To further it abroad and build it up at home, in raising up men for the field when I shall be absent from this planet,

seems to me a paramount duty. We have already in the field some of its first fruits, and they are an offering most acceptable to the aggregate of all who hear them. We want a thousand men in the field of the world, and another thousand in the vineyard of the Lord—preachers worthy of the gospel and of the age, and teachers worthy of the Bible and of the Church. The brethren pray to the Lord and to us to send them help. Oh, that they would help us to help them! . . . I hope my dear Brother Coleman may find his way open to visit Bethany before a long time. I often think of the pleasant days we have spent together, and long for such a companionship as we have enjoyed, I sympathize with you in all your trials and afflictions, but I rejoice that my confidence and affection always grow, even when you are tried by rough spirits, whose zeal for their own offspring holds in abeyance the more lovely attributes which adorn our fallen humanity, and with which the Holy Spirit beautifies those who cheerfully and courteously open to him the door of their hearts Rest assured, my dear brother, that you have a large space in the affections of us all at Bethany, and our prayers for your health, happiness and usefulness. Yours, in the one hope,

"A. CAMPBELL."

About this time death deprived Mr. Campbell of the last of his children by his first wife, his amiable daughter Clarinda, who had become the second wife of Professor Pendleton in July, 1848, and died on the 10th of January, 1851, leaving two children, one of whom died soon after its mother.

On the 1st of August of this year (1851) he left home, accompanied, by Mrs. Campbell, to attend the annual meetings of Ohio. Meeting with Walter Scott at Wellsville, he proceeded to New Lisbon, where an immense meeting was held under the large tent used for such purposes, where Walter Scott delivered three eloquent discourses to the community to which, some five-and-twenty years before, he had first practically

presented the great promises of the gospel. On the Lord's day Mr. Campbell spoke in a masterly manner from the Divine Oracle at the transfiguration, and on Monday, Isaac Errett, now becoming one of the most distinguished preachers and writers of the Reformation, gave an elegant address upon the subject of obedience, and in the evening, in town, spoke again with great power upon the trial of Christ. At this meeting fifty-two persons were baptized. Mr. Campbell attended also the meeting at Bedford, where there was a very large attendance, some two thousand persons partaking of the communion on the Lord's day. Here twenty-five persons were added to the church. He attended also another meeting in a beautiful grove near Wooster, where he spoke daily for four days, and where he was much pleased with the progress of the cause.

After spending a short time at home he went to the missionary meeting in Cincinnati. The society having lately sent the amiable and devoted Dr. J. T. Barclay as a missionary to Jerusalem, Mr. Campbell found an increasing interest on the subject of missions amongst the brethren, and an improvement in liberality which he labored earnestly to promote. He had also a very happy meeting with the brotherhood at the annual State convention assembled at Lexington. He insisted greatly at this period upon the importance of such conventions, in order that the churches might work effectively in the great fields of labor which were assigned to them; and though some were fearful that such organized bodies might assume to exercise authority over the churches or otherwise misuse their powers, Mr. Campbell steadily advocated them as essential to effective action and as not involving necessarily any such abuse.

In April of the following year (1852) he attended, in

company with Brethren Challen and Petigrew, a memorable convention of the friends of the Bible Union at Memphis, Tennessee, where he found himself brought into communication with a number of eminent persons, some of whom had been formerly much prejudiced against him, but who were now co-operating with him in favor of pure versions of the Scriptures. Among these were J. L. Waller, of Kentucky, and Dr. Archibald McClay, of New York, who seemed quite to have overcome their hostile feelings.

"It was," said he, "an extraordinary assembly of its character, in its aims, its subject and in its success. If ever we have seen the hand of the Lord manifested in any convention, in any deliberations, in any grand result, it was displayed in the occasion, the details and issues of this memorable meeting. We cannot but anticipate a glorious result. If we were sanguine while writing our address for this convention, we are much more sanguine now on seeing its progress, its unanimity and its results."

The address which Mr. Campbell delivered on this occasion gives a fine specimen of his argumentative powers, of his ability to take extended views and to render things near and remote tributary to his main design. The first paragraph is in itself a complete illustration of his comprehensive and far-reaching grasp of mind, as well as of his tendency to the use of analogy Speaking from the text, "God said, Let there be light, and light was," he began thus:

"This was the first speech ever made within our universe It is indeed the most sublime and potent speech ever made It is, however, but the expression of an intelligent omnipotent volition. It was pregnant with all the elements of a material creation. It was a beautiful portraiture of its author, prospective of all the developments of Creation, Providence and Redemption. It was a Bible in miniature, and future

glory in embryo. We therefore place it as the motto of an address upon the greatest question and work of our age. *Shall we have the light of life as God created it?*"

In August of this year he delivered an address to the "Philo-literary Society" of Jefferson College, a Presbyterian institution at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. His subject was, "The Destiny of our Country," and was treated in a highly interesting and characteristic manner. Immediately after a short excursion to the annual meeting at Throopsville, N. Y., he gave also in September of this year (1852) an address to the "Washington Literary Society" of Washington College, on "Phrenology, Animal Magnetism, Spirit Rappings, etc.," in which he sustained the exclusive claims of the Bible as a divine revelation, showing that "from its last AMEN nothing is to be added by any new revelation or commandment of demon, angel or man."

The talented and educated preachers sent out from Bethany College were at this time giving a great impulse to the cause of the Reformation throughout the Western States. New colleges, high schools and female seminaries were springing up under their influence to promote the cause of the primitive gospel, and the churches, sensible of their indebtedness to Mr. Campbell's energy and foresight in thus providing aids for want of which the cause had begun to languish, felt more and more disposed to complete the endowment of the institution. Such, however, was their attachment to Mr. Campbell, and such their desire to obtain his personal labors among them, that they continued to make a visit from him a condition of subscription to the funds of the institution. Thus Missouri promised to endow a chair if he would make another tour through the State. Having consented to this, he left Bethany

on the 28th of October, 1852, accompanied by Mrs. Campbell as far as St. Louis, visiting on the way several points in Illinois, and having several narrow escapes from railroad accidents and other disasters. Commencing at Hannibal, he made quite an extended tour through Missouri. At Hannibal he met with one of the most gifted speakers of the Reformation, Dr. Hopson, who was then engaged in a female seminary at Palmyra. From Hannibal, accompanied by Brother Procter, an excellent speaker and graduate of Bethany College, he proceeded to Paris, where he was joined by Thomas M. Allen, who, with Brother Procter, had been appointed to conduct him through the State, and through whose aid and influence much good was done and a liberal subscription obtained for the college.

Among the many public laborers of whom he makes kindly mention in his notes was Prince L. Hudgens, an eminent lawyer and preacher in Savannah, Missouri, exercising a widespread influence. Here a young man who was preparing for the Presbyterian ministry came forward and was immersed. At Camden Point he addressed the female seminary there, in which there were some one hundred and forty young ladies, under the care of Brother H. B. Todd. Here he was met by J. Petigrew, who had been pastor of the Berean Baptist church in Pittsburg, but who had some time before come into the Reformation, of which, from his superior education and abilities, he became a popular and successful advocate. At Liberty he met with his devoted friend, Colonel Doniphan, and with a graduate of Bethany College, M. E. Lard, who had been sent to college through Colonel Doniphan's instrumentality, and was rapidly becoming one of the most distinguished writers and speakers in the cause. He met also in Howard

with J. W. McGarvey, another graduate of the college, also already noted for his fine abilities. At Columbia he addressed, by invitation, the young ladies of Christian College, under the care of the accomplished J. A. Williams. He visited also the University of Missouri, over which James Shannon now presided, and delivered here two discourses to large assemblies.

Having received a very special invitation from the members of the Legislature, then in session at Jefferson City, to address them, he spoke there twice to large audiences in the Capitol on religious topics on the Lord's day, and on Monday forenoon delivered a lecture on education, to hear which the Legislature adjourned its session to the afternoon. In order to make this visit he was obliged to disappoint the brethren in Louisville, Missouri, who expected him. As they refused to excuse him, he was compelled to pay them a special visit subsequently, when on a tour through Illinois. After many difficulties and much exposure, owing to the state of the roads and the weather, he at length reached St. Louis, on his return, in the latter part of December, and after giving a few lectures in this city, made his way through fields of ice in the Mississippi to the more open navigation of the Ohio, and reached home after an absence of seventy-six days and a laborious journey of twenty-eight hundred miles.

Feeling much sympathy for the Indian race, he, while on this tour, obtained a boy of the Iowa tribe from among them, with the consent of his relatives, in order to educate him. He became at once a member of Mr. Campbell's family, and was sent to school, enjoying every advantage of secular and religious instruction. He seemed to have a good capacity and kind disposition, and although too much given to sport to make the

best use of his opportunities, obtained, in the course of some eight or nine years, a pretty good knowledge of the elementary English branches, and could read and write with readiness. When a young man grown, it was thought expedient for him to return to the West to obtain his share of the lands allotted to his tribe; soon after which he married and settled in Nebraska, and by his letters seems still to cherish in grateful remembrance the benefits he received from Mr. Campbell.

Still intent on obtaining endowment for the college, in May, 1853, he set out by way of Baltimore for Eastern Virginia. After a very pleasant meeting at Tappahannock church, where there was much good preaching by Brothers S. Shelburne, A. B. Walthall, R. L. Coleman and J. W. Goss, and where Mr. Campbell himself spoke two or three times, he went on to Richmond, where the church was flourishing under the care, at this time, of R. L. Coleman. Passing thence, by way of Louisa, to Caroline county, he was met by the excellent R. Y. Henley, and on the following day addressed a large assembly at Antioch church. After speaking again in King-and-Queen county, he set out on his return by way of Philadelphia, where he addressed large audiences in the new church building just completed. Passing through Pittsburg, he visited, before returning home, some points in Ohio, as Cleveland, Wyandotte and Mount Vernon. In the latter place there was no building sufficiently large to accommodate the crowd, the capacious railroad depôt even, which had been seated for the purpose and held three thousand persons, being found insufficient. Here he had the pleasure of meeting D. S. Burnet, who aided in the meeting and continued it after his departure, with a large number of accessions.

In September, of this year (1853) Mr. Campbell delivered an address before the Kentucky convention of churches, held at Harrodsburg, upon the subject of church edification. In this address he strongly objected to the custom into which some churches had fallen, of depending too much upon itinerant preachers, and neglecting to call forth and employ the gifts of their own members in mutual exhortation and instruction. He dwelt much upon the importance of a proper eldership to teach and exhort from house to house and watch over the spiritual interests of the flock. He also urged the diligent study of the Bible divided into regular lessons, with suitable weekly lectures from a competent teacher. He was not in favor of having individual churches very large. He regarded efforts to commend the truth to men by an imposing array of numbers, and especially by means of fine meeting-houses and rhetorical harangues, as savoring of a worldly spirit and pregnant with evil. He therefore preferred small churches, in which Christian simplicity, fraternal intercourse and mutual edification could be best secured.

"No persons," said he, "should belong to any particular congregation who cannot conveniently meet with their brethren every Lord's day; and the fact of their being able to meet every Lord's day with the brethren is the rule which decides to what congregation they should belong. These small beginnings, scattered over a district of country, tend to give a larger increase of disciples annually than if the same number which meet weekly in three or four places met irregularly in one place. The simplicity, humility and brotherly kindness which appear in these small assemblies, and the more rapid progress which the disciples make in Christian knowledge, faith and love, from more of them being called upon to take a part in the Christian worship, are greater auxiliaries to the spread of the gospel, more powerful arguments for the truth

and recommendations of the excellency of the Christian institution, than an immense pile of stone, brick or wood with the ornaments of architecture, called a church or meeting-house, filled with an assembly of carnal worshipers in all the pomp and pageantry of the lusts of the eye and the pride of life, waiting upon a parson; all of whom, save one consecrated tongue, are dumb in the Christian worship."

The temperance cause, also, which was attracting great attention at this time, received his earnest sanction and approval.

"We ought," said he, "we must, as men, as philanthropists and as Christians, meet this monster, this insatiate murderer of our species, and break the arm, the puissant arm, that spreads poverty, moral desolation and ruin through all ranks and conditions of men.

"The 'Maine Law,' as appears to us, is the most effective, perhaps the only effective remedy of this prolific and manifold evil. Certainly it greatly transcends all other means and attempts to crush and annihilate the monster." While he conceived that the whole subject of temperance, in its religious bearings, belonged to the ministry of the *Church*, he fully recognized the right of the *State* to guard its welfare by prohibiting the sale of ardent spirits. "This," said he, "is the most rational, plausible and efficient effort yet made in our whole horizon beyond the direct influence of the Christian ministry. To such of our readers," said he, "who reside in the State in which efforts in this good cause are being made, we would add, that the cause of piety and humanity which we plead demands the most vigorous and persevering efforts in aid of this grand reform, while in progress, and to be the foremost in introducing it into those States in which no move, at present, in that direction has yet been made."

In the fall he delivered an address to the Christian Missionary Society, of which he was still president, in which he dwelt earnestly upon the importance of missions both at home and abroad, and urged a general

co-operation on the part of the brotherhood for the conversion of the world. He did not regard conventions or societies, composed of messengers of the churches, as independent bodies or as taking out of the hands of the churches the duties to be performed, but considered them as mere instrumentalities employed by the Church at large for the accomplishment of important ends demanding mutual assistance, counsel and co-operation. Immediately after this address at Cincinnati, he traversed the State of Illinois, and fulfilled, also, his former engagement to visit the brethren at Louisville, Missouri. Of this trip he gave an account in the "Harbinger," in a series of letters addressed to Mrs. Campbell, which he thus introduces:

"If Paul to the Romans greets Priscilla as a helper in Christ—Julia and Mary, who bestowed much labor on him and his companions—Nereus, too, and his sister—being fully persuaded that you belong to that class, and fully rank with them, I am constrained, by the authority of such examples, to address to you, and through you to my readers, a few notes of my tour and labors in behalf of the Bible in the college, and of a well-educated Christian ministry.

"This is due to you, my dear fellow-helper in this work, because of your many sacrifices in ease and comfort in ministering to the necessities of the saints, and to the entertainment of many a sojourner and Christian pilgrim in the rites and usages of Christian hospitality, and because of your often-expressed desire to see the standard of ministerial accomplishments much higher elevated amongst us as a people."

During this tour he filled numerous appointments in Illinois, and, being compelled to travel by night, in an open buggy, across the prairies amidst storms, in order to reach his appointments in Missouri, was while there taken seriously ill, but, by the skillful aid of Dr. B. W. Gorin, was relieved in time to meet his subse-

quent appointments in Illinois. Throughout the State he addressed immense audiences, and received liberal contributions for the endowment of the chair of chemistry in Bethany College. At Carrollton, he spoke in a Methodist chapel, the largest house in the village, and formed the acquaintance of the Elder W. J. Rutledge.

"He is," said Mr. Campbell, "a very able and efficient Methodist teacher, and about to remove to Bloomington. At night we heard a part of his valedictory address to his charge. It was a very appropriate and able address. After my morning address in his own house, he asked permission to say a few words in aid of my special mission. He made a very appropriate and effective, though short, address. . . . In urging liberality in the cause of education, he appealed to our brotherhood on their own premises, exhorting them to carry out their superior faith and doctrine by a superior liberality."

He received on this tour able assistance from Brethren Jacob Creath, Jr., D. P. Henderson, A. P. Jones and others, and returned much pleased with the progress of the cause and the improved liberality of the churches in behalf of their literary and benevolent institutions.

CHAPTER XIX.

Spiritualism—Death of prominent laborers—Bible union—Visit to Nashville—"Campbellism Examined"—Revision of Acts—Tours.

ANOTHER defection marked, about this period, the course of the reformatory movement. As the former one was in the direction of materialism, this took that of spiritualism. Both, however, were alike palpable departures from the fundamental principles of the Reformation, which peremptorily inhibited doctrinal speculation, and both were with equal readiness detected and exposed by the simple teachings of the word of God, which proved no less adequate to the prompt correction of error than to the inculcation of religious truth.

A young man called Jesse B. Ferguson, who for some years had labored quite acceptably in the cause of the Reformation, became at last the regular preacher at Nashville, Tennessee, where he published also a monthly magazine. Being extremely fluent, of popular manners and considerable oratorical power, he soon acquired very great influence, and rose to such a height in the estimation of his hearers, and especially in his own, that his head became giddy, and, being no longer able to preserve his religious equilibrium, he was precipitated doctrinally into the regions of departed spirits, where he immediately attempted to immortalize himself by new discoveries. His roving fancy accord-

ingly soon found in these realms of the dead what he supposed to be a vast field for missionary enterprise, and he began to fill his magazine with the doctrine that in the state intermediate between death and the resurrection those who had died unrepentant would have another opportunity of hearing and obeying the gospel. Conceiving that, according to the teaching of Peter, "Christ went and preached" to such "spirits in prison," he seemed to cherish the hope that he himself might hereafter in those shadowy realms be chosen as an apostle of this post-mortem gospel.

These speculations no sooner appeared than Mr. Campbell kindly and repeatedly remonstrated against them as unscriptural and incompatible with the Reformation principles. These gentle methods failing, however, he found it necessary to make a complete exposure of Mr. Ferguson's unwarrantable proceedings and of the flimsy sophisms by which he was endeavoring to sustain his false teaching, and to lead away disciples after him. This exposure was by no means a difficult task, as Mr. Ferguson possessed no logical power, but it was a considerable time before the people to whom he ministered could free themselves from the fascination of his rhetoric, so that, although discountenanced by the Reformers in general, he continued for some time to exercise at Nashville an unhappy influence over the minds of many, and to inflict considerable injury on the cause of truth.

On the 4th of January, 1854, Thomas Campbell terminated at Bethany his long life of faithful labor. Until he was about eighty-three years of age he had continued his custom of itinerating among the churches, which were always happy to welcome the venerable teacher, who was universally recognized as the living

impersonation of all the Christian graces. Upon returning from one of these excursions in Ohio in the summer of 1846, during which he had the companionship of J. R. Frame, he was so greatly exhausted with heat and fatigue that he was induced through the solicitation of his friends and relatives to remain thenceforth at Bethany. After some two or three years he became affected with a dimness of sight, which in a short time terminated in total blindness—a sad privation to one so social and so fond of reading, but which he bore with the utmost resignation. Still retaining, to a considerable extent, the vigor of his mental faculties, it was his delight during his blindness to converse with his former acquaintances, to recite to them various hymns and passages of Scripture with which his memory was stored, and to comment on the sentiments they expressed. He would often, too, with his usual winning courtesy, request his visitors or Mrs. Campbell, whose attentions were unwearied, to read to him certain hymns and Scriptures which he desired to hear or to memorize. On one occasion, during the years thus spent in ever-during darkness, at the earnest instance of friends who desired once more to hear him from the pulpit, he consented to deliver a farewell address. He preached, accordingly, on the 1st of June, 1851, in Bethany, to a large audience, a last discourse on the subject of the two great commandments—love to God and love to our neighbor. He was at this time in his eighty-ninth year, and his health continued good until within some three weeks of his decease, when he became troubled with an inflammatory affection of the mouth, inducing loss of appetite and great debility. Growing gradually weaker, but without acute pain, he at length expired so gently that

it was scarcely possible to distinguish the moment when he ceased to breathe. Throughout his illness and in his death he manifested the same calm confidence in God and humble reliance on his Divine Redeemer which had ever characterized his life, protracted to ninety-one years, lacking about a month. Mr. Campbell thus spoke of the event in a letter to the excellent Brother Dungan, of Baltimore:

"BETHANY, VIRGINIA, January 24, 1854.

"BROTHER DUNGAN:

"MY DEAR SIR: Health, peace and prosperity to thee and thine! I presume you may have already heard that Father Campbell has joined the Church above and entered into rest, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. Yes, he has been introduced to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and to all the spirits of just men made perfect, of which I have no more reason to doubt than I have that he has vacated the family and the church at Bethany. What a balm for all our wounds! What a consolation for all our bereavements! 'Say to the righteous that it will be well with him.' I never knew a man, in all my acquaintance with men, of whom it could have been said with more assurance that he '*walked with God.*' Such was the even tenor of his path, not for a few years, but a period as far back as my memory reaches; and that is on the other side of half a century. How many say, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last days be like his,' who nevertheless do not choose to live his life! . . . Oh that we could realize a little—yea much more—of the riches and glory of the saints in light! How contemptible the grandeur and glory of earth! Well now are the golden moments. Oh that we could realize their value, and lift our thoughts from things of earth and time to heaven and immortality!"

On the 14th of March, a little more than two months after the death of Thomas Campbell, the venerable Jacob Creath, Sr., also finished his course with joy.

Strongly resembling the former in his devotion to truth, his courteous bearing and his social habits, he resembled him also in the bereavement of sight, which he patiently endured for the last seven years of his life, during which, however, he still preached occasionally, and took great delight in attending meetings and visiting the brotherhood.

Nothing interested Mr. Campbell more at this period than the operations of the Bible Union in the revision of the Scriptures. Having himself in part published in the "Harbinger" an amended version of the Acts of the Apostles with a commentary, he was appointed by the Bible Union to furnish a revision of this portion of the New Testament. He manifested also his usual interest in the great subject of missions, and was accustomed to meet with the A. C. M. society as its president regularly every year, delivering addresses and urging increased liberality. He published also a series of very interesting letters from Dr. J. T. Barclay, the missionary at Jerusalem, and constantly favored the extension of missionary operations to other parts of the world. Through the efforts of the devoted Ephraim A. Smith, a colored missionary, Alexander Cross, a pious and devoted man, had already been sent to Liberia, but had fallen a victim to the climate from over-exertion soon after his arrival. A mission at Jamaica also was, not long after, established, which produced considerable fruit. While at one of the missionary meetings at Cincinnati, Mr. Campbell, in a letter to Mrs. Campbell, amidst personal items and matters of business, thus expressed himself in relation to the things which were ever nearest his heart:

"There is good health as far as I can learn in this city. . . . But what a world of shadows this is! Nothing real—fleeting, fading, dying world! I am almost a stranger here

where I used to know almost all persons of notoriety. But there is a world of grand and glorious realities, and a world of sad and fearful and tremendous realities. There is only one supreme Philanthropist, and even he cannot save people *in* their sins. He only saves *from* sin. And this salvation must begin here or never. We are saved from the guilt, the shame, the pollution, the tyranny of sin in this world or never. Oh that poor mortals would stop their mad career in time! Else better for them they had never been. Say to my children, Flee, flee, flee from the wrath to come, and seize the proffered pardon before the uncertain moment, and yet certain to come, overtakes them. Labor not for the food that perishes, but for that which endures to eternal life. . . Farewell, my dear wife. Your affectionate husband,

"A. CAMPBELL."

During the previous year, December 30, 1852, Mr. Campbell's eldest son, Alexander, was united in marriage with a very amiable lady, Miss Mary Ann Purvis, of Louisiana. Toward the close of the following year, from many earnest solicitations and from various circumstances growing out of the defection of J. B. Ferguson, Mr. Campbell was induced to pay a visit to Nashville, on which occasion he enjoyed the company of A. E. Myers, a successful preacher and a graduate of Bethany College. The following notice of his discourses, from the Methodist "Christian Advocate" of that city, is expressed in a courteous and candid spirit:

"The distinguished gentleman whose name heads this article is now on a visit to this city. We had an opportunity of hearing him on last Sabbath morning at the McKendree Church, which he occupied by the courtesy of the pastor and trustees. The congregations were vast, filling the body and galleries of the spacious house. He ascended the pulpit at half-past ten o'clock, and introduced the service by reading from the Holy Scriptures, singing and prayer. It was manifest to those who had seen Mr. Campbell in former years

that his physical man is giving way under the weight of years and labor, and we doubted his ability to address an audience so large; when he began to speak, however, it was evident that his voice was still clear and strong for one of his years. His subject was Faith, founded on the eleventh of Hebrews, and was listened to with profound attention. We should be pleased to give an extensive analysis of his discourse had we time and space. A brief notice must satisfy our readers.

"After a brief exordium, he stated as a leading proposition that the whole Christian religion is founded on faith; faith in the revelation made to man in the Bible—faith in the doctrine given by plenary inspiration. He combated the sentiment that man, by reason or by imagination, could acquire a knowledge of divine things; the plan of salvation was revealed alone in the Bible. He next defined faith, which, in the language of the Apostle, is 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' When properly received and increased, it becomes to the believer an assurance of the great doctrines of faith, he having no doubt as to their truth or divine origin. This faith embraces Christ as the only and all-sufficient Saviour and Mediator. Here the speaker enlarged upon the character and mission of the Son of God, affirming that Christ was the most illustrious being in all the universe—that he combined in himself the perfections of the human and divine natures; as a man he was as perfect as Adam, and as God he was as perfect as the God of Abraham. Unitarianism he pronounced in all its forms as utterly at variance with the doctrines of Christianity.

"In the incarnation and mission of the Son of God, the Father has made a full and complete exhibition of his love. God has here done all he could for the redemption of our race, and he who will not avail himself of the glorious plan of salvation, and will not be saved by Christ, is out of the reach of God's mercy. He then propounded the question, What is religion? After various remarks, he showed that it was the grand principle which binds man to God—that it had not its

birth in philosophy; it did not originate in the human imagination, but was of God, wholly supernatural, above nature, above reason.

"The simple element in religion is sacrifice. Here he dwelt on the efficacy of the atonement, and with strong emphasis commended Christ as the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world—the Lamb of God in whom all the types and sacrifices and symbols of the Old Testament dispensation found their antitype—the Lamb of God whose blood cleanses from all sin. 'No man can come to God,' said Mr. Campbell, 'only through faith in the bleeding Lamb of God.'

"He concluded by striking a severe blow at modern infidelity, and at those mistaken and misguided souls who are looking to other quarters than the Bible for a knowledge of the will of God and the plan of salvation—who are consulting disembodied spirits for an answer to questions already solved in the word of God. He said the tallest seraph in heaven, or all the angels that surrounded the throne of God, had not the power to reveal the scheme of man's redemption; God alone could make that plan known, and this has been already done in the book of revelation; we need no other. Had this been left to angels, there had been silence in heaven, not only for a half hour, but for ever. . . .

"The discourse we regarded as able and appropriate, and in the main one which most Christians would receive as sound in its theology. At the close of the sermon, Mr. Campbell was introduced to Bishop Soule, who was one of his auditors. After the usual salutation, Bishop Soule expressed his gratification at the exalted character he had ascribed to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Mr. Campbell promptly replied, 'He is our only hope.' . . . He announced before he concluded that he would deliver during the week, in the church on Cherry Street (the one occupied by Mr. J. B. Ferguson), a series of lectures on 'Neology and Spiritualism.' In making this announcement he struck the 'Spirit Rappers' some heavy blows. Success to him in opposing this miser-

able humbug, which, Mr. Campbell justly remarked, comes from infidelity, or is evidence of infidelity in the heart of him who is under its influence.

"It is but justice to say that the two points kept prominently before the audience in the two discourses were, first, the divine authenticity, perfection and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures as a revelation from God; and second, the *sacrificial* death of the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sin, by faith in his name. These two points well established, he will proceed to demolish the infidelity of German philosophers and spiritualism, technically so called, which is only another phase of infidelity."

In his usual frank and fearless advocacy of truth, Mr. Campbell had resolved to meet Mr. Ferguson in the midst of the community in which he had been propagating error, and expected that the latter would meet him publicly in defence of his doctrines. In this, however, he was entirely disappointed, for this gentleman, who had for some time professed to be in receipt of communications from the spirit world, announced that he had orders to the contrary in a special communication from Dr. William E. Channing, formerly of Boston, but then a citizen of the seventh sphere in Hades.

"In this letter," said Mr. Campbell in his notes, "from the elegant and fascinating orator and writer of sermons, Dr. W. E. Channing, Mr. Ferguson received a '*positive command*' not to attend any of my meetings while in Nashville, and also to hold no nocturnal spiritual levees during my sojourn in that city. All of which, I presume, was very punctually acquiesced in. And thus I was denied the pleasure of any intercourse or interview with Mr. Ferguson, through the solicitude of the late Dr. Channing for his personal and spiritual safety. He was, therefore, truly obedient to the infernal vision."

Mr. Campbell, nevertheless, according to arrangement after his introductory discourses in the Methodist Episcopal church edifice, the use of which had been courteously granted, proceeded to lecture during the week, in the evenings, in the Cherry Street meeting-house, which Mr. Ferguson usually occupied, and to contrast the character and claims of the divine revelation with those of spirit rapping. While Mr. Campbell was in Nashville, John T. Johnson also arrived, and with his usual zeal at once commenced a series of religious meetings. On Saturday evening, Mr. Campbell visited and addressed the students of Franklin College, and spoke three times in Nashville on the following Lord's day to large and attentive audiences, when several intelligent persons came forward for baptism. On Monday he visited Murfreesboro', at the request of the students and faculty of the Baptist University there, and made an address in the evening. Before leaving Tennessee he also visited Clarksville in company with John T. Johnson, where he spoke twice, and on his return through Kentucky spent six days at Hopkinsville, where he delivered eight discourses, and a special address to the young ladies of the flourishing female seminary there under the care of his cousin Enos. Passing thence by stage to Louisville, he went on to Indianapolis, where he had an agreeable interview with the brethren and delivered two discourses. Here, still in company with Brother Myers, he took the cars for Wheeling, and arrived at home next day after an absence of thirty days, and improved in health by his journey of sixteen hundred miles.

About this time (1855) there was published a book of three hundred and sixty-nine duodecimo pages, entitled "Campbellism Examined," by Elder J. B. Jeter, of

Richmond, Virginia. In this work the author, a Baptist minister of distinction, proposed to give "a faithful delineation" of "Campbellism," a term by which he was pleased to designate the Reformation urged by Mr. Campbell. This was the most respectable treatise on the subject yet produced on the part of the Baptist opposition, and as it was written in a courteous style and in an apparently fair and candid spirit, it was well calculated to answer the purpose for which it was designed. Admitting that the Baptist and other churches needed reformation, and that what he termed "Campbellism" had "exercised an extensive influence on the religious sentiment of the country," the author proceeded to furnish from his point of view a sketch of "its rise, progress, modifications and influence, as well as its distinctive principles," and to defend against its assaults the cherished doctrines held by Baptists. It was received by them accordingly with much favor, though far from being complete in itself and equally far from presenting a full and accurate view of Mr. Campbell's teachings. The work was therefore regarded by Mr. Campbell, in a somewhat rambling review which he made of it in some pieces in the "Harbinger," as doing him great injustice, and he proposed to Elder Jeter a discussion of the points involved, to be published in the "Religious Herald," so that his defence might be given to the Baptist community. This, however, Mr. Jeter declined, and Mr. Campbell then thought of writing a volume in reply, which he hoped would circulate where the "Harbinger" did not; but owing to his pressing engagements in the revision of Acts and other unavoidable labors, this was from time to time postponed.

It was the connection of Mr. Campbell and the Reformers with that portion of the Baptists who were en-

gaged in the revision movement that had given occasion, as many supposed, to Dr. Jeter's book, as well as to several other attacks upon him about this time by Baptists, who seemed to fear that any association with the Reformers tended to promote the spread of religious principles which they conceived to be erroneous, but which they seemed unable to oppose by any other weapons than those of misrepresentation and perversion. These assaults, however, were by no means relished by some revision Baptists, who were in a better position for candid inquiry as to Mr. Campbell's views and had learned to understand him better. Hence Dr. Lynd, who stood deservedly high among them, while commending many things in Dr. Jeter's book, thus remarked:

"We are somewhat disappointed in the first part of this work upon the *inception* of Campbellism. The circumstances and influences under which the author acted should have occupied a larger space, and more of the sentiments of Mr. Campbell as they consecutively appeared from his pen should have been given on this point. But we rise from the reading of this portion with the conviction that more was needed to enlighten us upon the inception of the system. . . . The natural temperament of Mr. Campbell doubtless gave rise to his extravagant mode of opposing what he supposed to be wrong, but the state of the churches and their modes of action at the time had much more influence. Few men would have had the moral courage to attack them as he did. There was certainly great abuse, by the uninformed, of what was called 'Christian experience,' and Mr. Campbell fixed his attention upon its abuses. Creeds were also much abused in many parts of our country. About the time he commenced his reformation, the churches who adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith obliged every candidate, before baptism, to read it and receive it as containing the truths of the gospel.

Two questions were uniformly asked them—first, whether they had read the confession of faith? and second, whether they believed the doctrines taught in it? And there were many in the churches who would have voted against the reception of the candidate if he could not have answered these questions in the affirmative. The formula which is now adopted by a large body of the churches shows clearly the reformation which has been wrought upon this subject. Whatever we may think of Mr. Campbell's religious views, we are certainly indebted to his extravagance for the removal of many extravagances from our own churches. In this portion of the work, the *chaos* of Campbellism, the writer does not take into view as fully as he might have done the *popular* evils in our own borders constituting the extreme on one side, and the extravagance of Mr. Campbell constituting the extreme on the other side. It would have added much to the value of the work if the evils existing in our churches in many parts of the country at the time had been pointed out, as it would have aided us to comprehend more clearly the consecutive stages of the reformatory process." (Mil. Harb. for 1855, p. 140.)

Again, in regard to Mr. Campbell and his views, Dr. Lynd thus spoke in a letter to the editor of the "Tennessee Baptist," who had been writing against Mr. Campbell just before with great virulence:

"Brother Graves: I feel myself called upon in an editorial article in your issue of March 31st to answer certain queries that you have propounded. Your paper reached me to-day. Your inquiries are based upon the following expressions employed by me in a short review of 'Jeter on Campbellism:'

"'With his views as formerly expressed we could not sympathize, but as recently expressed they are in conformity with our own views.' . . . In the remark above I have reference to his views as set forth in the following articles, published, I think, in 1846:

"'1. I believe all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, is profitable for teaching, conviction, instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect and thoroughly accomplished for every good work.

"'2. I believe in one God as manifested in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are therefore one in power, nature and volition.

"'3. I believe that every human being participates in all the consequences of the fall of Adam, and is born into the world frail and depraved in all his moral powers and capacities. So that without faith in Christ it is impossible for him, while in that state, to please God.

"'4. I believe the Word which from the beginning was with God, and which was God, became flesh and dwelt among us as Emanuel, or "God manifest in the flesh," and did make an expiation of sins by the sacrifice of himself, which no being could have done that was not possessed of superhuman, superangelic and divine nature.

"'5. I believe in the justification of sinners by faith without the deeds of law; and of a Christian, not by faith alone, but by the obedience of faith.

"'6. I believe in the operation of the Holy Spirit through the Word, but not without it in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner. . . .

"'7. I believe in the right and duty of exercising our own judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

"'8. I believe in the divine institution of the evangelical ministry, the authority and perpetuity of baptism and the Lord's Supper.'

"Is there a Baptist church in the State of Tennessee or in the world that can show a more sound confession of faith? These are the views I endorse, and so does every evangelical man in every denomination of Christians.

"Further, I referred in my remarks particularly to his views expressed in his debate with Dr. Rice, in the following language: 'You may have heard me say here (and the whole country may have read it and heard it many a time) that a

seven-fold immersion in the river Jordan, or any other water, without a previous change of heart, will avail nothing without a genuine faith and penitence; nor would the most strict adherence to all the forms and usages of the most perfect church order, the most exact observance of all the ordinances, without personal faith, piety and moral righteousness—without a new heart, hallowed lips and a holy life, profit any man in reference to eternal salvation. We are represented because of the emphasis laid upon some ordinances as though we made a Saviour out of rites and ceremonies—as believing in water-regeneration and in the saving efficacy of immersion, and as looking no farther than to these 'outward bodily acts,' all of which is just as far from the truth and from our views as transubstantiation or purgatory. I have, indeed, no faith in conversion by the Word without the Spirit, nor by the Spirit without the Word. The Spirit is ever present with the Word in sanctification and conversion. A change of heart is essential to a change of character, and both are essential to admission into the kingdom of God. "Without holiness no man would enjoy God." Though as scrupulous as a Pharisee in tithing mint, anise and cummin, and rigid to the letter in all observances, without those moral excellences, usually called righteousness and holiness, no man can be saved eternally, for the unrighteous shall not enter into the kingdom of God.'

"Now, with these views I concur. Does any Baptist repudiate them? I understand that the foregoing principles are with him fundamental principles, and I suppose that all his other exhibitions of Scripture teaching must be subordinate to these. What other just rule can be applied? Apart from the influence of this rule, it would be easy to quote plain passages from the New Testament which would go to show that the apostles did not in good faith hold the fundamental doctrines of redemption. This is certainly done by the opposers of these principles. I am no apologist for the errors of Mr. Campbell or any other man, but I do most heartily endorse the principles stated in this confession. I feel bound

as far as possible to explain his views as published since that confession was made by his fundamental principles. If he is an honest man he will believe nothing which he does not believe to be in conformity with these principles.

"I think it is but an act of justice, and the laws of language demand it, that his views, as published in the 'Christian Baptist,' which you quote, should be explained in the light of the fundamental principles which he has solemnly declared he holds. I believe, with Mr. Campbell, that faith is belief in testimony. The circumstances under which it is exercised, embracing the views of the sinner and his state of heart, constitute the difference between the belief that saves and the belief that does not save. And that is taught in *all* theological schools, though not always in the same words. I have no sympathy with the doctrine that immersion must be administered to procure remission of sins, and yet I believe the design of this institution is not clearly understood either by Baptists or Pædobaptists. No person who believes the Bible can deny that there is a connection between baptism and salvation, as there is between regeneration and salvation, or between faith and justification, or between persevering obedience and salvation. The question to be determined is, What is that connection? I believe that Mr. Campbell has not reached the truth in this matter, and therefore I do not endorse his views. But may not Baptists generally fall short in their views of baptism? Is there not a point of view to which all of us may be brought by honest and Christian-like discussion. I believe we enjoy the love of God in our hearts the moment we believe in Christ, and that it may be shed abroad more clearly by the Holy Spirit and that the most of the spiritual blessings we enjoy may be consequent upon our baptism must be admitted by all who hold that baptism is 'the answer of a good conscience toward God.' How can a believer fully enjoy spiritual blessings while this answer of a good conscience has not been had? . . . The quotation from the 'Christian Baptist,' page 293, repudiates merely the doctrines of mystical, metaphysical or spiritual influence inde-

pendently of the word of God. And who, at the present day, does not repudiate it? This I understand Mr. Campbell teaches, when I compare the language with the eight fundamental articles of his creed.

"In the long passage which you have quoted from 'Christian Baptism,' p. 256, he states expressly that baptism is not as a procuring cause, as a meritorious or efficient cause, but as an instrumental cause, in which faith and repentance are made fruitful and effectual in the changing of our state and spiritual relation to the divine persons whose names are put upon us in the very act. I do not know how much Mr. Campbell may mean by the words 'our state and spiritual relations,' but I am certain there is a sense, and an important sense, too, in which this is doubtless true. The quotation from 'Christian Baptism' does not show that Mr. Campbell denies the influence of the Holy Spirit in conversion. He is speaking of the influence which, in apostolic times, was denominated 'the baptism of the Holy Spirit.' His facts in relation to this are correctly stated. While we differ from Mr. Campbell, let us, as Christians, be magnanimous, and give to his language the fairest construction that can be put upon it. Let us examine it in the light of his published fundamental principles." (Mil. Harb. for 1855, p. 512.)

At the close of spring (1855) Mr. Campbell succeeded in completing the task of revision assigned to him by the Bible Union, to which for many months he had devoted every moment which could be spared from his college and other duties, with the exception of the time occupied in his trip to Nashville. Such was his earnestness and his deep interest in the cause of revision, that giving up his agricultural affairs into the hands of his eldest son, he had secluded himself in his little gothic study, and given almost his whole attention to the work, greatly to the injury of both his mental and bodily vigor. To one of such active habits, the loss of his accustomed physical exercise alone was of itself

a serious injury to his bodily health. Nor was the character of the labor required less hurtful to his mental powers. The close examination and comparison of minute verbal details demanded in the revision and in the preparation of extended critical notes was exceedingly harassing and irksome to a mind accustomed, like that of Mr. Campbell, to range at pleasure amidst the grandest subjects of human thought, and to find amongst these its natural and healthful sphere of action. His conscientious and persevering endeavors therefore to perform his work faithfully were of no small detriment to his mental faculties, and the effects soon became visible in his public discourses. His mind seemed to have been cramped like the limbs of a prisoner long confined in heavy fetters. He appeared unable to take that extensive and powerful grasp of the subject for which he had been so conspicuous, and his pulpit efforts, though still interesting and occasionally brilliant, ceased for some time to manifest their former unity and point. His friends noticed too, occasionally, a singular confounding of things relating to the past, and odd mistakes in regard to articles furnished by his correspondents for the "Harbinger," of which he still retained the chief management. Nor were such eclipses of memory wanting, now and then, in the performance of his college duties. These results, however, arising more from his recent undue labor than from advancing age, became less noticed after a time when he resumed his usual habits and experienced again the benefit of traveling abroad. The following letter, written shortly before the completion of his revision labors, expresses his desire for a pleasant reunion of his friends at the approaching college commencement, when he expected to have his toilsome but not unpleasing task completed,

and to be at length freed from his revision labors and the duties of the college session:

"BETHANY, VIRGINIA, May 30, 1855.

"MY DEAR SON HENLEY: I thankfully received from you some days since a very acceptable epistle, for which I return you my thanks. I have the pleasure of saying to you that we at Bethany are still moving forward in our usual way, in ordinary health and comfort. I have been more oppressed and broken down with hard labor this year past than at any period in my life. The labors bestowed on the New Version, superadded to my former labors and present obligations, have greatly oppressed me and cut short my correspondence. I am 'a debtor without hope to pay' to my friends in private correspondence. I write you with special reference to yourself and lady and my dear grand-daughter making a visit to Bethany in the latter part of next month and at the commencement on the 4th of July. I have written to Brother Coleman, and will now write to Brother Goss, also to the same effect. We have invited sundry brethren from Kentucky, Missouri and Ohio, to be present with us at said time, and hope to see yourself and lady also.

"Expecting to see you at said time and to talk face to face, I will not, because I cannot, add much more at present. We have the great theme of eternity and immortality pressing daily its claims upon our supreme regard, in comparison with which everything on earth sinks down almost to nothing.

"To be an heir of immortality, a joint heir with Jesus Christ in the enjoyment of the universe, is a hope, if well founded, worth more to a man than the solar system of worlds, were they all offered to us with more sincerity than Satan offered the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them to our Lord Jesus Christ. Oh for a faith and a hope commensurate with the promises of God! as broad, as high and as enduring as the throne on which the victors shall sit and reign and triumph with him for ever! We have reason to fear that while the many are called, the chosen are still few. Lord, increase our faith, our hope, our love and the

fruits of our righteousness, and to him be the glory, the honor and the praise for ever and ever. Amen. Remember me most affectionately to your excellent lady and my grand-children, Thomas and Caroline. Yours ever in the one hope,

"R. Y. HENLEY. A. CAMPBELL."

After Mr. Campbell had completed his revision, the work was published by the Bible Union in a quarto of two hundred and twenty-seven pages. The whole of the amount appropriated for the revision ($1000) he donated to the funds of the Bible Union, constituting several of his friends life directors.

In the month of July, accompanied by his wife and his daughter Decima, he paid a visit to Canada, and remained a week at St. Catharine's Springs, which seemed to relieve rheumatic pains with which he had been lately afflicted, though he still continued to suffer from the debility induced by overtaxing his powers. He visited various points in Canada and formed a number of interesting acquaintances. Passing to Detroit where he sojourned with Richard Hawley, he met there with Brother and Sister Burnet, of Cincinnati, and delivered two discourses, after which he returned immediately home, feeling unable to attend the annual meeting at Warren, as he had designed.

In the fall of this year, accompanied by Mrs. Campbell, he was induced to make another tour through Eastern Virginia, where some overtures were made for the endowment of a chair in the college. At Richmond he was happy to meet most of his old Virginia fellow-laborers, and to hear interesting addresses from Brother S. E. Shepherd, of New York. He delivered a discourse himself on the Lord's day, and an address on education on Monday, preaching again on Tuesday evening. At Charlottesville he enjoyed the hospitality

of the esteemed laborer, A. B. Walthall, and spoke several times, as did also Dr. Bullard, who accompanied him. Visiting Gordonsville, he heard an excellent discourse there from Brother Walthall, and went on to Louisa C. H., where he addressed the people; and after filling other appointments at Mangohick and Smyrna, he spoke also at Rappahannock and Acquinton. Visiting afterward Yorktown and Williamsburg, he returned to Richmond, where he addressed at the Athenæum a literary society on the "True Basis of Moral Science." After a trip to Caroline, he returned again to Richmond and delivered an address before the Young Men's Christian Association. Everywhere he was received with marked attention and treated with great kindness by all parties. Dr. Burroughs and Dr. Jeter called upon him, as also Drs. Ryland and Gwathney, and they had pleasant interviews. Through the liberality of the brethren and the appeals of R. L. Coleman, who accompanied him during the greater part of his journey, a considerable amount was raised for Bethany College. At Washington, on his way home, he met with the amiable J. T. Barclay, who, having returned from Jerusalem, was at this time preparing for the press his interesting work, "The City of the Great King." After preaching in Washington, Mr. Campbell spoke also at Baltimore, where he spent a pleasant evening with the Rev. J. H. Stockton, for whom he had a high regard, and then setting out on the cars on the 31st of January, reached home safely after an absence of forty-eight days.

As he had been too much occupied with the revision of Acts and his other engagements to fulfill his intention of presenting in a distinct work a full reply to Dr. Jeter, who had by this time published a second volume,

a young student from Missouri, who had recently graduated (M. E. Lard), concluded to attempt a reply and thus relieve Mr. Campbell from the labor. This "Review of Campbellism Examined," forming a volume of two hundred and ninety-seven pages, appeared in 1857, with a short preface by Mr. Campbell, and was regarded generally by the Reformers as a triumphant refutation of Elder Jeter's arguments, which it dissected with unusual logical skill. Some of its expositions of Scripture, however, were considered more ingenious than correct, while the tartness and severity of its language seemed to many ill-accordant with the spirit in which religious discussion should be conducted.

Continuing his labors as usual, Mr. Campbell in the following May made an excursion to Kentucky, where he delivered an address, by invitation, before the Henry Female Seminary on "Woman and her Mission." He also attended four of the annual meetings in Ohio, which he greatly enjoyed, and in September visited New York to attend the Bible Union Anniversary, and filled also an appointment at Danbury, in Connecticut. In October he delivered an address to a literary association in Cincinnati, where he also attended the anniversary meetings of the missionary and other societies. Meanwhile, the cause was making great advances in all parts of the country, and the most gratifying intelligence of progress was received from Australia, New South Wales and New Zealand. These cheering reports appeared regularly in the "Harbinger," in which Mr. Campbell continued to discuss the important themes of the Reformation and the religious and educational movements of the times, assisted by his co-editors, who at this time were W. K. Pendleton, A. W. Campbell, R. Milligan and R. Richardson.

About this time, Mr. Campbell received intelligence of the death of his fellow-laborer, John T. Johnson, to whom he was greatly attached. While upon a visit to Missouri, and in the midst of successful labors, he was seized with pneumonia and died on the 18th of December, at the residence of T. C. Bledsoe, of Lexington, after a few days' illness. During this illness he received the kindest attentions, and continued to exhort and admonish those around him with his usual simple earnestness. When asked whether he had any doubts or fears in reference to the future, he replied in a decided manner, "No, not the least. I have lived by Christianity and I can die by it." Sending word to his children to live godly lives and meet him in heaven, and continuing at intervals to make to those around him remarks full of hope and love, he joyfully yielded his spirit into the hands of the Redeemer, whom he had so faithfully served.

"I presume," said Mr. Campbell, "no laborer in word and doctrine in the Valley of the Mississippi has labored more ardently, perseveringly or more successfully than has Elder John T. Johnson during the whole period of his public ministry. How many hundreds, if not thousands, of souls he has awakened from the stupor and death-like sleep of sin, and inducted into the kingdom of Jesus, the King eternal, immortal and invisible, the living know not; but we have reason to think and hope that he will have many 'for a crown of joy and rejoicing' in the day of the Lord Jesus."

Continuing his efforts to obtain a full endowment for the college, Mr. Campbell left home February 26th on a tour South.

"The object of this tour," he states, "was twofold—first, the pleading of the cause of original Christianity, and second, as further subservient to it, the claims of Bethany College as

an institution of learning and science, based on the true philosophy of man as developed and taught in the Holy Bible in reference to his present and future usefulness and happiness as a citizen of the universe, and with special reference to his present development and mission as a citizen of the United States of North America in the second half of the nineteenth century."

At Indianapolis, on the 28th of February, he addressed the Young Men's Christian Association, and, after preaching in the Christian church on the first of March, set out on the following day for Cairo, where he took passage on a New Orleans boat. His further labors will be sufficiently indicated by the following extracts and letters:

"NEW ORLEANS, March 18, 1857.

"MY DEAR WIFE: I have been daily resolving to write to you, but Alexander has so often written, and I have been so much engaged, and for some days since my arrival here so much indisposed, that I could not think of writing to you till I could say to you that I was better and improving, which, I am happy to say, is now the fact. I have, though quite feeble, spoken in this city some three or four times. I only failed altogether to fill one appointment, and I think I should at least not have spoken on two occasions that I did speak; one was an address to the Young Men's Christian Association. The hall was very large, the concourse large, and I had, while very feeble, to speak very loud in order to be heard. This greatly prostrated me, and I had to call for medical aid. I am, indeed, convalescing, and hope, in a few days, to be myself again. I must visit Baton Rouge on my way, to which point I start to-morrow. The governor of Louisiana has sent me an invitation to his house while I stay there. I will, of course, accept it, and as the Legislature are in session, I may do something there.

"Your affectionate husband, A. CAMPBELL."

"NEW ORLEANS, March 19, 1857.

"MY DEAR WIFE: I am thinking of leaving here in the course of the day. I have had a good night's sleep, and feel somewhat better. Alexander, too, enjoys fine health, and is very good company for me. I could not get along without him. He anticipates all that I want and is very much interested in my comfort in every particular. My visit here has been, on the whole, an advantage and profit to the great cause that I plead. But this is a worldly, sensual and generally a mere fashionable theatre. Still, there is some salt here that preserves the mass from absolute sensuality. I am still more attached to home the farther I am from it. There is no place on earth to me like it. But we have no continuing city here, and should always act with that conviction. We should feel that, wherever we are and whatever we do, we are on our journey home. There is nothing beneath the home of God that can fill the human heart, and that should ever rule and guide and comfort us. There are few pure, single-eyed and single-hearted professors of the faith and the hope. It is only here and there we find a whole-hearted Christian. Like angels' visits they are few and far between. But I am again called out and must say farewell.

"ALEXANDER CAMPBELL."

"BATON ROUGE, March 30, 1857.

"MY DEAR WIFE: Having been on the wing for eight days and without opportunity of writing, having the will but wanting the means, I have been at length relieved from the embarrassment hitherto preventing me. I never have thought more or felt more of home and its attractions than on this tour.

"Alexander has been all attention to my comforts, and has been a great relief to my cares on my journeyings. We are now waiting for a boat to descend to New Orleans. We have been the guests of the governor of Louisiana, now the third day, and feel as much at home as I could do anywhere from home. He is a descendant of the great Wickliffe, and bears his name. His wife is the daughter of Sister Dawson,

widow of General Dawson, whom I much esteemed. She is now on a visit here, and I much enjoy her society. She is as spiritually-minded as any one I have met with on this tour, so far as I can judge. I have had large congregations and many attentive hearers on this tour thus far. I am also succeeding measurably in obtaining subscriptions for Bethany College. I think my tour will be of very considerable advantage to the college in obtaining students, as well as in enlarging its endowment.

"But it is a great sacrifice to my comfort in a great many respects. I do not think I will ever again undertake so large a journey or expose myself to so much labor and privation as I am now subjected to. Still, so long as I can do good at home or abroad, it is my duty to do it. I miss your company more than any other privation I have to endure. Still, where and when duty calls, it is my wish to obey and to deny myself. That same Eye that has watched over us both, and guided and guarded us through life, will, I humbly trust, guard and guide us to the end of life's weary journey. . . .

"Remember me to my dear William; tell him I often think of him on my journey, and hope that he is growing in knowledge and learning every day. I wrote to Decima somewhere on my tour, but cannot now remember the date. Remember me to her.

"I expect to speak in Marion, Alabama, next Lord's day. Brother Myers has been with us at Cheneyville, where we had a fine meeting, and he will accompany us to New Orleans, or will meet us there to-morrow or next day. We had a fine meeting there. One brother subscribed one thousand dollars to Bethany College. But I must close this scrawl. Remember me kindly to Brother Pendleton and family and Brother Milligan and lady. In all affection and esteem,

"Your husband, A. CAMPBELL."

While in New Orleans he assisted D. P. Henderson, President Shannon and others in the reorganization of the church there, which consisted of about forty members. At Baton Rouge he found a flourishing female

seminary established by Brother Slosson and lady, and had the pleasure of meeting with many esteemed acquaintances, among whom he mentions the intelligent and zealous Sister Willis, of Bedford, Ohio. Subsequently, he visited some points in Alabama, and at Marion met Jacob Creath, Jr., who had been laboring successfully for some time in several of the Southern States, and who had, as early as October, 1826, first pleaded for primitive Christianity in Louisiana. At Columbus, Mississippi, he found a large attendance and many students of Bethany College assembled from considerable distances, and was treated with more than usual courtesy by the ministry of different denominations, especially the Presbyterian.

Here, among other addresses, he delivered by special request one on Christian baptism. In this he discussed, as he says—

"1. The action of Christian baptism. 2. The legitimate subject of Christian baptism; and 3. Its design. These are logically and evangelically the attitude in which this divine and solemn and most significant institution is placed before us in the Christian Scriptures. That a penitent believer is the only evangelical subject of this solemn and sublime institution was demonstrated by a broad appeal to the whole Christian oracles; that immersion in water *into* and not *in* the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is the one only Christian ordinance called baptism, and that a formal remission of sins was and is the end and design of it. We exposed the calumny frequently employed by the opponents of a return to the ancient order of things, *alias* apostolic Christianity, affirming that we give to the water of baptism the virtue of the blood of Christ as cleansing the subject from the guilt and pollution of sin. They might as truthfully charge upon us the doctrine of Roman transubstantiation, because we quote the words '*this is my body*' in dispensing

the monumental loaf and cup of Christ's own special institution. Neither wine nor water possesses any such inherent purifying power, but these may be instruments through which to communicate or to commemorate the blessings of pardon, or of a spiritual cleansing from the guilt and the pollution of sin, provided that God has so instituted and ordained them; and that we have the faith of implicit obedience to each and every divine institution that may have been clearly propounded to us, and accredited to us as of unquestionable divine authority."

Returning again to Marion, Alabama, he proceeded to Atlanta in Georgia, where he was happy to meet with Dr. Hooke, who accompanied him to Augusta, where he was kindly received at the hospitable mansion of Mrs. Tubman, who contributed out of her own means the entire endowment of one of the chairs in Bethany College. Here he had a good hearing, and on the 29th of April set out upon his return by way of Richmond and Washington City, reaching home safely after a journey of six thousand miles.

In the fall of that year (1857), accompanied by his wife, he made another tour in Illinois, after attending the missionary meeting in Cincinnati, before which he delivered as usual the annual address. At Paris, Illinois, he addressed a large assembly in the Methodist Episcopal meeting-house. At the close of his address the officiating minister, Mr. Crane, who was a man of liberal views, added some pertinent remarks on the importance of education, and handed Mr. Campbell a contribution as a token of his interest and good-will in the enterprise. After filling appointments in various parts of the State, and meeting with many friends and former students of the college in this liberal and rapidly-growing community, he traveled into Iowa, where, at Keokuk, he was met by Dr. S.

Hatch, of Canton University. After filling an appointment here, he set out for Montrose, and thence went on to Fort Madison, where he sojourned with Brother Bates, a faithful and devoted Christian, and one of the editors of the "Christian Evangelist." Visiting Burlington, Mount Pleasant, Monmouth and Rock Island, he reached Davenport, where he met with the useful and laborious J. Hartzel, formerly of Ohio, but now preaching for the church in Davenport. Here he delivered three discourses, and after filling several other appointments and meeting with many old acquaintances and friends scattered through the State, he reached Chicago on his way home on the 24th of November. Astonished at the wonderful enterprise, progress and business of this city, his only regret was that it had as yet no proper representation of the primitive gospel and its institutions. From Chicago he returned directly home, crossing the Ohio through the ice, and reaching Bethany on the 28th of November, having greatly enjoyed the trip, and expecting to visit Iowa again at a more favorable season, when birds were singing and the prairie flowers in bloom.

CHAPTER XX.

Bethany College—Tours—Declining years—Letters—Visit to James Foster—Last essays.

BY incessant effort, Mr. Campbell had at length succeeded in obtaining a respectable endowment for several of the professorships in Bethany College. The institution being thus placed upon a tolerably secure footing, it was naturally expected that he would be, in a good measure, released from his toils in its behalf. It was, however, otherwise ordered. About two o'clock on the morning of the 10th of December, 1857, a ruddy light flashing into the sleeping apartments of some of the students at the Steward's Inn apprised them of the fact that the college building, some one hundred yards distant, was in flames. These had already taken such complete possession of the interior that entrance was dangerous, and the assembled students, villagers and faculty were compelled to witness with unavailing regret its halls, its libraries and its chemical and philosophical apparatus reduced to ashes.

This calamity, which many thought would prostrate the institution, only aroused Mr. Campbell and its faculty and friends to fresh efforts. Rooms were at once fitted up at the Inn, and the regular recitations were suspended for only a single day. The Board of Trustees met on the 14th of December, and appointed a committee to obtain plans for a new building, and to

receive proposals for its erection. They also appointed Mr. Campbell and Professor Pendleton agents to solicit funds to the amount of fifty thousand dollars to repair the loss. In setting out upon this mission, Mr. Campbell remarked:

"Nothing but the absolute necessity which seems to be laid upon me by the burning of our college building, libraries, apparatus, etc., could induce me at this season and at my time of life, with the many pressing demands calling for my presence at home, to undertake the arduous labors which are now placed before me. If I did not feel that it is the Lord's work, and that he will be my helper, I would shrink from the task. I sometimes feel like asking to be relieved from further services, but it seems I cannot hope to rest from my labors till I am called also to rest with my fathers. Such as they are, or may be, therefore all my days shall be given to the Lord."

The first visit was paid to the Eastern cities. At Washington City, Mr. Campbell spoke in the Baptist church, the President with some of his Cabinet and many of both Houses being present. While in Washington he enjoyed the hospitalities of Judge Black and family. He spoke also in Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, and found everywhere a strong sympathy in relation to the college. At Baltimore, Professor Pendleton succeeded in obtaining a large amount of valuable apparatus.

Soon after returning home, they set out again to the South and West. Of this trip, the following extracts from letters will not only furnish a sufficient narrative, but reveal much of the inner life, the earnest aspirations and noble purposes of Mr. Campbell:

"RICHMOND, KENTUCKY, February 4, 1858.

"MY BELOVED WIFE: . . . I am still on the wing, speaking every day, and traveling over sometimes very rough and sometimes good turnpikes. We are still receiving from four

to five hundred dollars at the points we visit. It is, however, a very laborious effort. My health has been and is now as good as could be expected. . . . I fear it will keep us longer than we expected to raise fifty thousand dollars. We have not got up half-way to it, but hope in another week or two to rise still much nearer those figures. Were the times such as they were a year ago, we could expect much more. I heard from Sister Pendleton's letters to Mr. Pendleton that yourself and our dear daughters were all in good health. While laboring for the college we preach and teach the Christian religion, and we trust are doing some permanent good in that department also. There is also much need for this. We generally in all places preach twice or thrice, Mr. Pendleton and myself in turn. Remember me to my dear daughters and sons, as I am often thinking of them. Also to James Campbell and family, to Brother Milligan and lady, to Dr. Richardson and family, and to Sister Pendleton.

"I much regret our absence from Bethany, and especially from your dear self. But perhaps these bereavements may hereafter contribute more to our mutual happiness. I can only say that I forego more in my absence from you than any other earthly privation. But, my dear, we must soon be separated by the unalterable decree, and oh that we may meet in the presence of our beloved Redeemer, where there will be the fullness of joy and pleasure for evermore! Remember me to Robert Gibson and wife. I must close.

"Your most affectionate husband, A. CAMPBELL."

"VERSAILLES, KY., February 20, 1858.

"MY DEARLY BELOVED WIFE: I am still able to speak once every day, which has been the average of my public labors since my entrance on the territory of Kentucky. Our congregations are large, attentive and much interested. Brother Pendleton also speaks about as often, and is heard with much attention. He is much approved and improved in his pulpit addresses. . . . We have reason to think that we will increase our students and our usefulness very considerably by this tour. We cannot, indeed, sow and reap in the same

day. The loss of your society is, with me, indeed, a great privation, and would be, on any other premises, a sacrifice not be tolerated or endured. But we must deny ourselves in this respect, as well as in many others, in order to our duty and our future happiness. It is not for an earthly reward alone that I submit, or that you submit, to our absence from each other. We are both living for the future reward and working for our Redeemer's honor and glory. Be of good cheer, therefore, and cast all your cares and your hopes on the Lord, who left heaven and came to this wilderness of sin to secure for us an inheritance beyond death and the grave. We are joint laborers for the Lord in our absence from each other.

"I am to deliver an address in this place to-morrow on the present kingdom of Christ, its *origin*, *progress* and *end; when* and *where* and *by whom* commenced; its *ultimate triumph* and *glory*.

"On Monday morning at ten o'clock, by special request of all the denominations in town, I am to address the pupils of all the schools male and female, assembled in our meeting-house. So that my labors are abundant. . . .

"Ever your affectionate husband, A. CAMPBELL."

"LANCASTER, KY., March 1, 1858.

"MY DEARLY BELOVED WIFE: I have not heard from home for some ten days, and I am very anxious to hear from you all. . . . I will be, according to appointment, at Danville on the 7th and 8th insts. I will then proceed to Harrodsburg —thence to Shelbyville. At both places I will inquire for a letter, and also at Eminence and New Castle and Louisville. I have had a bad cold for some two or three days, and am not yet entirely free from it. I will give directions at these offices to forward my letters to Louisville, and will there and then inform you of my route. Mr. Pendleton enjoys good health, and saves me of much labor in speaking. He preaches for the college, and I for the Church.

"From Louisville we will proceed to Nashville, and perhaps thence into Mississippi. It is a work of great labor and

patience, but we must not give up till we approximate to $50,000, as we intend to erect buildings much superior to that which was destroyed. It is a great labor, but we labor in hope of a reward rich and protracted beyond our day and generation. I am more and more convinced of the utility, and of the necessity of raising up men fit to carry on the great work to which I have devoted so much of my life and labor. May the good Lord prosper our labors and cause them to redound to his glory and the good of multitudes! We must sow plentifully if we would reap plentifully. I regard you as sympathizing in all my labors and trials, and I do hope that you will partake with me in all the good resulting from them. I have you continually in my heart, and that because I know you are like-minded with myself in this grand work, which I have undertaken not for myself, but for the good of humanity and the glory of our Lord, who left the courts of glory and traversed the earth and labored until death for the good of his fellow-men and the glory of his Father and our Father, his God and our God. You have your labors and cares as well as myself, and I trust that we will not labor in vain nor lose our reward. I need not say to you, Pray for my health and protection, for this I know you do, as I often bear you in my heart before our Father and our Redeemer. We are doing good at home and abroad. And may the Lord God multiply our seed sown manifold! I trust you will bear my absence with all patience and fortitude, as you have often done. I need not say to you, Be patient, for I know you are, and that you always sympathize with me in all my trials and labors. My time is so much engrossed that it is with difficulty that I can, in a whole week, find one hour to myself at our lodgings, which are numerous, though sometimes far between. May our Lord and Saviour ever comfort your heart and make you long useful in his service!

"Your affectionate and devoted husband,

"A. CAMPBELL."

"STEAMBOAT 'TEMPEST,' March 27, 1858.

"MY BELOVED WIFE: I am now floating on the bosom of

the Mississippi river on my way to Nashville. I have been writing in my cabin berth for the 'Harbinger,' and when I arrive at Nashville, which I presume will be three days hence, I will forward this and other communications. I have slept on board already two nights. Brother Fall's daughter is under my care from a visit to Louisville. I have never thought more of sweet home in my former life, I so much miss your company and that of our children. But I hope for the not far distant day when I shall be again surrounded with all the pleasures of home, of which you are the centre. But duty is always pleasing, and I feel that I am in the discharge of it while laboring to promote the cause of literature, science and religion. I feel sure that I am laboring for a justifiable, honorable and useful end. And this animates and sustains me in your absence. I have written to-day several pages for the 'Harbinger,' which I hope will accompany this to Bethany. I have missed the company of Mr. Pendleton, and hope to see him soon after my arrival at Nashville. The river is very full, overflowing some of its banks, and much drift-wood. The peach trees are expanding their blossoms, and the early growths of shrubs are showing their early buds, and spring is at work to repair the dreary wastes and ruin of winter. But when shall spring visit the mouldering urn! Ah, when shall day dawn on the night of the grave!

"Immortality and eternal life without a sorrow, a fear or a tear—how delightful the anticipation! This is the hope that cheers and charms the wastes of time, and meets all the longings of our heavenward aspirations.

"But perhaps you are not at home; you may be on the way with Mr. Pendleton to take a peep at the Southern sky, and admire the verdure of the Valley of the Mississippi. This being doubtful, I still hail you at the old Bethany mansion, careful and cumbered with your numerous and various domestic cares. If so, you will be glad to see that I can yet make my mark, and that you are not forgotten by one who owes so much to your ever kind and affectionate attentions. If at home, you will make my return the more welcome. If not,

you will see that I never forget you amidst all the pressing cares and pleasing scenes through which I pass. Far from it! But I will not dwell on this so fruitful theme.

"I do not think we can be at home till past the middle of April, at the earliest day. Remember me most affectionately to all my dear children, and say to them that I never forget them amidst all my pressing attentions and labors. Yours ever, A. CAMPBELL."

"NASHVILLE, April 7, 1858.

"MY DEAR WIFE: . . . I have been here for one week, and have had the pleasure of delivering several discourses to large and attentive audiences. . . . We expect to leave here in two or three days for Mississippi, and when we have visited Jackson in that State, we will turn our face homeward. I cannot think of the pleasure of returning home—home, sweet home!—without emotions to which I can give no adequate expression. I have everything I could wish for in the form of Christian kindness and respect. But you cannot participate with me. We have enjoyed the kindest hospitality from the family of Brother Fall, who is now located here in charge of the church, having given up his school at Frankfort, Kentucky, and emigrated here to labor in the gospel. We expect to leave here to-morrow evening in a steamer for Jackson, Mississippi, where we may spend one week, and then we shall set our face homeward."

While Mr. Campbell was in Louisville on this trip, the editor of the "Louisville Journal" remarked as follows:

"ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.—This venerable and distinguished man is now in our city on business connected with his college at Bethany, so recently visited, as our readers know, with a very disastrous calamity. We are gratified to perceive that neither years nor trials—and his Atlantean shoulders support a mountainous weight of both—have seriously impaired his bodily strength, or dimmed, much less quenched, the marvelous fire of his spirit. In all the cha-

racteristics of manhood he is still in the fullness of maturity. And long may he retain this rare possession of his great powers!

"Alexander Campbell is unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of our time. Putting wholly out of view his tenets, with which we of course have nothing to do, he claims, by virtue of his intrinsic qualities, as manifested in his achievements, a place among the very foremost spirits of the age. His energy, self-reliance and *self-fidelity*, if we may use the expression, are of the stamp that belongs only to the world's first leaders in thought or action. His personal excellence is certainly without a stain or a shadow. His intellect, it is scarcely too much to say, is among the clearest, richest, profoundest ever vouchsafed to man Indeed, it seems to us that in the faculty of abstract thinking—in, so to say, the sphere of pure thought—he has few, if any, living rivals. Every cultivated person of the slightest metaphysical turn who has heard Alexander Campbell in the pulpit or in the social circle, must have been especially impressed by the wonderful facility with which his faculties move in the highest planes of thought. Ultimate facts stand forth as boldly in his consciousness as sensations do in that of most other men. He grasps and handles the highest, subtlest, most comprehensive principles as if they were the liveliest impressions of the senses. No poet's soul is more crowded with imagery than his is with the ripest forms of thought. Surely the life of a man thus excellent and gifted, is a part of the common treasure of society. In his essential character, he belongs to no sect or party, but to the world.

"We trust that the mission on which Mr. Campbell is now among us may be entirely successful, as it most richly deserves to be, and that, with the speedy complete restoration of his institution at Bethany, he may resume his labors, and prosecute them with undiminished vigor for long and peaceful years to come."

A sufficient amount having been secured to justify the commencement of the new college building, and a

plan for a very elegant structure having been adopted, the cornerstone was laid in the summer of 1858, on which occasion Mr. Campbell delivered an address.

About this period his strong regard for the Baptists as a people, which was not a little increased by his association with many of them in the work of revision, led him once more to seek a friendly discussion, in hopes that a common basis of agreement might be found. He, therefore, proposed to discuss the matter orally with the president of Georgetown College, Kentucky—Dr. D. R. Campbell. The latter made a somewhat evasive reply, preferring a written discussion. To this Mr. Campbell was willing to consent, if assured that his responses would be laid before the Baptists in one of their papers. Of this, however, he could obtain no satisfactory assurance, and the correspondence which ensued soon degenerated on Dr. Campbell's part into misrepresentation and abuse, so that Mr. Campbell finally refused to publish any more of his letters.

About this period several of those who had been conspicuous in the reformatory movement died within a few months of each other. Among these were the excellent Samuel Church, formerly of Pittsburg; the devoted William Morton and E. A. Smith, of Kentucky; President James Shannon and the zealous Miss Mary R. Williams, who, having gone at her own expense as a missionary to the Holy Land, finished her course amidst her useful labors at Jaffa.

As the rebuilding of the college and the completion of the endowment still demanded additional means, Mr. Campbell continued to travel and address the public in various parts of the country. In the spring of 1859 he visited portions of Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama. He made an excursion also to Southern

Kentucky, and after preparing an address delivered before the missionary society at Cincinnati, he went to Missouri, and even as far as Kansas, accompanied by Mrs. Campbell, and met with considerable success, being aided by T. M. Allen and Dr. W. H. Hopson.

It was about this time that Walter Scott published his principal work, a volume of three hundred and eighty-four pages, entitled "The Messiahship," which Mr. Campbell highly commended as a "very readable, interesting, edifying, cheering and fascinating volume from his most estimable, companionable and amiable fellow-laborer in the great cause of Reformation." "For more than the one-third of a century," said he, "we have been communing, conferring and co-operating in an effort to present to our contemporaries the original gospel and order of things as we read them in the Acts of the Apostles and their epistolary communications." This work contained many fine thoughts and interesting analyses of the great themes of redemption, and constituted an earnest plea for the union of Christians in the simple primitive faith.

In the fall of 1860, Mr. Campbell delivered his regular address as president before the missionary society of Cincinnati. In December following he set out with Mrs. Campbell upon a tour in Indiana, during which he enjoyed also the efficient aid and company of Isaac Errett. During the trip, which extended over a considerable portion of the State, they were received with the utmost kindness, the Methodists and others, with few exceptions, opening their capacious meeting-houses, and giving the most respectful attention to the numerous discourses delivered, averaging at least one each day for a period of nearly eight weeks. Mr. Campbell's health and vigor seemed to be somewhat improved by

this trip of two thousand miles, as was usually the case with him in cool weather.

As many desired to have his numerous addresses collected into a volume, he about this time arranged with the publishing house of Challen & Son to have them printed. This work of six hundred and forty-seven pages, and containing a tolerably good likeness of Mr. Campbell as he then appeared, he dedicated to his wife in the following terms:

"To SELINA HUNTINGDON CAMPBELL, my dutiful and affectionate wife, who has greatly assisted me in my labors in the gospel at home and abroad, *this Volume of Public Addresses*, long solicited by many friends, is DEDICATED as an humble token of my esteem and affection.

"A. CAMPBELL.

"BETHANY, Virginia, 1861."

During his tours at this period, Mr. Campbell's success in obtaining donations for the college was as great as could well have been expected amidst the increasing political discords and dangers which now disturbed society and occupied almost exclusively the attention of the people, so that it was extremely difficult to interest men in religious and benevolent objects. Civil war, indeed, was imminent, and although many still hoped for the peaceful settlement of the disagreement between the Northern and Southern States, Mr. Campbell's sagacity led him to apprehend the worst results. His knowledge of human nature and his enlarged views on most subjects imparted to him a far-reaching fore knowledge of events which was seldom at fault. As early as the time of General Harrison's election he had anticipated the calamities which were now at hand. While on a visit to the Reserve at that period, he one day asked John Rudolph to which of the candidates he

thought the vote of Ohio would be given. The latter replied he thought it would be given to General Harrison. "I hope it may be so," said Mr. Campbell. "I will vote for him myself, as he is a personal friend and I approve his policy; but the time will come," said he, "Brother Rudolph, when the controversy will no longer be between Whigs and Democrats, but between North and South. Heretofore the Northern States have yielded to the demands of the South, but they feel their rapidly-growing strength, and the period will arrive when they will refuse any longer their consent to measures for the protection of slavery, and this institution the South will never surrender without bloodshed." Fearful of the approach of the period which he had foreseen, though still hoping for its longer postponement, he thought it his duty to visit Eastern Virginia at this time, in order to complete the endowment he expected from the churches in that part of the State. On this journey also he was accompanied by Mrs. Campbell and by Isaac Errett, but his labors were suddenly interrupted by the outbreak of actual war. After he had filled several of the appointments which had been sent on, news of the attack on Fort Sumter, on the 12th of April, reached him while he was holding a meeting at Charlottesville, and foreseeing that the whole country would be speedily involved in the begun strife, and that no time was to be lost in effecting his return home, he at once abandoned his tour and sought once more the quiet shades of Bethany, noticing on the way ample evidence of preparation for that bloody conflict which he so much deprecated, and against which he failed not in the "Harbinger" to lift up his voice in solemn remonstrance, urging a resort to arbitration as the proper method of settling national difficulties.

About the time of his return to Bethany his beloved fellow-laborer, Walter Scott, also reached his home near Mayslick, Kentucky, from a preaching tour, greatly distressed on account of the political troubles of the country, and suffering with what he regarded as a severe cold. This, however, soon proved to be inflammation of the lungs, which, rapidly increasing in violence, terminated in a few days the useful services of this eminent and gifted laborer, who bore his illness with patient resignation, and, rejoicing in the hope he had professed, expired on the Tuesday after the taking of Fort Sumter (April 23, 1861). His death was deeply felt by Mr. Campbell, who ever cherished for him the warmest affection; but his regrets were softened by the consciousness that his own failing energies betokened a not far distant and eternal reunion.

During the continuance of the war, Mr. Campbell's labors abroad were necessarily restricted, but he made occasionally short excursions from home, addressing the public on religious topics. At home, the sudden diminution in the number of students at the college and the departure of some of the faculty threatened to occasion its suspension; but it having been determined to maintain as far as possible the regular operations of the institution, he continued still to act as president, and for a time to meet, as usual, his morning class, as well as to deliver the annual baccalaureate address. As these duties, however, which he endeavored to fulfill from his strong desire to labor to the last, were evidently too great a burden at his advanced age, he was induced at length to relinquish them to the vice-president, who, with the remaining members of the faculty, continued to preserve the order and conduct the business of the college, reserving merely to the president the duty of

conferring the degrees and preparing the address for the annual commencement. Though thus released from much of his former labor, he was far from feeling himself freed from that controlling sense of obligation and responsibility which formed so striking a feature in his character. He still visited the college, and sometimes, through force of habit, would prepare to go over to deliver his morning lecture, until reminded that he had been relieved from the duty. Attending punctually at church, he still felt that he was expected to address the public if the pulpit was unoccupied; and his discourses, though discursive and marred by occasional repetitions, were still heard with an interest which was not a little enhanced by his commanding and venerable appearance, with hair and beard of silvery whiteness and a form still tall and erect, though that familiar voice, on which multitudes had so often hung with delight, had now become somewhat tremulous and enfeebled. In the "Harbinger" he continued still to write occasional essays, which, as well as his public addresses, were much shorter than formerly. He obtained, however, for a time, the aid of Isaac Errett as a co-editor, and his able articles added much to the interest of the work, which was still regularly published, notwithstanding its diminished patronage, which had been largely in the South, with which communication was now entirely cut off.

In 1861, the first year of the war he published, in a volume of three hundred and sixty-seven pages, a biography of his father, which he had been latterly preparing, but which by no means met public expectation; for, though it contained many interesting facts and documents worthy of preservation, it was scanty in its details and defective in its arrangement. At the close of

this year, December 12, 1861, his eldest sister, Dorothea, wife of Joseph Bryant, died at Indianapolis, in her sixty-ninth year, and her remains were conveyed to the family cemetery at Bethany. Her sister, Mrs. Chapman, had died some years before, and her brother Thomas likewise; so that, at this time, Mr. Campbell had but one brother, Archibald, and one sister, Mrs. McKeever, still surviving.

In 1862, owing to the scarcity of paper, the "Harbinger" was reduced from sixty to forty-eight pages per number. During this year, in September, he attended the meeting of the New York Missionary Society at Auburn, and in October he delivered his regular address before the missionary society in Cincinnati. In the "Harbinger" the subjects which still seemed chiefly to interest him were those connected with Christology, prophecy, Christian union and education. Earnest as ever in his devotion to the cause of truth and righteousness, he thus speaks in his preface to the "Harbinger" for 1863:

"Despite of all the hinderances and drawbacks of these gloomy and heart-sickening times, which have fallen so heavily on all the enterprises of Christian benevolence and hope, we are still, though cast down, not utterly forsaken, but laboring on—without it is true, the encouragement and support of many who, in former years of toil and trial, stood so nobly by us, yet with the sustaining power of an unfaltering faith in the help and blessing of Him whose Spirit has so long been our comforter and support, and whose service still calls us to the duties of the foremost ranks in the army of *his* kingdom."

On the 7th of April of this year the beloved William Hayden finished his course in his sixty-fourth year. For nearly two years he had suffered with paralysis,

and died finally with little pain and with great tranquillity, having to the last his heart fixed upon the spread of the gospel. On the same day, Mr. Campbell's youngest daughter, Decima, was married to J. Judson Barclay, setting out immediately for the island of Cyprus, where Mr. Barclay was United States consul. In the fall (October 27, 1863) his only remaining daughter, Virginia, was united in marriage with Mr. W. R. Thompson, a lawyer of Louisville. In the early part of the same month he prepared his address for the fifteenth anniversary of the General Missionary Society at Cincinnati.

As he was now frequently in receipt of long and interesting letters from Mr. and Mrs. Barclay, giving minute descriptions of the eastern part of the Mediterranean, and especially of the island of Cyprus, with its history, the customs of the people, etc., and as these matters became frequent subjects of conversation in the family circle at Bethany, the idea gradually took possession of Mr. Campbell's mind that he had himself visited Cyprus and the Holy Land, and he would occasionally, in a pause of conversation with his friends, begin to detail to them the incidents of his supposed trip with the utmost seriousness. This hallucination, in which recent description became inextricably associated with the memories of his actual journeyings in Europe and elsewhere, continued to manifest itself occasionally for about two years, when it seemed to disappear. During these years of decline he would also occasionally, when partially awaked in the night, sit up and offer fervent and audible prayer, as though he was engaged in opening the religious services of the Lord's day morning, and would even deliver some exhortations quite connected and pertinent. Here the memories, associations

and habits of the past seemed to possess for him greater vividness than even present impressions, and his ever-active mind, released from pressing lifelong labors, made for itself imaginary occasions of exertion. Apart from such hallucinations, however, there seemed to be nothing abnormal in the state of his faculties, mental or bodily. His sight and hearing were quite unimpaired, nor did his conversation manifest any unusual indications of mental failure other than that diminished vivacity, that forgetfulness of names, dates, etc., and that tendency to repetition, common in advanced age. In his style, both in his essays and discourses, there had been for some years an increasing tendency to a multiplication of epithets and an undue compounding of adjectives, which detracted considerably from their effect. These blemishes were much less observable in his familiar letters, one or two of which may be here given as illustrative of the thoughts and feelings with which he was still occupied in his seventy-sixth year. The first was in reply to one from Dr. J. W. Cox, giving an account of the state of the Baptists in Kentucky. The second was addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Barclay, in the island of Cyprus.

"BETHANY, VA., March 21, A. D. 1864.

"MY DEAR BROTHER COX: Your favor of March 7th lies before me. I gratefully thank you for your beautiful autograph and photograph.

"I am as busy as usual. Even Sunday shines no Sabbath day to me. Church and college duties must be attended to, though our elders and professors favor me as much as possible. Still, I cannot shuffle off that feeling called *responsibility*. This unholy war has, indeed, reduced the number of our students, in common with other colleges in Virginia and elsewhere.

"I much regret that our Baptist friends are so much en-

slaved to human traditions and experiences as passports intc church-fellowship. One Lord, one faith, one baptism ought to suffice. Facts and theories are the poles apart. Men may assent to theories, but they cannot believe them. Testimony is not theory. Assent to theory is not faith. Thinking is not believing, nor believing thinking. Testimony is essential to faith. 'No testimony, no faith' is axiomatic. Faith comes by hearing testimony. Hence well-attested facts or events are the true and real materials of faith.

"Faith, hope, love are three, and not two nor one. They are, indeed, three distinct and distinguishable powers. Faith is the belief of testimony, hope is the fruit of promise, and love the offspring of beauty seen and appreciated. The gospel is God's charm in the sinner's ear, conscience and heart. It quickens the soul, charms the ear and allures the heart to God. It is the bread of life to the hungry, the water of life to the thirsty, and the spirit of life to those dead in trespasses and sins. It is, therefore, the power of God to salvation to every sinner who will cherish it in his own heart and life.

"We are as a nation and people most sadly out of joint. I do not mean religiously only, but politically, though we enjoy perfect peace in our Western Virginia. From anything said or done in our community, we are in perfect political quietude; and were it not for our weekly news, we would not know that there is a civil war in Western Virginia, or indeed in Eastern Virginia.

"We have comparatively very few Baptists in Western Virginia and Western Pennsylvania. Calvinism and Arminianism in their numerous and various moods and tenses are the ecclesiastic idols of the living generation around us.

"The advocates of apostolical Christianity are still moving onward and forward in the even tenor of their way. Both our college and our church are moving along in the even tenor of their way. Better, indeed, than we could have expected.

"Yours, truly, A. CAMPBELL."

"BETHANY, VA., May 6, 1864.

"MY DEAR SON AND DAUGHTER: We cordially congratu-

late you in the reception of an heir from the Lord. This is a rich and precious gift from the Lord, which the wealth of the richest monarch on earth could not purchase, though possessed of all the gold of Ophir. It constitutes you parents, and lays upon you an obligation of paramount importance. For such a precious gift kings would sometimes give a kingdom. But all the gold of Ophir could not purchase it. Still, it is to be nourished, cared for, protected and brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Many are the duties incumbent upon us for such a present from the Lord. In the reception of it our heavenly Father virtually says to us: 'Take this child, educate and train it for me, and great shall be your reward.' It is, indeed, withal, a pleasing task. But to secure this, the Lord has wisely, kindly and deeply planted in the maternal and paternal heart—but more deeply in the maternal than in the paternal heart—a paramount affection. Mothers have more generally a deeper and a more enduring natural affection than fathers. Because, we presume, they need it most. Their faithful efforts are, indeed, well rewarded. Children generally love their mothers more than their fathers; and so, methinks, they ought; for a mother's affection is generally stronger and more enduring than a father's.

"But there are exceptions to all general rules. We have all, if observant, seen some of them in this case. To love and to be loved is, in all the relations of life, the richest and the greatest blessing on earth which we can achieve. We cannot buy it. We must earn it. To be loved we must love. But to love not only our friends, but our enemies, is required by the great Teacher. This is godlike. When we remember this, we cannot but examine ourselves. And, indeed, it is to us all-important that we should habitually examine ourselves, and say to the Lord, 'Search me, O Lord! and try me, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and show it to me, and lead me and guide me in the way everlasting!'

"We have peace and tranquillity in our position in Virginia. College is in session, with a considerable increase of students. And, were it not for our newspapers, we should not know

that there was any war in our country; for which blessing we should be most grateful to the Giver of every good and perfect gift. Everything here moves on in its wonted channel. Civil wars are very uncivil things, and wholly contraband to both the letter and spirit of the gospel of the God of peace.

"Your description of the island of Cyprus, published in the April number of the 'Harbinger,' has been read with great interest and pleasure, as we learn from all quarters. It is, indeed, a feast to us all; when finished by you, we shall dilate more fully upon it. I am not sure, indeed, but that a full history of it from your pen would be a most useful and interesting volume. . . . Think of it, and gather and keep all documents of interest, . . . and on your return give a history of your whole tour. I am constrained, though with reluctance, to close this scroll with an apology. All our family at home unite with me in all affection to you and Decima, father and mother.

"Most affectionately, A. CAMPBELL."

Nothing in Mr. Campbell was more striking than his warm affection for his family and his enduring attachment to his friends. Distance seemed not to remove them from his thoughts, and however numerous his special acquaintances, time failed to obliterate their images from his memory. Of his singular tenacity in this respect many touching illustrations might be given, but the following letter, written many years before, while he was alone on one of his Western tours, may best serve to indicate the habits of his mind:

"SMITHLAND, Mouth of Cumberland River,
February 24, 1841.

"MY DEAR SELINA: Through the kind providence of Him who never sleeps, and who has preserved me through so many paths and dangers, I am here waiting for a boat to ascend to Nashville, two hundred miles from this lonely and wicked place. I was landed here at two o'clock this morning, and found my way in the night to a tavern of no very

high fame for comfort or for morals. But I hope to get away by the first arrival. Meanwhile I have been walking in the woods, casting my mind over past scenes and past times, conversing one while with the dead, and at another communing with the far-distant living. I have just been concluding that we ought more frequently to reflect upon those of our acquaintance who are gone before us, recall their images, contemplate their virtues, moralize upon their frailties, and whenever their excellences occur to our memory endeavor to make them our own. I have placed myself amidst my domestic group some twenty years ago and the years succeeding, and have revived my family circle with its occasional guests. Those of them who were the partners of my cares, my joys and my labors were well known to you—your excellent and amiable predecessor, the mother of my two eldest daughters, on whom so many hopes and fears once doated—the excellent Dr. Holliday—our good father and mother Brown, who sometimes visited us, with my own dear mother and my beloved sisters, Alicia and Nancy—all now sleeping under the green turf, for ever have left our present earth. Where are they and how employed? Think they never of those they left behind? And shall we never think of them who have gone before? Must we mutually and perpetually forget each other? Ah me! live not their virtues in our memory? Faults they had, but faults have we! Many of their failings grew out of their love and affection for those whom they left behind. If they were too careful to please, too anxious for the future, too busy for the present, was it not more for others than for themselves; as much, at least, for our happiness as for their own? But they acknowledged the same God and Saviour, invoked his name, worshiped in his sanctuary and were enrolled amongst his children. They have all often bowed the knee with me, our voices have often mingled in the same songs of praise—oft have we partaken of the same commemorative loaf and drunk together the cup of blessing. But we are here in this state of temptations and trials many; their race is run and their sun is set for ever. O Lord, teach

us to measure our days, to remember our latter end, to discharge faithfully our relative duties, and to profit both by the failings and the virtues of those whom we so much loved and who so much loved us. There is nothing eternally excellent but the Christian virtues, the fruits of righteousness, of faith and hope and holy love, and these are all the avails of time which will be gathered into the garner of heaven.

"My dear sister and beloved wife, you have many cares and many trials; bear them on your spirit before the throne of God as you bear them on your shoulders, and you will feel either that they grow lighter or that you grow stronger. Feed your soul with the bread of life, and drink, oh drink abundantly of its pure and healing waters. Meditation and prayer are the strength of the soul. O Lord, give us the spirit of grace and supplication, and make thy presence to us always most delightful. We ought often to think of the dead—not only of our own dead, but of the dead saints of other times. Their history affords us instruction, example and motive. Remember, says Paul, the end of their conversation—Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. . . . In the bonds, not only of holy matrimony, but of the everlasting covenant. I remain your faithful and affectionate husband,

"A. CAMPBELL."

It was in entire harmony with this amiable trait in his nature, of remembering absent friends, that, during his latter years, when released from the confining duties of the college, he often proposed to go and see them, and would have undertaken distant journeys for the purpose had not his family deemed it imprudent. His decline, however, had been so gradual as scarcely to be perceived, except at considerable intervals, and he still retained much of his usual activity, as well as his erect port and his love of daily exercise. At length, in July, 1864, it was agreed that he should pay a visit to his ancient fellow-laborer, James Foster, whom he much longed to see once more. Accompanied by Mrs. Camp-

bell, he went accordingly to Wheeling, from whence they took the cars to Glen Easton, where, procuring horses, they rode out across the hills some five or six miles to the simple dwelling of Elder Foster. The meeting between the two aged veterans in the Christian warfare, who had not seen each other for many years, was quite affecting. They rushed into each other's arms and embraced with tears of joyful recognition. After spending the greater part of a day and night in delightful religious conversation and agreeable reminiscences of the past, with much regret they bade each other farewell, without the hope of again meeting on earth.*

Again, so late as the spring of 1865, accompanied by Mrs. Campbell, he resolved to go and see his daughter Virginia at Louisville. While there he spoke in the Second Christian church very acceptably, and on the following Lord's day delivered a discourse in the First church, which was then in charge of D. P. Henderson. The presence of a very large audience on this occasion seemed to inspire him with unwonted vigor. His subject was the commission given to the apostles, and he spoke with so much clearness and energy as to surprise his friends, who thought they had seldom heard him do better. On his return, while on the Cincinnati packet, two Presbyterian preachers who were on board came and introduced themselves to him, and expressed a strong desire that he should deliver a discourse on board the vessel. Mrs. Campbell, however, urging his fatigue and debility, had him excused. These clergymen appeared very sociable and friendly. They had been in the East, and spent an evening with the Amer-

* James Foster survived Mr. Campbell about three years, dying, in the utmost peace, on the 12th of March, 1869.

ican Consul at Beyrout, Mr. Johnson, who had married Miss Julia Barclay, and of whose courtesy and kind attentions they retained a grateful recollection.

In the commencement of this year (1865) Mr. Campbell had relinquished the editorship of the "Harbinger" to Professor W. K. Pendleton, furnishing, however, himself an occasional short essay upon themes in which he felt a particular interest, as "The Power of the Word of God," "Christian Communion," "The Fruits of the Holy Spirit," etc. One of these appeared so late as November, 1865, on the subject of the gospel, in which, after some remarks upon text-preaching, he says:

"We shall now propound or declare the seven facts that constitute the whole gospel. They are—1. The birth of Christ, God being his father and the Virgin Mary his mother. 2. The life of Christ as the oracle of God and the beau-ideal of human perfection. 3. The death of Christ as a satisfactory sacrifice for the sin of the world. 4. The burial of Christ as a prisoner of the grave. 5. The resurrection of Christ; 'O grave! I will be thy destruction!' 6. The ascension of Christ; 'He ascended up far above all heavens, that he might possess all things.' 7. The coronation of Christ as Lord of the universe; God his Father constituted him the absolute sovereign of creation."

In the closing paragraph of this essay he says:

"The present material universe, yet unrevealed in all its area, in all its tenantries, in all its riches, beauty and grandeur, will be wholly regenerated. Of this fact we have full assurance, since He that now sits upon the throne of the universe has pledged his word for it, saying, '*Behold I will create all things new!*' consequently, 'new heavens, new earth;' consequently, new tenantries, new employments, new pleasures, new joys, new ecstasies. There is a fullness of joy, a fullness of glory and a fullness of blessedness of which no living man,

however enlightened, however enlarged, however gifted, ever formed or entertained one adequate conception."

These were Mr. Campbell's last words as a religious writer. These were the hopeful utterances, full of an abiding trust, with which he closed his last essay in the "Millennial Harbinger," to which he had so largely contributed for five-and-thirty consecutive years. Gradually disengaging himself from the concerns of time, he had long before committed the management of the farm to his youngest son William, and now, having finally ended his editorial labors, yet still continuing to preach, awaited, with the most unfaltering faith and the most cheerful composure, the inevitable summons.

CHAPTER XXI.

Worldly estate—Hymn-book—Will—Declining years—Traits of character—Success as a Reformer—Last discourse—Closing days—Obsequies.

FOR many years, Mr. Campbell had been quite easy in his worldly circumstances. The estate which he had received from his father-in-law, John Brown, soon after his first marriage, had at once relieved him from the *res angusta domi* under which, in common with his father and the family, he had so long and so patiently labored. Subsequently, from those habits of economy, which had been formed from necessity and were now continued from choice, his uncommon diligence in business and the marked success of Buffalo Seminary, his resources were still further increased. It was, however, the extensive sale of his various publications which afterward chiefly enlarged his income, enabling him to add considerably to his farm at an early period, when land was comparatively low. In process of time he also became possessed of unimproved lands in Ohio and Illinois, chiefly through his attempts to aid some of his friends, who were afterward unable to retain the property. The gradual increase in value of his landed estate, with the augmenting income from his works, rendered him finally quite independent, enabling him to aid his numerous relatives and friends, and to maintain his extensive household, as well as to exercise, as he loved to do, his generous and unfailing hospitality.

He possessed great sympathy for the poor and unfortunate, and was never known to refuse to give to any worthy object. Yet, as if mindful of the narrow circumstances of his earlier life, he was cautious in his distributions, and, preferring to retain control of his means, sought, in most cases, to aid his friends by lending rather than by giving. During his latter years, however, his benevolent feelings seemed to gain so much the preponderance that it was sometimes with difficulty he could be restrained from giving lavishly and injudiciously. The promotion of the cause of Christ seemed to be, with him, always the principal consideration; next to this was the interest he felt in his family, then his regard for his friends, and, finally, his love for his adopted country. For the first of these objects he was ever ready to sacrifice his fortune, his personal ease and comfort, and even his life, if necessary. With him it was the spread of the truth and the salvation of men first and always; and the means placed at his disposal were but the more grateful to his feelings as he was enabled thereby to subserve more efficiently these noble ends.

Amidst his closing years he presented to the American Christian Missionary Society his interest in the hymn-book from which he had long derived a considerable portion of his income.* By his will, carefully written by himself and signed on the 11th of March, 1862, and to which he added a codicil on the 31st of March, 1864,

* The small hymn-book which he originally compiled was, about the year 1835, combined by arrangement with others prepared by W. Scott and J. T. Johnson, and he became the sole proprietor. Among the hymns which it contained, those commencing with the following lines were composed by Mr. Campbell himself: "On Tabor's top the Saviour stood;" "'Tis darkness here, but Jesus smiles;" "Upon the banks of Jordan stood;" "Come, let us sing the coming fate;" "Jesus is gone above the skies."

he gave certain legacies to his grandchildren by his first wife, and distributed the remainder of his estate to Mrs. Campbell and his four surviving children, with the exception of ten thousand dollars given to Bethany College, together with his valuable library, and five thousand dollars appropriated to maintain the preaching of the gospel under the direction of the elders of the church at Bethany, where for so long a period he had himself faithfully and gratuitously labored.

During the last years of his decline, which was as the slow going down of the sun amidst the glow of a pleasant summer eve, he manifested in his whole deportment not only his wonted amiability, but a more subdued and quiet gentleness, blended with the utmost courtesy, which proved how well he had learned the great lessons of the Christian life. Gratitude to God seemed to be ever his prevailing sentiment, and thanksgiving the natural language of his heart. He sympathized greatly, as he had always done, with children, and would often say of them: "Poor little pilgrims! they have the world's journey to make if they should live long enough." When the cries of one of them disturbed the company, he would say: "I am not partial to that kind of music. Poor little thing! pay attention to it. It claims its rights. There are rights of men, rights of women and baby rights." At meal-times, if his fascinating table-talk and the interest of the company in important themes seemed to protract too long the waiting of the younger members of the family, he would remark, with a pleasant smile in rising, "Gentlemen, we must give place to the next generation;" thus combining as usual with his playfulness a momentous and solemn thought. That condescension to inferiors which had been through life one of his most striking characteristics still shone forth

in all his daily intercourse. The most humble could approach him with entire confidence, nor would he ever, unless in the hastening crowd, pass any one, however lowly, without a pleasant notice or salutation. He had the largest and highest conceptions of the dignity and the destiny of humanity. His lofty ideas of God led him to take noble views of man, who was made in his image, while the unspeakable mysteries of the atonement and of man's redemption through the triumphs of the Son of God ever filled him with adoring wonder. "There is more value," he used to say, "in one human being than there is in a million of worlds such as we inhabit." Hence his love of a government where all enjoyed equal rights, and his dislike to clerical domination. "The true clergy," he would say, "are the Lord's lot or people. God made men, the priests make laymen. Man is the creature of God, a layman is the creature of priests." Hence it was, too, that he possessed a marked power of repressing all feelings of retaliation or revenge. His high conceptions of man, and his just appreciation of his present lost condition, led him to feel sympathy for the erring and enabled him to practice Christian forgiveness in its largest sense, and to manifest to the end of life, amidst all his collisions and conflicts, an abiding and ever-increasing philanthropy—a feeling which, with many, is unhappily impaired or lost through the influence of a long and sad experience of the world, so that the flower of human sympathy, which was so fair and so fragrant in youth, produces in the autumn of life but a sour and acrid fruit. His sincere desire to conform strictly to the precepts of Christ, led him at a very early period to form the habit of checking all feelings of resentment, and he was hence enabled to preserve always the kindest relations with his

neighbors, whose tempers and feelings in some cases had been far from the most amiable. Thus, while he was engaged in teaching Buffalo Seminary, a Mr. C——d, who lived above him on the creek, became greatly offended because he had refused for want of room to admit his sons as pupils. Having occasion soon after to send to this gentleman, who was of a passionate and tyrannical disposition, for some money due him, he became quite enraged and told the messenger to say to Mr. Campbell that he must thenceforth keep his cattle at home, since if he found any of them in his fields he would have them killed. Mr. Campbell immediately summoned all his laborers, and forbidding them to retaliate in any way, enjoined upon them that if Mr. C——d's stock broke into his fields, as they often did in their wanderings about the creek, they must not hurt a hair upon their hides, but return them kindly to their own pastures. He then informed Mr. C——d of what he had done, lest he should imagine that his threat would induce retaliation. In the course of a day or two Mr. C——d came to see Mr. Campbell, and making an humble apology for his conduct, became at once a warm friend; and afterward returning from Missouri in impaired health, would often send for him to come and read the Scriptures and pray with him as he lingered upon the bed of sickness. Mr. Campbell's undeviating kindness and forbearance naturally gained the sincere esteem of all around him, nor could any one have enjoyed more of the confidence and even admiration of the community in which he lived for so many years than he did, though differing from many of them in religious views.

The same feelings of regard for man, connected with his undoubting trust in the protection of Providence,

rendered him entirely opposed to carrying arms for self-defence, as was often done even by religious persons while traveling. Among various striking incidents from his own experience illustrative of his views of this matter, he used often to relate a rencontre which he had while traveling through Ohio on horseback:

"I stopped," said he, "this side of Zanesville at a tavern to breakfast. After breakfast I observed a rough-looking man, who, having washed, ordered out his horse, and presently, turning to me, inquired which way I was traveling. I had conceived the idea that the man had arrived from the West and was going to the East, and accordingly answered him frankly by saying that I was going westward. 'Well, then,' said he, to my surprise and mortification, 'we will be fellow-travelers, for I am going West too.' I did not like this, of course, but was obliged to acquiesce, and I regretted it still more when, upon going out to our horses, I discovered that he carried, under his overcoat and around his body, a belt with a brace of pistols and a dirk.

"We rode on for some time without much conversation, when at length, when we had reached a lonely part of the road and he was somewhat in advance, he very abruptly turned his horse, and, confronting me, asked if I thought it right to carry arms against robbers. 'Sir,' said I, 'the only weapon I ever carry is this,' at the same time pulling out of my side-pocket a New Testament and holding it toward him. He started suddenly, and recoiled as though I had presented a pistol; but, recovering himself and perceiving what it was, 'Sir,' said he, 'do you suppose that would defend you against robbers?' 'Certainly,' said I, 'much better than I could defend myself. The Author of this book has promised to preserve those that trust in him, and I know he is much more able to protect me.' He remained silent for some time, hung down his head and seemed greatly disconcerted. At last he remarked, in a subdued tone, 'Well, sir, I am not sure but you are right, though, for my part, I am carrying arms. I

have been to the East with a drove of cattle, and am returning home and have a good deal of money with me, and I thought it necessary, as there are so many robberies now, to carry arms with me. But I do not know that I should like to kill a man, and I have been considering it in my mind all along. I profess to belong to the Christian Church myself, and I should not like to kill a man, even in self-defence.' He went on to tell me where he lived and many things about his business, but I did not like his manner and did not encourage much conversation. We traveled on till evening, when, as it was becoming dusk and I had not much confidence in my traveling companion, I felt very desirous of getting rid of him. Remembering that a friend lived at a short distance in the vicinity, I determined to go and spend the night with him, and as soon, accordingly, as we came to the road leading to my friend's house, without having previously mentioned my design, I suddenly turned to him and remarked, 'I wish to call to see an acquaintance in this neighborhood, and this is my road: I wish you good-night;' and, giving my horse the whip, was soon out of sight.

"After all, I do not think he had any evil intentions; but one thing is evident, that my declaration that I was without arms induced him to throw aside reserve and communicate freely his affairs to me. It is the carrying of arms that creates the idea of the possession of money and invites attack, but the being without arms has the directly contrary effect, and I am persuaded that many persons lose their lives simply from carrying arms."

Among his other qualities, Mr. Campbell was distinguished for his conversational powers. No one could be long in his company without being struck with some unexpected grouping of things present with things remote, and of isolated facts with some general principle. He therefore soon engrossed the attention of those around him, as from the commonest topics he quickly passed beyond the range of ordinary thought, bringing

together the most interesting relations of things, often with figures and illustrations most striking and appropriate. Hence few felt long disposed to take much part in the conversation, which often resulted in a monologue commanding the attention and delighting the minds of all. He was far, however, from manifesting any desire to monopolize the time. On the contrary, he would pause to hear a remark from the humblest, and, in this respect more like Brougham than Macaulay, continued to talk only because it was evidently desired. In his power of thus captivating his audience he resembled Coleridge, but his field of thought was different. The mind of Coleridge was eminently subjective in its tendencies—imaginative, poetic, analytical—surprising by its nice distinctions, its disentangling of blended truths, its far-reaching insight into the spiritual, its power of abstraction, its ability to resolve the complex into the more simple, and this again into conceptions yet more and more shadowy and attenuated. Mr. Campbell, on the other hand, was objective in his mental bias, disposed to dwell upon the actual and the positive, the realities of life and of revelation. His groups consisted not of fairy forms or of the dim but entrancing visions of fancy or the remote and impalpable phantasms of a sublimated philosophy. They were composed of well-defined and substantial facts; of essential truths; of the immutable things of Nature and of infallible Revelation, contemplated in all their grandeur, yet in all their direct, immediate and practical applications to the business of life and to the duties of religion.

Notwithstanding his disposition to sallies of wit and humor in social intercourse, Mr. Campbell was one of the most reverential of men. Nothing could be more solemn, and at the same time more simple, than his

thanksgivings and prayers in the family and elsewhere, and his petitions possessed a breadth, fullness and appositeness which at once exalted the thoughts and tended to sanctify the heart. Never in sacred things would he tolerate the slightest approach to levity, and failed not on all occasions to reprove profanity in the severest terms. In church and college discipline, also, though inclined to pity offenders, he was ever most just and strict in enforcing law as the means designed for correction and reformation. He would never for a moment compromise any principle of right, but with decisive and unyielding firmness, yet with the utmost kindness, would always insist upon the rigid observance of every regulation; while in the faithful discharge of duty he himself furnished a striking example in his punctual attendance at college in all kinds of weather and in the midst of the most pressing engagements.

In Mr. Campbell's *religious* life the central thought was JESUS, THE SON OF GOD. No language can portray his lofty conceptions of the glory of Christ or of the grandeur of the spiritual system of which HE is the Alpha and the Omega. With such deep convictions as he possessed of the Divine Sonship and infinite dignity of Christ it was not possible that his theology should be erroneous, for since Christ was his Prophet, Priest and King, he acknowledged no other authority than his, sought no other sacrifice or mediator, and hearkened to no other teacher. Such was his sense of the boundless love of God in Christ that, though he possessed remarkable control over his emotional nature, the simple mention of it in his public addresses would often so affect him that for a moment or two his feelings would stop his utterance and render him unable to proceed. He recognized all power in heaven and in earth as resting

upon Christ, by whom he thought all kings should reign. and in whose name all judges should administer justice. It was his great aim, therefore, to bring men to submit to Christ, and to make the Church, his body, as far as practicable a just exponent of his will, abounding in good works and reproducing in every member the life of Christ on earth. Amidst the various errors of religious society which, as a Reformer, it became his duty to expose, his vigorous spiritual life never suffered him to lose his own keen relish for the bread of heaven and for the loving contemplation and appreciation of truth. Hence he was so far from pining or starving, as many do, among the husks of religious controversy, or acquiring a false or morbid appetite for the discovery of others' faults, that his inner man was renewed day by day, and he continued to the end of life to grow if possible more and more humble, patient and affectionate, and to exhibit in a still higher degree the gentle graces of the Spirit. During this period of partial release from the excessive toils of his busy life, memory might well cast a retrospective glance over the long years of the eventful past, and impartial judgment prepare to render its award. It was then that various questions would naturally arise touching his mission as a Reformer, his fidelity to the principles with which he set out, the past results of his labors and their future effect upon the world. To answer such questions could not have been difficult, nor in such a retrospect was it strange that emotions of gratitude should fill his heart.

The nature of the reformation which he urged has already been presented in detail in the preceding pages. It may be here briefly remarked in general that it was an effort to heal the divisions of religious society and to escape from all the corruptions of the gospel by a direct

return to the faith and practice of the apostolic age. Beginning with the ministry of John the Baptist, and contemplating Jesus of Nazareth, manifested on the banks of the Jordan as the Son of God and the only Saviour of mankind, the development of guiding facts and principles moved forward with the evangelic history to the sacrifice of the Lamb of God on Calvary, and thence to his resurrection and glorious ascension to the heavens to appear in the presence of God for men. At this point it was some time before his commission to the apostles was understood, and before the institution of baptism was recovered in its primitive action and design, and still longer before the latter was practically and fully restored. Advancing still with the progress of the sacred history, the order, discipline and government of the churches were developed as these were established by the apostles under the dictation of the Holy Spirit, and finally the co-operation of the churches with each other in order to the conversion of the world and their own spiritual growth, was seen. The arrangements and instrumentalities to be employed for these purposes, as sanctioned by apostolic precept and precedent, were the last subjects of consideration in the reformatory movement directed by Mr. Campbell, as they were the last recorded matters of apostolic history. Beyond the sacred canon Mr. Campbell would not go. He utterly refused to take a single step into the darkness of the succeeding ages, in which all the purity of the gospel and all the peace of the Church had been engulfed.

The direction of his progress was thus the reverse of that of Luther, who, beginning with an apostate Church, sought to correct one by one the errors of the ages that were past. The doctrinal iniquity of justification by

human merit first arrested his attention. He next denounced indulgences and questioned the papal power. He afterward abandoned the mass, and then renounced the celibacy of the priest, and finally defied openly the authority of Rome. It is true that in vindication of his reforms, which were mainly doctrinal, he appealed to the authority of Scripture, and for his justification placed the Scriptures in the hands of the people, but in these reforms he never fairly reached the apostolic age, nor did he ever fully restore the gospel to the world, either in its simple faith, its sacred institutions, its divine promises or its ecclesiastical organization. He nobly struggled *backward* through the corruption of the ages, but Mr. Campbell moved *forward* with the divine development of the truth as it was gradually unfolded and revealed to man. Luther hence ended with St. Augustine, but Mr. Campbell with the last AMEN of the last revelation that man is to receive before the day of final account.

As to his fidelity to the spirit of the reformatory principles which he advocated and to the sacred truths he derived from the book of God, nothing could be more admirable or complete. The Word of Inspiration he made his only guide, and, faithful to his mission, claimed for himself no authority and usurped no power. Confining himself entirely within the limits of the divine Record, he labored to rescue men from priestly thraldom and to enable every one to comprehend and realize his religious privileges and duties. Never was there, through so long a life of incessant labor and opposition, a more true and consistent advocacy of principle, or a more uncompromising resistance to errors and extremes within, as well as to assaults and seductions from without. Like a balance-wheel, he regulated

the entire movement of the Reformation, and, on repeated occasions, preserved it from the disasters which were impending from the ambitions or the rashness of its friends. He was not a person of transient impulse or of subservient purpose. He was no dreamer, no mystic, no visionary theorist, but a man of earnest character devoted to a great and worthy object; a man of high and firm resolve, of deep convictions, of practical sagacity, dealing with the highest interests of mankind, self-consecrated to the most sacred duties, untiring, unfaltering, declining rest and worldly honor and promotion, and esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than any earthly treasure.*

* The intellectual and moral qualities of Mr. Campbell will, of course, be truly and certainly ascertained from the facts and habits of his life. As to the claims of *Phrenology*, he himself placed but little reliance upon them, though he thought its general principles founded on facts, and he had a high regard for Spurzheim, whom he thought an earnest and sincere explorer of the truths of Nature. "I am not one of those," he said, "who imagine that any science, and still less that of the human mind or of human nature, can in a few years, or by one class of contemporary minds, be completely and perfectly developed and matured. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the science of Phrenology is but in progress, and not yet perfected." As there are many, however, who fully accredit the pretensions of craniologists, it may be proper to present here some of their decisions as to Mr. Campbell's mental character. The first is from a young Scotch physician, a Dr. Sim, an enthusiast in Phrenology, who visited Bethany in 1836, and remained some time at Mr. Campbell's. He was a man of talent, and had been a pupil of Spurzheim and, subsequently, his demonstrator of the anatomy of the brain at his lectures in Edinburgh. The numerical estimate is framed upon a scale in which 20 represents the complete or highest development:

"Skull, thin; frontal sinuses, rather full; temperament, nervo-sanguineous. Amativeness, 16; Philoprogenitiveness, 18; Concentrativeness, 18; Constructiveness, 14; Destructiveness, 17; Combativeness, 16; Secretiveness, 15; Firmness, 19; Self-esteem, 15; Love of Approbation, 14; Cautiousness, 16; Conscientiousness, 20; Hope, 12; Veneration, 13; Wonder, 10; Adhesiveness, 13; Acquisitiveness, 16; Ideality, 18; Causality, 17; Comparison, 20; Mirthfulness, 15; Tune, 11; Time, 12; Locality, 20; First Individuality 18; Second Individuality, 14; Form, 16; Color, 12; Size, 17; Weight, 18; Method, 20; Language, 18; Eventuality, 14; Imitation, 17; Benevolence, 19."

As it respects the success attending his efforts, it had been truly remarkable. At this time he found himself amidst a religious community variously estimated as consisting of from four to six hundred thousand mem-

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The following is condensed from a "chart" given by L. N. Fowler of New York, on whom Mr. Campbell called when on his way to Europe, at the request of Mrs. Campbell, and without making himself known to Mr. Fowler:

"You are naturally very industrious, and fond of both mental and physical exercise; are seldom weary; can work longer and easier, think harder and have more business on hand, without sinking under it, than most men. Your phrenological developments are distinctly marked, and your character must be a positive one. You are disposed to strike out a path of your own, and have energy sufficient to meet almost any emergency. You do not shrink because of opposition, but nerve yourself the more to meet it. The strongest trait of your character is FIRMNESS, which gives will and unyielding perseverance. You have uncommon presence of mind and power of determination in times of danger. You have a self-directing mind, lean on no one, and care but little for the opinions of men; are neither vain, showy, affected, nor over-polite and ceremonious, but very independent. You have tact and management when the occasion requires, yet generally are frank, open-hearted and free-spoken. You are sufficiently cautious to be safe, but not so much so as to be timid. You look upon money as only the means to accomplish the desire of other faculties, and not as an end of enjoyment. You will use, rather than lay up, money. Your moral faculties are fully developed, excepting Marvelousness. The general power of your moral brain, connected with your will, is greater than your selfish feelings. You are strong in your hopes and anticipations; never look upon the dark side; no enterprise, sanctioned by reason, is too great for you to undertake. Conscientiousness, Veneration and Benevolence are all distinctly developed and have an active influence, yet not so controlling as to modify your energy, ambition or desire for information. You have fair imagination and sense of the sublime and grand, but naturally prefer the true to the fanciful, the philosophical to the poetical. Your language is more forcible than flowery, more direct and pointed than imaginative and elegant.

"Your intellectual powers are of the available kind. You are decidedly a matter-of-fact man; a great student of nature; always learning something from both great and small; your range of observation is most extensive, and what you see and know only increases your intellectual appetite.

"Your argumentative powers are great. You reason most successfully by analogy and association. You readily see the adaptation of principles and the relation of things; have a *full* development of Causality, enabling you to see the relations of cause and effect, giving originality of thought and ability to plan."

bers, gathered largely from the more intelligent classes of society, and possessing a greater uniformity of religious sentiment and a better knowledge of the Bible than usually exist in any religious party. Fully able to sustain itself against all opposition, and rapidly increasing in all directions, it was engaged everywhere in active efforts for the primitive faith and institutions of the gospel. Apart from these visible and tangible results, there had been, through the instrumentality of the truths developed and diffused abroad, an extensive and wonderful modification not only of the framework, but of the spirit of religious society. Despised at first, then hated, maligned and feared, Mr. Campbell had taught the partyism of the day to respect at least, if not to love, the hand that smote it, and had left upon the religious and educational endeavors of the age the impress of his power. The prejudiced and the ignorant have sometimes said that he failed of his purpose to overthrow sectarianism. So might it be said of Luther that he failed to overthrow the papacy, and in the same spirit of depreciation it might be said that neither Wickliffe nor Wesley nor Chalmers, nor any of the great reformers of the world, accomplished anything of importance. A new star added to the firmament, even though it be of the first magnitude, cannot change night into day, but it may serve to guide the wise to the Babe of Bethlehem. In the slow progress of human affairs time must be allowed for the operation of great principles and for the building up of mighty structures. Thus far the results of Mr. Campbell's labors have been, it must be confessed, most extensive and remarkable. As to the future—it has as yet no history.

The objects proposed by Mr. Campbell were, like his own mind, vast and comprehensive, being nothing

less than the ultimate and complete overthrow not only of all false religion, but of infidelity, through the mighty power of the gospel of Christ, disengaged from all its corruptions and thoroughly carried out into practice in all its various applications to the salvation of men. The simplicity of the primitive faith and institutions, and the far-reaching principles of Christian union and fraternity developed by him were indeed too far in advance of the attainments of the religious world to be at first properly comprehended or appreciated. It could only be in the gradual progress of the revolution that their character could be perceived and to some extent understood. And this enlightenment must be progressive. Time, as it sheds its advancing sunlight upon the future pathway of mankind, reveals also more clearly, from the higher point attained, the road which had been unwittingly traversed in the dimness of the early dawning, and the things of the past are more clearly and fully comprehended in the knowledge of the present. The better views now obtaining as to the proper limits of religious thought, involving the essential distinction between faith and opinion; the diminished power of the priesthood; the overthrow of national religious establishments; the circulation of pure versions of the Scripture, and the advancing knowledge of their teachings, together with the unwonted activities of the Church in Christian enterprise and in promoting the spirit of Christian union and fraternity, are all indications of the happy change that is gradually taking place, and serve to place in a brighter light the nature and the tendencies of the lifelong labors of Mr. Campbell. And the period will doubtless arrive when the influence of these labors will be fully seen and acknowledged, and his prediction in the "Christian Baptist" (vol. v., p. 88)

be fully, as it is already in part, verified: "The time must come, if there be any truth in prophecy or any knowledge of it in the world, and that before many years, too, when those who have been forward in reforming modern Popery will be as much esteemed as those who reformed ancient Popery."

When Mr. Campbell's last essay, referred to in the preceding chapter, appeared in the "Harbinger," he was quite unwell, and for some weeks was confined to the house. After he had to some extent recovered, he came over again to meeting and entered the pulpit. The manifest languor which had for many months attended his ministrations seemed for the time to have disappeared. His voice had resumed much of its former force and clearness, and his mind seemed unusually alert and vigorous. Taking up the first chapter of Ephesians, he delivered one of the most interesting and animated discourses of his life, dwelling in the most eloquent terms upon the "spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ," and upon the glorious termination of the divine purposes, when in the dispensation of the fullness of times, God would gather together in one all things in Christ, upon whose surpassing glory he expatiated with that peculiar delight which, in him, this theme constantly inspired. Such was the connection of his trains of thought, the grandeur of his conceptions and the unity of the whole that he seemed to have had restored to him for the occasion almost the entire vigor of his earlier days, nor was it unfitting that one who had so long held the highest rank as a preacher should thus terminate his ministerial labors, for this proved to be *his last discourse.*

Soon afterward his cold was renewed, and during the month of January he was confined to the house. Im-

proving somewhat, and his presence being much desired at the ordination of two additional elders of the church at Bethany on the 11th of February, he came over in a buggy and assisted in the ceremony, presiding subsequently at the Lord's Table and making a few very appropriate remarks. He had even entered the pulpit, when he first came in, to deliver a discourse, but his voice seemed so feeble when he attempted to read out the opening hymn, that Elder Pendleton dissuaded him from attempting it, and called Dr. Richardson forward to address the congregation. He spoke from the third chapter of Second Peter upon the final dissolution of the material system and the divine promise of "a new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." Mr. Campbell paid marked attention, and seemed much interested in the sublime revelations of this chapter, the subject of which proved to have been not inappropriate, as this was *the last occasion* on which he was able to meet with the Church on earth.

From this time his weakness continued to increase gradually. He had some cough, some oppression and slight, irregular pains in the chest, a frequent and feverish pulse. At times, the presence of particular friends and the introduction of subjects in which he took a special interest would rouse him to much of his usual vivacity. He still continued to sit up and walk about during the day, and to take pleasure in the company of friends who called to see him or who were at the time his guests. Among these were Joseph Bryant, vigorous yet in advanced age, and John Taffe, his former companion in travel, who had been himself confined some days by illness. His daughter Decima and her husband, J. J. Barclay, who had shortly before returned from Cyprus, were also present, as well as his daughter

Virginia, who had arrived from Louisville during his illness. When, in conversation, Dr. Richardson spoke to him of the proposed meeting of the Baptists and Reformers at Richmond, Va., to confer upon the subject of union, he expressed great satisfaction in hearing of it. "There was never any sufficient reason," said he, "for a separation between us and the Baptists. We ought to have remained one people, and to have labored together to restore the primitive faith and practice." He hoped that much good would result from the proposed meeting, and spoke with animation of the glorious results which would ensue if the divisions of religious society were healed and the people of God were striving unitedly for the conversion of the world.

His vivacity was, however, fitful and transient. A slow and settled fever consumed him, and he continued to grow weaker. His mouth was often parched, and he would express aloud his gratitude to God for the cold water of which he drank freely, and which, to his surprise, he relished more than at any period of his life. It was beautiful to see how gentle and calm and uncomplaining he was, what placidity and cheerfulness he maintained amidst his discomfort, and what serene resignation he manifested in view of the end, of whose approach he was perfectly conscious.

"It seemed," said Professor Pendleton, who was much with him, "that the ideas of immortality were struggling with the agonies of death. Relaxing from the strüggles of physical pain, a placid smile would play over his countenance, and then he would murmur, as if in soliloquy, 'I will ransom them from the hand of the grave; I will redeem them from death; O death, I will be thy plague! O grave, I will be thy destruction! repentance shall be hid from mine eyes.' He would frequently exclaim, 'What shall I do? what shall I do?

Whither shall I fly, but to Thee?' . . . The Scriptures proved his unfailing consolation. He quoted them with great point when he seemed to know or notice but little else. A few days before his death, upon some allusion to the creation, he quoted the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis in Hebrew, and then the first verse of the first chapter of John in Greek. His mind delighted to dwell upon the glorious character of Christ. He would look around upon the friends about his bedside and ask, 'What think ye of Christ?—his divine nature, his glorious mission, his kingly office—the Sovereign Ruler?'"

Such touching expressions of his hope in God and his undoubting confidence in the divine promises were very frequent. Dr. Richardson offering him a glass of water, and speaking of the wisdom and goodness of God in bestowing upon man so great a blessing, he earnestly exclaimed, "How wonderful are thy works!" The doctor added, "In wisdom hast thou made them all." "In wisdom *wonderful* hast thou made them all," he repeated, with emphasis; and then passing by association to the cherished idea of his Redeemer, he continued, "HIS name shall be called WONDERFUL, *Counselor*, *The Mighty God*, *The Everlasting Father*, *The Prince of Peace*. Of the increase of his government and power there shall be no end, upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, to order it and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth, even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this."

The following minutes from a diary kept by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Mary Ann Campbell, who, with many others, ministered most assiduously round the sick couch, will give a sufficiently-connected narrative of his last days:

"February 25th.—He had a bad night, resting very little in the latter part. . . . This is the first day he has not been able to be dressed and sit up part of the day. . . . After church, Professor W. K. P. and others came over, and, as the room was full, father thought it was for meeting, and spoke beautifully, repeating *many*, *very many*, of the choicest portions of Scripture. . . . He exhorted all to read and study the Bible, 'that Book of books, a library within itself,' with system and order, and to some point always, just as they ate and attended to their other duties daily. He spoke much on many elevating, soul-stirring and valuable subjects, especially in reference to the glories of a future life, etc., . . . spoke of the apostles and exhorted all to *spread* the *Gospel*. . . . Had prayers and worship early in the evening and late in the night, by father's request. All night he talked of God's goodness and power and wonderful works, and the Saviour, the Light of the world, the Sun of Righteousness, etc., etc.

"26th.— . . *Many persons* called all morning to see him just to shake hands, and he smiles so cheerfully and pleasantly, and tells all he is so glad to see them. Mr. Bryant, Mr. McKeever, Miss Mary Henderson and Dr. Campbell remained nearly all day. Father remained wakeful but quiet most of the evening. Many persons came over to offer their services for the night. . . . Father talked some after dark. Through all his sickness he never forgets to say pleasant things to those around him, and particularly to mother. He misses her all the time when she is out of the room, and last night, when she came in from taking a nap, he kissed her hand, and was so glad to have her beside him, and said: 'Why, mother, I was just about to advertise you to find out your whereabouts.' As he said this his smile was so natural and cheerful! Oh the beautiful hymns and parts of Scripture he is constantly repeating, and praising God for all his mercies!

"Feb. 27th.— . . . After seven, father had been talking some, and when mother leaned over him and asked him, 'Are you in pain, dear?' he said, 'No, no, only sorry for you, *sorry for you*.' . . Father was better after taking some tea

and toast. All day long he has been quiet, not talking much and dozing often. . . . He rested badly first part of the night —was wakeful and restless and feverish. . . . Mr. Loos attended to worship, and father said Amen very distinctly.

"Wednesday, Feb. 28th.—Mother came in and told me how beautifully father had just been talking to her about heavenly things. He seems weaker than ever before. . . . Many persons came in this evening. Mr. Jabez Hall and Willie and I sat up. Father was much better than ever since his sickness—slept well, took his medicine and nourishment regularly. . . .

"March 1st, Thursday.—Father has been much better, and we all have strong hopes that if he continues to expectorate freely as to-day and last night, he may get up and live some time yet. . . . He has not talked much, but seems very rational and better." These hopes of amendment, however, were not realized, though there was not much change on Friday and Saturday, and the diary proceeds:

"Sunday, 4th March.—About twelve o'clock last night he began to get restless, and his consciousness rapidly failed. . . . This is a lovely morning, though a little chilly. He remained about the same all day. . . . Many persons came and went."

During the day he continued gradually to sink, breathing with difficulty and with feeble pulse, but as evening drew on his respiration became easier, and at fifteen minutes before twelve, just as the Lord's day, in which he had always so greatly delighted, was about to close, on the 4th of March 1866, he gently expired.

Not only the laborious life, but the closing days, of Alexander Campbell bear a striking resemblance to those of Wesley. There was the same conscientious economy of time, the same extended journeyings and the same earnest desire to labor to the last; and at the close the same gradual wearing out of the system under a slow and settled fever, and the same unaffected

and simple trust in God. Nor were the circumstances attending their respective funerals unlike. In Wesley's case great crowds attended to see the corpse as it lay in state in the chapel, and, for fear of accident, it was thought best to hasten the time of the funeral, at which Mr. Richardson, who had been one of his preachers for about thirty years, performed the services, during which the deepest feeling was manifested by the audience. In like manner, a great concourse attended to take a last look at the venerable form of Mr. Campbell and to attend his burial. A number came from Louisville, from Pittsburg, Cincinnati and other distant parts of the country, and multitudes assembled from the country around, together with the professors and students of the college. After singing the hymn commencing, "We've no continuing city here," and prayer by Professor Loos, Dr. Richardson, at the request of the family, delivered an address to the deeply-affected assembly. The procession was then formed and moved forward to the cemetery. There, where so many dear ones had already been interred, the body was laid in the grave, amidst the earthly scenes which the departed one had so much loved, and amidst which so many of his labors had been accomplished. In the selection of his place of burial in this elevated and beautiful spot he had evinced his admiration of the works of God and his delight in the beauties of nature. It was as though he had said, in the very words of Ossian. "Oh lay me, ye that see the light, near some rock of my hills! Let the thick hazels be around, let the rustling oak be near; green be the place of my rest. Let the sound of the distant torrent be heard." Yet were such human feelings and associations secondary ever with him to the divine hope he cherished of a

better and a brighter world, and to the unshaken confidence with which he ever rested upon the promises: "Thy dead ones shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

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INDEX.

ABERDEEN, ii. 554.
Acheson, i. 79, 222, 238, 263, 311, 403, 463.
Ahorey, i. 30, 46, 49.
Ainslie, Peter, ii. 289.
Allerton, Amos, ii. 260.
Allen, Thos. M., ii. 376, 538, 596, 641.
Alliance, Evangelical, ii. 541.
Altars, Abraham, i. 231, 277, 372.
Applegate, John, ii. 259.
Archer, George, i. 460.
Arianism, i. 153, 269; ii. 52, 65, 196, 204, 371.
Asbury, Francis, i. 389; ii. 185.
Anecdotes, i. 22, *note*, 24, 31, 34, *note*, 44, 77, 100, 206, 216, 224, 238, 240, 250, 275, 308, 362, 364, 372, 430, 433, 457, 468, 470, 494, 508, 519, 520, 524, 529; ii. 64, 84, 108, 120, 126, 242, 245, 287, 511.
Association, *Christian*, i. 234, 241, 243, 311, 329, 365; ii. 60, 541; *Secret*, i. 45; ii. 534; *Redstone*, i. 436, 458, 485, 489; ii. 68, 164; *Stillwater*, i. 459; ii. 140, 164, 173, 329; *Long Run*, ii. 140; *Washington*, ii. 165; *Monongahela*, ii. 166; *Concord*, ii. 169; *Mahoning*, ii. 44, 69, 100, 163, 173, 206, 218, 243, 327; *Meherrin*, ii. 289; *Beaver*, ii. 322; *Elkhorn*, ii. 325; *Dover*, ii. 349, 364, 476.
Atonement, ii. 195, 479, 481.
Atkinson, Dudley, ii. 289.
Autobaptism, i. 457.

BALLYMENA, i. 19; ii. 567.
Ballantine, Wm., i. 162, 179; ii. 126, 293, 393.
Baltimore, ii. 139, 499, 543, 587.
Bakewell, Selina H., ii. 33, 176, 243.
Baptism, i. 82, 180, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 238, 239, 250, 325, 328, 344, 362, 372, 392, 403, 457; ii. 21, 26, 76; design of, ii. 20, 80, 145, 196, 197, 212, 216, 502, 504, 629.
Baptists, i. 184, 436, 467, 479, 485, 487; ii. 43, 61, 87, 134, 147, 172, 322, 363, 398, 440, 471; *Scotch*, ii. 396.
Barclay, Dr. J. T., ii. 593, 607, 623.
Barclay, J. Judson, ii. 647.
Bay, *Carlingford*, i. 83; *Lochindaal*, i. 98.
Beaver, Anathema, ii. 323.
Bethany, ii. 181, 299, 549, 573.
Bentley, Adamson, i. 215; ii. 43, 164, 207, 218.
Bereans, i. 185.
Bell, Dr. T. S., ii. 93, 400.
Belfast, i. 57: ii. 309, 565, 567.
Birch, John, ii. 14; *Rev. James K.*, ii. 73, 85, 501.
Bible, reverence for, i. 39; sufficiency of, i. 39, 143; ii. 28, 58; only rule of faith, i. 232, 236, 265, 333, 340; ii. 12, 478, 486, 495; silence of, i. 236, 259, 351; intelligibility of, ii. 12, 27, 40, 76, 96, 150; study of the, i. 279, 441; ii. 27, 96, 121, 436.
Bowmore, i. 99, 114.
Boston, Thomas, i. 54.
Bosworth, *Cyrus*, ii. 256; *Marcus*, ii. 256, 258.

Bonus Homo, i. 299, 323.
Brethren, Plymouth, i. 62.
Broaddus, A., ii. 130, 150, 161, 289, 349, 447, 476.
Brown, John, i. 357, 461; ii. 34, 163, 652.
Brown, Rev. J. H., ii. 501, 525.
Brown, Rev. Matthew, i. 296, 308; ii. 339.
Brownfield, Eld., i. 441, 485; ii. 68, 166.
Bruce, Archibald, i. 26, 56.
Brush *Run*, i. 322, 355, 365, 436; *church*, i. 367, 403, 430, 459, 497; ii. 69, 166, 167; *members of*, i. 373, *note*, 393.
Bryant, Joseph, i. 322, 367, 371, 458, 463; ii. 166, 299; ii. 674.
Burghers, i. 54, 55, 56, 58; Theological school, i. 25; *anti*, i. 25, 54, 56, 58; *Oldlight*, i. 56; *Newlight*, i. 56.
Burlington, Ky., i. 488, 494.
Butler, James A., ii. 451.
Bullard, Chester, ii. 471, 475, 536, 623.
Buffalo Creek, i. 241, 247, 322, 396.
Buffalo Seminary, i. 491, 496: ii. 48.
Bullock, Thomas, ii. 118, 335.
Burnett, D. S., ii. 122, 389, 393, 400, 543, 598.
Buchanan, James, British Consul, i. 170; ii. 499, 543, 588.

CALL, MINISTERIAL, i. 23, 102, 380, 387; ii. 494.
Calvin, i. 366, 387; ii. 216.
Cambridge, i. 458, 463.
Cambuslang, i. 73; ii. 595.
Campbell, *Alexander*, birth-place, i. 19; ancestry, i. 19, 21; age, i. 28, *note*; youthful habits, i. 31, 34; studies, i. 31, 33, 36, 131, 137, 279, 441; as a teacher, i. 48, 190, 492; ii. 485; religious experience, i. 48; ii. 111; industry, i. 76, 85, 131, 278, 317, 441, 461, 492; ii. 222; close observation, i. 77, 108; formative influences, i. 35, 48, 64, 75, 166; abandons Presbyterianism, i. 190; voyage to America, i. 193, 195; journey to Washington, i. 206; adopts principles of Declaration and Address, i. 250, 273; chooses the ministerial office, i. 101, 198, 275; youthful essays, i. 134, 283, 298; first public discourse, i. 313; first marriage, i. 363; ordination, i. 390; preaching tours, i. 370, 379, 464; ii. 91, 107, 168, 330, 389, 399, 409, 436, 446, 492, 497, 536, 537, 542, 581, 592, 595, 598, 601, 622, 624, 625, 630, 633, 640, 643, 654; children, i. 391, 459, 464, 491; ii. 32, 46, 48, 123, 295, 361, 394, 436, 484, 500; baptism, i. 395; home-life, i. 462; ii. 299; naturalization, i. 465; republicanism, i. 465; ii. 571; views of slavery, i. 501; ii. 319, 367, 531, 580; debates, i. 362; ii. 17, 71, 73, 268, 338, 424, 433, 501; publications, ii. 34, 49, 95, 144, 180, 222, 283, 302, 658, 680; as a preacher, i. 315; ii. 92, 106, 109, 119, 120, 581, 583, 609; second marriage, ii. 243, 460; political experience, ii. 305, 319; humility, ii. 441, 586, 659; property, ii. 657, will, ii. 658; conversational power, ii. 663; phrenology, ii. 669; last discourse, ii. 673; death, ii. 678.
Campbell, *Thomas*, i. 19; marriage, i. 20; education, i. 21, 25; religious experience, i. 22; ancestry, i. 21; licensed, i. 27; removals, i. 28, 30, 79, 365, 458, 463, 487, 496; children, i. 29, 46, 96; family training, i. 32, 35; as preacher, i. 40; farewell address, i. 79; ii. 568; letters, 80, 85, 88, 480, 489; ii. 219; reunion with family, i. 217; leaves

Seceders, i. 230; proposes union with Synod of Pittsburg, i. 325; organizes Brush Run Church, i. 366; labors, i. 38, 222, 488, 497; ii. 220, 362, 605; views of slavery, i. 495; death, ii. 605.
Campbell, *Mrs. Jane*, i. 20, 36, 96, 401; *Dorothea*, i. 29, 96, 99, 395, 548; ii. 646; *Jane*, i. 46, 97, 217, 363; ii. 646; *Nancy*, i. 46, 97, 458; ii. 646; *Thomas*, i. 46, 97; *Dr. Archibald W.*, i. 46, 97, 624, 677; *Alicia*, i. 97, 410, 462.
Campbell, *Archibald*, i. 21, 88, 465; ii. 527; *Enos* (son), ii. 612; *James*, i. 21, 22.
Campbell, *Mrs. Margaret*, i. 363, 380, 395, 462; ii. 71, 168, 176, 179.
Campbell, *Mrs. S. H.*, ii. 243, 295, 301, 557, 573, 578, 592, 601.
Campbell, *Dr. John C.*, ii. 462, 469.
Campbell, *Thomas* (poet), i. 131, 139.
Campbell, *John* (of Kingsland), i. 157, 166, 182.
Campbell, *Dr. George*, ii. 144.
Campbell, *Dr. D. R.*, ii. 640.
Campbell, *Ivie*, ii. 555.
Canonsburg, i. 238, 241, 295; ii. 595.
Carson, Alexander, i. 60, 82, 169, 183, 187; ii. 132.
Castle, *Carlingford*, i. 84; *Shane's*, i. 19; ii. 567.
Catholics, Roman, i. 21, 42, 49, 96, 99, 102; ii. 399, 424.
Challen, James, ii. 119, 334, 388, 594.
Challenges, ii. 15, 29, 85, 86, 239, 423, 501.
Church, *Christian*, i. 259, 407; ii. 58, 79, 101, 352, 493; *Congregational*, i. 62, 64, 70, 167, 179, 184, 189, 384; *Jewish*, i. 259, 407; ii. 79; *Secession*, i. 22, 24, 40, 48, 53, 189; *Episcopal*, i. 24, 50, 59, 64; *Presbyterian*, i. 24, 42, 50, 55, 64, 387; ii. 437.
Church order, i. 170, 179; ii. 125, 395.
Christian Baptist, ii. 49, 53, 95, 123, 131; 150, 222, 226, 250, 285, 291, 294, 302, 377, 388, 475.
Church, Samuel, i. 486; ii. 128, 640.
Cincinnati, ii. 241, 267, 334.
Clapp, M. S., ii. 410.
Clay, Henry, ii. 91, 118, 502, 513, 548, 580.
Clack, Spencer H., ii. 148, 286, 321.
Clarinda, Essays of, i. 283, 531; ii. 46.
Clergy, i. 154, 178, 188, 387, 390, 431; ii. 27, 51, 54, 60, 660.
Clopton, Abner W., ii. 289, 321.
Cohen, S. H., ii. 353.
Coleman, R. L., ii. 314, 318, 446, 453, 498, 536, 574, 591, 598, 623.
College, *Trinity*, i. 61, 93, 95; *Washington*, i. 295; ii. 595; *Jefferson*, i. 295; ii. 595; *of teachers*, ii. 422, 537; *Bethany*, ii. 464, 469, 485, 491, 497, 534, 569, 595, 632, 659; *Bacon*, ii. 468.
Columban, i. 119.
Collins, William, ii. 259.
Communion, i. 71, 179; ii. 125, 136, 137, 246, 371, 519.
Confession, *primitive*, i. 398, 403, 404, 408; ii. 212, 518, 521; *Baptist*, i. 436; ii. 129, 140, 165, 614.
Congress, discourse to, ii. 587.
Connection, Christian, ii. 175, 183, 185, 218, 370, 474.
Co-operation, ii. 493, 497.
Covenant, *Scottish*, i. 51, 56, 72; *Bible*, ii. 23.
Creaths, ii. 116, 120, 141, 287, 324, 326, 338, 537, 602, 606.
Crihfield, Arthur, ii. 330.

Dale, David, i. 184; ii. 264, 276.
Davies, J., ii. 545, 569.
Debates, i. 362, 492, 498; ii. 13, 17, 71, 263, 268, 338, 424, 433, 501, 555.
Deaths, ii. 32, 48, 118, 167, 394, 401,

462, 487, 540, 541, 625, 640, 644, 646; Wickliffe, 556, 579; Thomas Campbell, 605, 606.
Declaration and Address, i. 241, 272, 412.
Deism, ii. 232, 234, 237, 249.
Depravity, i. 142.
Design of Baptism, ii. 20, 80, 145, 196, 197, 207, 212, 216, 327, 402, 405, 619, 629.
Diaries, religious, i. 139.
Discourses, i. 235, 313, 317, 319, 320, 322, 323, 335, 353, 355, 365, 369, 374, 376, 383, 397, 472; ii. 92, 110, 119, 120, 130, 165, 168, 175, 207, 210, 220, 244, 261, 336, 456, 581, 585, 587, 594, 609.
Divinity Hall, i. 26.
Divinity, Doctors of, ii. 34, 528.
Doddridge, *Dr. Joseph*, i. 358; ii. 64.
Doddridge, Philip, i. 498, 530; ii. 304.
Donations to poor, ii. 569.
Duncan, Landon, ii. 473.
Dundee, ii. 554, 558.
Dungannon, ii. 294, 567.
Duval, Dr. John, ii. 289, 350.
Drummond, Sir William, ii. 227.

EDINBURGH, i. 157; ii. 551.
Education, i. 32, 87; ii. 463, 465.
Elders, i. 70, 179, 384; ii. 67, 127, 393.
Elley, G. W., ii. 286.
Emigration, i. 79, 81, 84, 98.
Emmons, F. W., ii. 291, 361.
Errett, Isaac, ii. 593, 641, 643, 645.
Essays, youthful, i. 134, 283.
European tour, ii. 542.
Evangelists, i. 386; ii. 130, 175, 205, 351, 352.
Ewing, Greville, i. 114, 128, 148, 161, 165, 175, 178, 187, 193.
Experience, Christian, i. 23, 48, 155, 157, 398, 426; ii. 104, 111, 113, 315, 360, 614.
FAITH, Sandeman's view of, i. 70, 177; trust or confidence, i. 177, 376, 408, 426; distinguished from opinion, i. 265; its nature personal, i. 411, 420; ii. 522.
Fall, P. S., ii. 94, 120, 125, 140, 168, 461, 638.
Feet-washing, ii. 129.
Fellowship, religious, i. 70, 447, 455; ii. 136, 137.
Ferguson, Jesse B., ii. 603.
Feelings, religious, i. 151.
Findley, Rev. Mr., i. 356, 490, 525; ii. 17, 22, 31.
Flemming, L. J., ii. 335.
Fishback, James, ii. 92, 336, 486, 492, 501.
Forrester, George, i. 486, 503, 506.
Forbearance, ii. 132.
Foster, James, i. 28, 81, 82, 223, 234, 238, 239, 277, 367, 403, 459; ii. 127, 167, 652.
Foundation, primitive, i. 408; ii. 135.
Forewarning, singular, i. 105.
Franklin, Benjamin, ii. 84.
French language, i. 31.
Freedom, American, i. 210; ii. 571.
Freedom, religious, i. 513.

GANO, J. A., ii. 378, 587.
Gaston, Joseph, ii. 174, 205, 209, 218.
Gazette, New Harmony, ii. 235.
General Assembly, i. 51, 66.
Georgetown, Ky., ii. 118, 335.
Glass, Mrs., i. 358.
Glasgow, i. 25, 114, 126, 129; ii. 555; University of, i. 131, 148; Cathedral, i. 163; ii. 557.
Goss, J. W., ii. 498, 598.
Gospel, i. 504; ii. 208, 218, 224, 229, 520.
Greatrake, Lawrence, ii. 99, 118.
Greer, Nathaniel, ii. 568.
Greenock, i. 114, 126, 127, 191, 194.

HALDANES, i. 60, 149, 150, 154, 160, 164, 166, 169, 172, 349; ii. 132, 551.
Hall, B. F., ii. 388, 389, 395.
Hallucination, ii. 647.
Hamilton, Patrick, i. 50.
Hanen, *Jas.*, i. 222; *Mrs.*, i. 397, 457.
Hartzel, J., ii. 253, 631.
Harbinger, Millennial, ii. 203, 396, 399, 540, 645, 655.
Hayden, William, ii. 248, 297, 646.
Henry, John, ii. 251.
Hervey, i. 70, 139, 422.
Helensburgh, i. 190.
Henley, *T. M.*, ii. 289, 319, 446, 536, 540; *R. Y.*, ii. 389, 598, 621.
Henshall, James, ii. 446, 536, 542, 559, 563.
Hill, Rowland, i. 60, 163.
Hopson, Dr. H., ii. 596, 641.
Hooke, Dr., ii. 536, 630.
Home-life, ii. 299.
Holly, Dr., ii. 91.
Holy Spirit, i. 397; ii. 35, 105, 123, 151, 349, 354, 356, 374, 434, 488, 513.
Hodgens, Thomas, i. 81, 223, 355.
Hurlbut, Mr., ii. 457.
Hubbard, E. B., ii. 258.
Humphrey, Rev. H., ii. 581.
Hymn-book, ii. 180, 658.

IMPRISONMENT IN SCOTLAND, ii. 559.
Independents, i. 59; origin, i. 62; principles, i. 64, 65; tolerance, i. 65; republicanism, i. 66, 70.
Indian boy, education of, ii. 597.
Indian outrage, i. 358.
Infidelity, i. 73; ii. 227, 232, 274, 353, 390, 409.
Innes, Dr., i. 151, 165, 182.
Inn, Wayside, i. 213.
Introspection, i. 77.
Iona, i. 118, 124.
Irishmen, united, i. 41.
Islay, i. 99, 107.

JACKSON, LA., ii. 457, 459.
Jefferson, Thomas, i. 500.
Jennings, O., i. 516; ii. 338.
Jeter, Elder J. B., ii. 612, 623.
Johnson, Dr., i. 86, 119.
Johnson, *R. M.*, i. 536; ii. 334, 400.
Johnson, *John T.*, i. 536; ii. 379, 395, 539, 580, 587, 612, 625.
Jones, Abner, ii. 186.
Jones, William, i. 184; ii. 396.
Judah, Mr., ii. 314.
Jura, i. 115.

KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, ii. 141, 214, 395.
Kinley, John, i. 25.
Kiss, the holy, ii. 129.
Knox, John, i. 50, 366, 387; ii. 98.

LAITY, the, i. 346; ii. 660.
Latitudinarianism, i. 265.
Lard, M. E., ii. 595, 624.
Law, sermon on the, i. 471; ii. 94.
Letters, i. 80, 85, 88, 413, 465; ii. 15, 52, 74, 213, 219, 411, 423, 441, 591, 607, 621, 626, 633, 648.
Lexington, Ky., ii. 91, 118, 336, 486.
Ligori, Saint, ii. 431.
Lisbon, New, ii. 173, 210, 328, 592.
Liverpool, ii. 294, 545, 567.
Locke, on Toleration, i. 33, 63, *note*; on Human Understanding, i. 33; ii. 356.
London, ii. 547.
Louisville, Ky., ii. 120, 140, 581, 638.
Londonderry, i. 80, 90, 95.
Lord's Supper, i. 69, 70.
Lough, *Neagh*, i. 19, 30, 83; ii. 567; *Foyle*, i. 81, 91, 95; *Finlagan*, i. 107.
Lord's day, i. 434; ii. 570.
Luse, Mathias, i. 395, 436, 459; ii. 165.
Luther, Martin, i. 50, 366; ii, 40, 42, 667.
Lynd, Dr. S. W., ii. 434, 614.

MACLAY, DR., i. 168, *note;* ii. 392, 594.
Madison, James, ii. 310, 313.
Marriages, i. 19, 363; ii. 128, 167, 243, 410, 462, 608, 647.
Martin, Corbley, ii. 164.
McGarvey, J. W., ii. 597.
McGready, James, ii. 187, 192.
McNeely, Cyrus, ii. 172, 329.
McClean, Archibald, i. 71, 184; ii. 396.
McCalla, W. L., ii. 51, 73, 529.
McElroy, *John*, i. 215; ii. 298; *Jas.*, 298.
Macknight, Dr., i. 433; ii. 144.
McChesney, William, ii. 525, *note.*
Macrum, James, ii. 567.
Matthews, Joseph and William, i. 456; ii. 166.
Messiahship, i. 410, 517: ii. 59, 522, 665.
Meeting-houses, ii. 364.
Meredith, Mr., ii. 402.
Methodists, i. 73, 462; ii. 472, 496, 531, 534.
Meetings, ministers', ii. 46, 47.
Middletown, i. 241, 355, 356, 490, 497.
Milligan, R., ii. 624.
Mind, its rapid action, i. 77.
Millennium, ii. 173, 225, 302.
Mission to Jerusalem, ii. 593; to Liberia, 607; to Jamaica, 607.
Mormonism, ii. 344.
Morton, Wm., ii. 287, 326, 461, 580, 640.
Moral culture, ii, 467.
Music, instrumental in worship, ii. 366.
Myers, A. E., ii. 608, 612.

NAME, *Christian*, ii. 371, 435; *sectarian*, i. 445.
Nashville, ii. 142, 168, 288, 338, 524; *note*, 603, 638.
New England, tribute to, ii. 418.
Newry, i. 21, 22, 30, 44, 83, 88.
New York, i. 205, 468; ii. 223, 499.
Noel, Silas M., ii. 118, 141, 161, 286, 323.
Nottingham, ii. 294.

OATH, BURGHER. i. 54, 57, 58.
O'Kane, John, ii. 401, 474, 589.
O'Kelley, James, ii. 185, 474.
Opinion, i. 265, 268, 375; ii. 12, 224, 372, 519.
Oracles, living, ii. 154.
Order, Ancient, ii. 125, 129, 135, 141, 173, 223.
Ordination, i. 331, 380, 382, 386.
Organization, Church, i. 386; ii. 58, 493, 599.
Orleans, New, ii. 239, 433, 457, 626.
Orphan School, ii. 580, 587.
Osborne, *Jacob*, i. 494; ii. 164, 174, 175, 207, 244; *Susan*, ii. 298.
Otey, Bishop, ii. 402.
Owen, *Robert*, ii. 233, 240, 242, 263, 284, 302, 543; *Robert Dale*, ii. 589.

PÆDOBAPTISM, i. 182, 187, 238, 240, 250, 328, 344, 391, 399, 503; ii. 19, 21, 31, 74, 89, 147, 196, 515.
Paisley, ii. 555, 563.
Palmer, *F. R.*, ii. 335; *Henry*, ii. 335.
Paris, ii. 385, 401, 502, 549.
Parish, James W., ii. 580.
Paton, Alexander, ii. 555, 559, 565.
Peck, J. M., ii. 487.
Pelagianism, ii. 349.
Pendleton, *Edmund*, ii. 313; *Philip B.*, ii. 469; *W. K.*, ii. 470, 540, 542, 592, 624, 633, 675.
Persecution, i. 62, 430, 435; ii. 52, 65, 134, 398, 560, 564.
Petigrew, Elder, ii. 594, 596.
Philadelphia, i. 85, 88, 97, 205, 464; ii. 497.
Phillips, i. 470; ii. 140, 172.
Phrenology, ii. 669.
Pinkerton, D. L. L., ii. 492, 580.
Pittsburg, i. 274, 464, 507; ii. 47, 99, 125.
Plymouth Brethren, i. 62; ii. 546.
Presbyterians, i. 24, 42, 50, 55; ii. 14, 189, 501.

Pritchard, Elder, i. 469, 470; ii. 173, 329.
Presbytery, *Associate*, i. 53; *of relief*, i. 54; of *Chartiers*, i. 88, 222, 225; *Reformed*, i. 53; *Constitutional Associate*, i. 56.
Principles, fundamental, ii. 616.
Procter, Elder, ii. 596.
Protestanism, i. 50, 210, 352; ii. 12, 422, 427, 436.
Providences, i. 113, 138, 176, 220, 380; ii. 205, 214, 363, 566.
Punishment, *capital*, ii. 540; *future*, ii. 242, 246.
Purcell, Bishop, ii. 422, 529.

RAINES, AYLETT, ii. 220, 244, 330, 385, 401, 501, 587.
Ralston, Rev. Samuel, i. 218, 326; ii. 34.
Redstone Association, i. 436, 458, 469, 479, 485, 489; ii. 69, 99, 140, 166.
Reformation, *commencement of*, i. 237, 366; *principles of*, i. 251, 349; ii. 149, 198, 373, 517.
Regeneration, i. 377, 423; ii. 326, 341, 403, 405.
Religions, national, i. 24, 51, 514.
Repentance, i. 445; ii. 208, 349, 350.
Retaliation, ii. 660.
Reserve, Western, ii. 45, 100, 140, 181, 218, 322, 348.
Rice, N. L., ii. 501, 528.
Richards, John, ii. 289.
Richardson, *Nathaniel*, i. 464, 504; *Robert*, i. 504, 508; ii. 296, 326, 394, 400, 409, 414, 451, 470, 490, 624.
Rich-Hill, i. 30, 47, 60, 71, 77, 82, 85.
Rider, Symonds, ii. 257.
Rigdon, Sidney, ii. 44, 47, 71, 95, 99, 128, 164, 173, 344.
Robertson, Rev. James, ii. 553, 557, 565, 578.
Rogers, *Samuel*, ii. 330, 331; *John*, ii. 374, 386, 587.
Romanism, i. 50, 102, 210, 352, 514.
Rowland Hill, i. 60, 163.
Rudolph, John, ii. 259.

SABBATH, i. 432, 517, 528, 533; ii. 86.
Sandeman, R., i. 70, 177, 222; ii. 132, 160.
Skeptics, ii. 227, 274, 390, 409.
Schools, Sunday, i. 159; ii. 57.
Scott, Walter, i. 502; ii. 48, 59, 84, 99, 128, 164; appointed evangelist, ii. 173; labors on Reserve, ii. 180, 357, 442; arrangement of gospel, ii. 208; practical restoration of design of baptism, ii. 212, 217; sermons, ii. 209, 210, 220, 356, 587, 592; "The Messiahship," 641; death, 644.
Scripture, *memorizing*, i. 55, 82; *sufficiency of*, i. 39, 143, 156; ii. 495.
Secession Church, i. 22, 24, 40, 46, 48, 53, 60, 72, 189.
Secret associations, i. 45; ii. 534.
Sectarianism, i. 49, 53, 56, 58, 67, 153, 173, 220, 223, 230, 245, 331, 333, 353; ii. 27, 40, 55, 98, 110, 134, 143, 192, 213, 227, 240, 321, 325, 340, 392, 398, 510, 517, 524, 552.
Secrest, J., ii. 174, 175, 205.
Self-defence, ii. 662.
Semple, R. B., ii. 130, 159, 289, 319, 349, 362.
Sermons, i. 138, 235, 313, 317, 318, 319, 320, 322, 323, 335, 353, 355, 368, 369, 374, 376, 383, 397, 472; ii. 92, 110, 119, 120, 130, 165, 168, 175, 207, 210, 220, 244, 261, 336, 456, 581, 585, 594, 609.
Shannon, James, ii. 457, 501, 640.
Shelburne, Silas, ii. 289, 536, 598.
Sin, remission of, ii. 20, 80, 212, 287, 326, 405, 522.
Skinner, Mr., ii. 433, 688.
Slavery, i. 494, 497; ii. 189, 366, 450, 531, 553, 576.

Smith, *Elias*, ii. 186, 474; *John*, ii. 107, 287, 326, 386, 501, 587; *Joseph*, ii. 345; *Thomas*, ii. 384; *Ephraim A.*, ii, 334, 450, 607. 640.
Society, *Western*, i. 280; *Evangelical*, i. 73; *Bible*, ii. 57, 433, 497, 499, 503, 594, 607; *Missionary*, ii. 57, 589, 600; *Washington Moral*, i. 516; ii. 338.
Socinianism, i. 153; ii. 52, 65, 134, 196.
Spears, Henry, i. 396, 436; ii. 165.
Speculation, i. 123, 254, 351, 412; ii. 153, 202, 355, 371, 610.
Spiritualism, ii. 610.
Stone, Barton W., ii. 118, 173, 186; education, ii. 187; ordination, ii. 188; perplexities, ii. 189; labors in Kentucky, ii. 193; speculative views, ii. 195, 332, 480, 515; intimacy with A. Campbell, ii. 200, 331, 336, 516, 538; love of union, ii. 371, 374, 386, 395; view of atonement, ii. 195; of Christ, ii. 515, *note*; death, ii. 538.
Sunday Mail Report, i. 536; ii. 334, *note*.
Synod, i. 27, 53, 57, 69, 85, 88, 222, 225, 325; ii. 14.

Taffe, John, ii. 409, 461, 674.
Temperance Society, ii. 600.
Tener, *Robert*, i. 25; ii. 292, 393; *Richard*, ii. 293; *William*, ii. 294, 319; *John*, ii. 551; *Edward S.*, ii. 567.
Testament, new version, ii. 144, 222, 361.
Theology, natural, ii. 230, 279.
Thompson, W. R., ii. 647.
Titles, religious, i. 335; ii. 528.
Tubman, Mrs., ii. 536, 630.

Underhill, Dr., ii. 238, 410.
Union, *Bible*, ii. 588, 594, 607, 619; *Christian*, i. 224, 228, 231, 253, 256, 258, 401; ii. 244, 370, 372, 382, 516. 519.

Vardeman, J., ii. 72, 85, 94, 119, 287, 324, 374.
Version, *new*, ii. 114; *Syriac* or *Peschito*, ii. 506; *revised*, ii. 588, 607 622.
Voyages, i. 80, 84, 90, 96, 195; ii. 544, 570.

Walker, John, i. 60; view of baptism, 61; view of communion, 61; at Rich-Hill, 82; in Dublin, i. 172, 177, 444; *Rev.*, i. 525; ii. 14, 31.
Wallis, James, ii. 397, 546.
Walthal, A. B., ii. 598, 623.
War, ii. 534, 642.
Wardlaw, Dr., i. 187; ii. 565.
Warren, ii. 44, 129, 217, 243; *Point*, i. 83.
Washington, i. 79, 83, 247, 355, 365; *College*, ii. 595; *City*, i. 506; *Kentucky*, ii. 53, 116.
Wayland, Dr., ii. 112, 576.
Wellsburg, i. 247, 356, 361, 459, 461, 464, 498; *church*, i. 468; ii. 69, 100.
Wesley, i. 72, 139, 366, 389; ii. 564. 678.
Whitefield, i. 72; ii. 561.
Whitaker, John, ii. 258.
Williams, *J. A.*, ii. 597; *Miss Mary R.*, ii. 640; *Ebenezer*, ii. 222, 259; *Roger*, his view of communion, i. 61; persecutions, i. 63; established religious freedom, i. 63, *note*, 515.
Winans, Dr. M., ii. 283, 435.
Woodnorth, Peter, ii. 294, 545, 569.
Worship, *public*, ii. 366; *family*, i. 35, 448; ii. 301.
Wylie, Rev. Andrew, i. 527, 532; ii. 589.

Yearly Meetings, ii. 329.
Young, Brigham, ii. 347.

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